

SUPPLEMENTS TO
VIGILIAE CHRISTIANAE



A Newly Discovered Greek Father

*Cassian the Sabaite Eclipsed by
John Cassian of Marseilles*



P. TZAMALIKOS

BRILL

A Newly Discovered Greek Father

Supplements
to
Vigiliae Christianae

Texts and Studies of
Early Christian Life and Language

Editors

J. den Boeft – B.D. Ehrman – J. van Oort
D.T. Runia – C. Scholten – J.C.M. van Winden

VOLUME III

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.nl/vcs

A Newly Discovered Greek Father

Cassian the Sabaite Eclipsed by
John Cassian of Marseilles

By
P. Tzamalikos



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2012

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Cassian, the Sabaite, approximately 470-548.

A newly discovered Greek Father : Cassian the Sabaite eclipsed by John Cassian of Marseilles / [edited] by P. Tzamalikos.

p. cm. – (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, ISSN 0920-623X ; v. 111)

English and Greek.

"A critical edition of texts of ... "The Book of Monk Cassian the Roman" –Pref.

Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.

ISBN 978-90-04-22441-4 (hardback : alk. paper) – ISBN 978-90-04-22527-5 (e-book)

1. Monastic and religious life. 2. Church history–Primitive and early church, ca. 30-600. 3.

Cassian, the Sabaite, approximately 470-548. I. Tzamalikos, P. (Panayiotis), 1951- II. Book of Monk Cassian the Roman III. Title.

BR65.C37E5 2012

270.2092–dc23

2012004416

This publication has been typeset in the multilingual “Brill” typeface. With over 5,100 characters covering Latin, IPA, Greek, and Cyrillic, this typeface is especially suitable for use in the humanities. For more information, please see www.brill.nl/brill-typeface.

ISSN 0920-623X

ISBN 978 90 04 22441 4 (hardback)

ISBN 978 90 04 22527 5 (e-book)

Copyright 2012 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Global Oriental, Hotei Publishing, IDC Publishers and Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.

Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

ἐκ ταπεινώσεως διάκρισις, ὡς καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ Κασσιανῷ ἐν
τῷ περὶ διακρίσεως αὐτοῦ λόγῳ πεφιλοσόφηται κάλλιστά τε
καὶ ὑψηλότατα.

Humility gives rise to discretion, which is an issue
that also the great Cassian treated philosophically in
his discourse *On Discretion*, in an absolutely fine and
sublime manner.

John Climacus, *Scala Paradisi*, 4.717

CONTENTS

Preface	XI
Abbreviations	XIII

Introduction	1
Cassian's Life	1
The Texts in Context	10

ON THE RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE COENOBIA

Πρὸς Κάστορα ἐπίσκοπον περὶ διατυπώσεως καὶ κανόνων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀνατολὴν καὶ Αἴγυπτον κοινοβίων / To Bishop Castor: On the Rules and Regulations of the Coenobia in the East and Egypt	19
Notes to the Text	67

ON THE EIGHT CONSIDERATIONS OF EVIL

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ Ἡ ΛΟΓΙΣΜΩΝ / To Bishop Castor: On the Eight Considerations [of Evil]	77
Notes to the Text	153

ON THE HOLY FATHERS LIVING AT SCETIS

ΠΡΟΣ ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΝ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΣΚΗΤΗΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ / To Abbot Leontius: On the Holy Fathers Living at Scetis	167
Notes to the Text	213

FIRST CONTRIBUTION BY ABBA SERENUS

ΣΥΝΕΙΣΦΟΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΒΒΑ ΣΕΡΗΝΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΗ / First Contribution by Abba Serenus	247
Notes to the Text	287

CONTRIBUTION BY ABBA SERENUS
ON THE PANARETUS WISDOM

ΣΥΝΕΙΣΦΟΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΒΒΑ ΣΕΡΗΝΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΝΑΡΕΤΟΥ / Contribution by Abba Serenus on the Panaretus [Wisdom]	311
Notes to the Text	343
Appendix I. Cassian and Caesarius Identified	373
Caesarius of Nazianzus	373
The Title of Pseudo-Caesarius' Treatise	374
A Monk Teaching	379
Caesarius and Sixth-Century Origenism	385
Caesarius and Dionysius Areopagite	402
Cassian and Caesarius: A Common Vernacular	404
Vocabulary	412
History	429
Cassian/Caesarius	433
Appendix II. Pseudo-Didymus' <i>De Trinitate</i> Is Cassian's Work	441
The Author in His Own Words	441
Precarious Statements	461
Neoplatonism	473
Proclus, but not Dionysius	492
A Sixth-Century Author	510
Caesarius	518
Antioch	525
The Vision of Candlestick by Prophet Zachariah (Zach. 3:8–4:14) ..	536
<i>De Trinitate</i> and the <i>Scholia in Apocalypsin</i>	565
<i>De Trinitate</i> and Cassian	586
Appendix III. An Unpublished Greek Text by Cassian the Sabaite	621
Introduction	621
A Feast Day Once in Four Years	621
Cassian and the <i>Chronicon Paschale</i>	622
Cassian the Astronomer	626
Conclusion	633
The Text: Codex Metamorphosis 573, Meteora, Folia 509 ^r –509 ^v	635
Notes to the Text	637

Bibliography	639
I. Codices	639
II. Primary Sources	639
III. Modern Sources	691
IV. Ancient Lexica of Greek Language	692
Index of Persons of Antiquity, Locations, and Notions	697
Index of Greek Terms, Names, and Expressions	710
Index of Modern Authors	716

PREFACE

The present volume is published along with the monograph, *The Real Cassian Revisited (Monastic Life, Greek Paideia, and Origenism in the Sixth Century)*, in the same series. This is a critical edition of texts of Codex 573 (ninth century) of the Monastery of Metamorphosis (the Great Meteoron), Greece. The Codex, entitled 'The Book of Monk Cassian the Roman', was copied at the Great Laura of Sabas in Palestine, from an original written in the 540s, which was the personal companion of a heretofore-unknown Greek Father, namely, Cassian the Sabaite. He was a native of Scythopolis, of Antiochene extraction, presbyter and monk of the Great Laura, and it was St Sabas himself that introduced and trained him to monastic life. During the 530s, while the Origenistic frenzy raged in Palestine, he spent some years of his life at the Monastery of the Akoimetoi, the 'never-sleeping' monks, in Constantinople, and returned to Palestine in the late 530s, originally as abbot of the Souka monastery for eight years and then abbot of the Great Laura. He remained in his last post for ten months, until his death on July 20, 548 AD.

The Codex comprises 290 folia, of which 1^r–118^v, 209^v–^r, and 245^v–290^r contain Cassian's own texts. The last part of the Codex records the sole extant manuscript of the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, which Adolf von Harnack attributed to Origen a century ago, yet these Scholia are the product of Cassian's pen drawing mainly on a lost commentary on the Apocalypse by Didymus the Blind, as well as on other authors, including Origen and Theodoret of Cyrrhus. Although an Antiochene who cherished the patrimony of Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and Nestorius to a certain extent, Cassian the Sabaite wrote having in front of him also the texts of such authors as Gregory of Nyssa, Didymus, and Evagrius.

Cassian the Sabaite was a Greek Father. His work conveys an abundant wealth of the long tradition of Greek patrimony, as well as critical accounts by the great Christian theologians that preceded him. The texts are of high philological, theological, and philosophical value, heavily pregnant with notions characteristic of eminent Greek Fathers, especially Gregory of Nyssa. They are couched in a distinctly technical Greek language that turns out to have a long and meaningful record in Eastern heritage, whereas it makes no sense in Latin, which makes it impossible for Latin to have been their original language.

However, Medieval forgery condemned Cassian the Sabaite to extinction, replacing him by a feigned figure called 'John Cassian', the alleged 'father of Western monasticism', posited as a native of Scythia, who lived in the region of Marseilles. The Latin texts that are currently attributed to John Cassian are in fact heavily interpolated translations from this Greek original by Cassian the Sabaite, who is now identified with Pseudo-Caesarius and the author of Pseudo Didymus' *De Trinitate*. Study of his texts unveils further the practice of Medieval forgery, a practice that is itself the object of a scholarly area of its own.

Cassian the Sabaite, a heretofore non-existent author, was a sixth-century highly erudite intellectual. Exploration of his work reveals critical aspects of the interplay between Hellenism and Christianity, it casts further light on the Origenism and Pseudo-Origenism of the sixth century, and reveals specific aspects of Christian influence upon Neoplatonism in Late Antiquity. He is probably the last great representative of a prolonged fruitful autumn of Late Antique Christian scholarship, who saw Hellenism as a treasured patrimony to employ, rather than as a daemon to exorcise. He is also an emblematic representative of an attitude that flourished at the Monastery of the Akoimetoï. For the 'never-sleeping' monks embraced invariably all of Christian tradition, and refrained from indiscriminate rejection of thoughts written by alleged heretics, such as Origen, Didymus, Evagrius, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Nestorius, and John Philoponus, only because those reflections were written by these 'damned' intellectuals.

The texts of the present volume reveal that, during the 530s and 540s, Hellenism, whether Classical or Late-Antique one, was an alive and vigorous legacy for any intellectual to employ. Besides, the modern distinction drawn through the catchwords *Antioch* and *Alexandria* meant little to Cassian the Sabaite: instead, it turns out that the Antiochene mindset rather than the Alexandrian one were the true heirs to Origen's intellectual, as well as textual, concerns. Cassian himself comes forth as part of this Antiochene tradition, which cherished great Alexandrian scholars, such as Origen and Didymus.

Through the parchment folia of a uniquely precious ancient manuscript, the voice of a newly discovered Greek Father reaches us through the centuries. It advises posterity that, during the dark years of early and middle Byzantine sixth century, Hellenism was vigorously alive, and robust Christian scholarship did not fade with Theodoret, but endured for one more century.

P. T.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACO	Schwartz, E., <i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i>
AP	<i>Apophthegmata Patrum</i>
COT	P. Tzamalikos, <i>Origen: Cosmology and Ontology of Time</i>
GCS	<i>Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte</i>
M.	J.P. Migne, <i>Patrologia Graeca</i> (in footnotes to the Greek text)
PG	J.P. Migne, <i>Patrologia Graeca</i> (in notes outside the Greek text, volume/page/line)
PHE	P. Tzamalikos, <i>Origen: Philosophy of History and Eschatology</i>
PL	J.P. Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina</i> (volume/page/line)
RCR	P. Tzamalikos, <i>The Real Cassian Revisited</i>
SVF	<i>Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta</i> (volume/page/verse)
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
V104	Codex Vindobonensis Theologicus Graecus 104
V121	Codex Vindobonensis Theologicus Graecus 121

Origen

<i>Cels</i>	<i>Contra Celsum</i>
<i>Dial</i>	<i>Dialogus cum Heraclide</i>
<i>epAfr</i>	<i>Epistula ad Africanum</i>
<i>homGen</i>	<i>Homiliae 1–16 in Genesim</i>
<i>commGen</i>	<i>Fragmenta ex Commentariis in Genesim</i>
<i>selGen</i>	<i>Selecta in Genesim</i>
<i>adnotGen</i>	<i>Adnotationes in Genesim</i>
<i>homEx</i>	<i>Homiliae in Exodum</i>
<i>commEx</i>	<i>Fragmentum ex Commentariis in Exodum (= In Illud: Induravit Dominus Cor Pharaonis)</i>
<i>selEx</i>	<i>Selecta in Exodum</i>
<i>homLev</i>	<i>Homiliae in Leviticum</i>
<i>selNum</i>	<i>Selecta in Numeros</i>
<i>selDeut</i>	<i>Selecta in Deuteronomium</i>
<i>homJos</i>	<i>Homiliae in Josuam</i>
<i>selJos</i>	<i>Selecta in Josuam</i>
<i>adnotJos</i>	<i>Adnotationes in Josuam</i>
<i>epAfr</i>	<i>Epistula ad Africanum</i>
<i>homJob</i>	<i>Homiliae in Job</i>
<i>selPs</i>	<i>Selecta in Psalmos</i>
<i>excPs</i>	<i>Excerpta in Psalmos</i>
<i>frPs</i>	<i>Fragmenta in Psalmos 1–150</i>

<i>commProv</i>	<i>Fragmenta ex Commentariis in Proverbia</i>
<i>expProv</i>	<i>Expositio in Proverbia</i>
<i>frProv</i>	<i>Fragmenta in Proverbia</i>
<i>Cant</i>	<i>Libri x in Canticum Canticorum</i>
<i>schCant</i>	<i>Scholia in Canticum Canticorum</i>
<i>homJer</i>	<i>In Jeremiam (homiliae 12–20)</i>
<i>frJer</i>	<i>Fragmenta in Jeremiam</i>
<i>frLam</i>	<i>Fragmenta in Lamentationes</i>
<i>frEz</i>	<i>Fragmenta ex Commentariis in Ezechielem</i>
<i>selEz</i>	<i>Selecta in Ezechielem</i>
<i>JesNav</i>	<i>In Jesu Nave Homiliae xxvi</i>
<i>frOs</i>	<i>Fragmentum ex Commentariis in Osee</i>
<i>schMatt</i>	<i>Scholia in Matthaeum</i>
<i>commMatt</i>	<i>Commentariorum in Matthaeum libri 10–17</i>
<i>frMatt</i>	<i>Commentariorum series 1–145 in Matthaeum</i>
<i>homLuc</i>	<i>Homiliae in Lucam</i>
<i>commLuc</i>	<i>Scholia in Lucam</i>
<i>frLuc</i>	<i>Fragmenta 1–112 in Lucam</i>
<i>commJohn</i>	<i>Commentarii in Joannim</i>
<i>frJohn</i>	<i>Fragmenta in Evangelium Joannis</i>
<i>commCor</i>	<i>Fragmenta ex Commentariis in Epistulam I ad Corinthios</i>
<i>commEph</i>	<i>Fragmenta ex Commentariis in Epistulam ad Ephesios</i>
<i>exhMar</i>	<i>Exhortatio ad Martyrium</i>
<i>deOr</i>	<i>De Oratione</i>
<i>Princ</i>	<i>De Principiis (P. Koetschau)</i>
 Didymus	
<i>commZacch</i>	<i>Commentarii in Zacchariam</i>
<i>frPs(al)</i>	<i>Fragmenta in Psalmos (e commentario altero)</i>
<i>commEccl</i>	<i>Commentarii in Ecclesiasten</i>
<i>commJob</i>	<i>Commentarii in Job</i>
<i>comPs</i>	<i>Commentarii in Psalmos</i>
 Eusebius	
<i>DE</i>	<i>Demonstratio Evangelica</i>
<i>PE</i>	<i>Praeparatio Evangelica</i>
<i>commPs</i>	<i>Commentaria in Psalmos</i>
 Theodoret	
<i>intPaulXIV</i>	<i>Interpretatio in XIV Epistulas Sancti Pauli</i>
<i>commIs</i>	<i>Commentaria in Isaiam</i>
<i>De Providentia</i>	<i>De Providentia Orationes Decem</i>
<i>intDan</i>	<i>Interpretatio in Danielelem</i>
<i>intPropXII</i>	<i>Interpretatio in XII Prophetas Minores</i>

Cyril of Alexandria

<i>In Joannem</i>	<i>Commentarii in Joannem</i>
<i>In Isaiam</i>	<i>Commentarius in Isaiam Prophetam</i>
<i>commProphXII</i>	<i>Commentarius in XII Prophetas Minores</i>
<i>De Adoratione</i>	<i>De Adoratione et Cultu in Spiritu et Veritate</i>
<i>GlaphPent</i>	<i>Glaphyra in Pentateuchum</i>
<i>expPs</i>	<i>Expositio in Psalmos</i>

Theodore of Mopsuestia

<i>expPs</i>	<i>Expositio in Psalmos</i>
<i>commProphXII</i>	<i>Commentarius in XII Prophetas Minores</i>

Pseudo-Justin or Pseudo-Theodoret

<i>QetR</i>	<i>Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos</i>
-------------	--

Pseudo-Caesarius

<i>QR</i>	<i>Erotapokriseis (Quaestiones et Responsiones)</i>
-----------	---

Epiphanius of Salamis

<i>Panarion</i>	<i>Panarion (Adversus Haereses)</i>
-----------------	-------------------------------------

Cassian the Sabaite

<i>Const</i>	<i>Ad Castorem Episcopum De Canonicis Occidentalis et Aegyptio- nis Coenobiorum Constitutionibus</i>
<i>OctoVit</i>	<i>Ad Castorem Episcopum De Octo Vitiosis Cogitationibus</i>
<i>ScetPatr</i>	<i>Ad Leontium Hegumenum De Scetae Sanctorum Patrum</i>
<i>SerenPrim</i>	<i>Contributio Sereni Abbatis Prima</i>
<i>De Panareto</i>	<i>Contributio Sereni Abbatis De Panareto</i>
<i>DT</i>	<i>De Trinitate (Pseudo-Didymus = Cassian the Sabaite)</i>

All Authors

<i>commEccl</i>	<i>Commentarii in Ecclesiasten</i>
<i>commJob</i>	<i>Commentarii in Job</i>
<i>commPs</i>	<i>Commentarii in Psalmos</i>
<i>HE</i>	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>

Psalms are numbered after LXX

INTRODUCTION

Cassian's Life

Cassian the Sabaite was born in Scythopolis of Palestine (*Koile Syria*) in c. 470–475. He joined the Laura of Sabas in c. 485–490 and was tutored by the blessed founder of the monastery, since “he had made his renunciation at a tender age and had been educated by the godly Sabas himself”.¹ Sabas was a native of Cappadocia, which resulted in stories about the region that were recounted to all novices. It is out of this that Cassian came to be spiritually familiar with the tradition of the region, especially with its celebrated theologians. His character and mentality brought him close to Gregory of Nyssa, along with the concomitant Origenism inherent in the great Cappadocian’s theology, which probably made him pervious to Evagrius’ and Leontius’ Origenism. Nevertheless, his writings show that he was a theologian of Antiochene identity, who was at home whenever he made references to events that had taken place ‘at the region of Syria’ (ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι Συρίας).

At the beginning of the sixth century, those who professed themselves supporters of Origen enjoyed more freedom of action in Palestine as compared with Syria. We actually know of intellectuals who were forced to flee such places as Edessa seeking refuge in monasteries close to Jerusalem. At that time Patriarch of Jerusalem was Elias (494–516).

The turmoil of the so-called Origenistic controversies found Cassian a monk at the Laura of Sabas. He was also well informed of the simultaneous Monophysite dispute, all the more so since Antioch was a city familiar to him and Severus was its Patriarch for the period 512–518. Cassian experienced the struggle between the Origenist monks who had a broad secular education (οἱ λογιώτεροι) and the simple-minded ones, who used to abide by the orthodoxy that they had been taught by their elders. He also witnessed the revolt by educated monks against Sabas himself in an ambivalent mood. On the one hand he was a devout spiritual son of Sabas, while on the other he admired the ‘distinguished ones’ (οἱ γεννάδες) who had received a proper education, probably due to their eminent lineage.²

¹ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 196: ἄνδρα ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων ἀποταξάμενον καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Σάβα παιδευθέντα.

² Cf. Joseph Patrich, *Sabas, the Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, pp. 332–333.

When Sabas visited Constantinople in 511–512, Cassian, who by then should have been about thirty five years old, joined him. This period marks his first acquaintance with the Origenist faction led by Nonnus, to which Leontius, Theodore Askidas and Domitian belonged. Leontius of Byzantium was a contemporary of Cassian though his junior by fifteen to twenty years.

Once Sabas was advised about them and the doctrines they espoused, he disowned Leontius along with all those who embraced the doctrines of Theodore of Mopsuestia.³ Abbot Agapetus of New Laura (a daughter-cloister of Sabas' Great Laura) expelled the four monks from this cloister in 514 for professing the doctrines of Origen, Evagrius, and Didymus.⁴ Cassian was a witness to men, such as Leontius, whom he admired for their education, being condemned and punished for a teaching that presumably appeared reasonable (meaning, scriptural) to him.

Following the expulsion of the four monks from the New Laura in 514, they went to πεδιάς ('lowlands'). This was located near the region of Eleutheropolis and Ascalon, some 53 miles south-west of Jerusalem and a stronghold of the Severian Monophysites, who were supported by the broader population, the lower, mostly Syriac-speaking social strata. This is the period of Leontius' life that made him a credible interlocutor with the Monophysites, with whom he negotiated on behalf of the imperial court, in 532, in order to seek an accommodation between the conflicting parties.

In c. 515 Cassian must have written the treatises at the request of a certain Bishop Castor. The topic was an account of the rules and regulations of the monasteries in the East and Egypt, and a treatise on the eight dispositions to evil. The four monks, it seems, went on with establishing a new monastery with the permission of this local Bishop Castor, who formally became the hegoumen. He asked Cassian to supply him with a codified set of regulations governing monastic life. Both Castor and Leontius asked Cassian's advice regarding him not merely as a monk, but as an erudite polymath.

By that period, Cassian no doubt used to visit Egypt intermittently. It was a normal practice for people of the Holy Land to pay visits to monks of some note in Egypt, as indeed it was equally normal for people from Egypt

³ Cyril of Scythopolis, op. cit. pp. 176; 179; 189.

⁴ Cyril of Scythopolis, op. cit. p. 190 f.; *Vita Cyriaci*, pp. 124; 229–230. The 'Origenists' who dwelled in the New Laura were expelled from there after the Council of 553 by the 'orthodox' who assumed charge. Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, p. 83. These monks had returned to the New Laura after the death of Agapetus. (*Vita Sabae*, p. 125); one of them was Leontius (op. cit. p. 176). However, in February 543 AD Justinian's edict against Origen arrived in Jerusalem, and this group of monks left the New Laura in indignation 'and dwelled in the valley' (*Vita Sabae*, p. 192).

to travel to Jerusalem for the purpose of pilgrimage. There is no reason to doubt his statements that he spent some time at the Scetis and the desert in general,⁵ where he met some real hermits who were taking their vocation seriously while deploring the decay of the monastic ethos of their times. However, this period must have been a very short one, probably a few weeks, which is evident from his own narrative. At the time when he was spending ‘a short time in the desert’, he was attacked by the ‘spirit of accidie’; in order to cope with this he paid a visit to abba Paul, and was relieved from the distressing feeling as a result.⁶ When he spoke about the incident to the wise elder Moses, the latter told him that by doing so he actually yielded to the evil spirit of accidie instead of confronting that. Cassian related the anecdote in order to make the point that it was a mistake of his not to fight against the spirit of accidie and opt for giving in to that by paying a visit to abba Paul instead. In other words, Cassian was at Scetis under no spiritual instructor: he had been there only as a freelance visitor only for a short while.

According to Cyril of Scythopolis, the four Origenist monks led by Nonnus were expelled from the New Laura (the daughter-house of Sabas’ own Laura) in 514 because of their allegiance to, and open profession of, the theology of Origen, Didymus, and Evagrius on the pre-existence and fall of souls. The four monks (who had been expelled from the New Laura by abbot Agapetus in 514) were re-admitted clandestinely back to the New Laura shortly after Agapetus’ death, by his successor Mamas, in 519. This time the band included a new and leading figure, who was to play an important role in the controversy, namely Leontius of Byzantium.⁷ Leontius used to spend much of his time in Constantinople, socializing with his Origenist companions Theodore Askidas (later Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia) and Domitian (later Bishop of Ancyra). The condition was that they should commit themselves to refraining from promotion of their Origenist ideas openly. Sometime between 514 and 519, Cassian wrote the *Conferences* for the sake of abbot Leontius, the successor of Castor in the unidentified monastery.

⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const.*, p. 15^r (ref. to abba Pinuphius): Τούτω τοίνυν τῷ ἀγίῳ ἀνδρὶ συνοικήσας ἐγὼ χρόνον ὀλίγον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. *OctoVit*, p. 43^r: Μέμνημ(αι) γάρ ἐγώ, ἡνίκα ἐν ἐρήμῳ διέτριβον. *Op. cit.* p. 51^r: Καθεσθέντος γάρ μου ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ.

⁶ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit* p. 51^r: Καθεσθέντος γάρ μου ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ὡχλήθην ὑπὸ ἀκ(η)δίας καὶ παρέβαλον αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπον ὅτι χθὲς δεινῶς ὀχλ(η)θεὶς ὑπὸ ἀκ(η)δίας καὶ ἐξασθενήσας σφόδρα, οὐ πρότερον ἀπηλλάχην αὐτῆς, εἰ μὴ ἀπῆλθον καὶ παρέβαλον τῷ ἀββᾷ Παύλῳ.

⁷ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 176.

Cassian was a first-hand witness of this turmoil and the following instance is of interest. In early sixth century, the rebellions against Sabas sought refuge to the Laura of Souka, but the superior Aquilinus refused to receive them.⁸ It was right after this that they built themselves a new monastery in 'a gorge south of Tekoa', the New Laura, in 507. Why did they 'ask to settle' at Souka? Evidently because they felt that there was some tolerance for their ideas to be expected at that monastery. This is the same monastery of Souka of which Cassian himself became the superior in 539.

This provides us with the alternative proposition: the rules and regulations governing monasteries, which Cassian wrote for the sake of Bishop Castor, were in fact written for the purpose of governing the New Laura itself. This is all the more possible, since Codex 573 styles the author simply 'monk', not also 'presbyter', as he was styled in the acts of 536.

Being a beloved spiritual son of Sabas, Cassian was part of the abbot's company in Constantinople in 531. He returned to Palestine with his spiritual father in September 531, having stayed in the capital since April of that year. He went back to Palestine with Sabas at that time, yet he returned to the capital sometime in 533, after the 5th of December, 532, the date of Sabas' death.

The most likely reason was that the situation in Palestine had grown worse and it was difficult for Cassian to take sides within a setting that made room for zealous propagators rather than assiduous scholars. Sabas' successors were only epigonal characters and no peer of his appeared ever again. Both Origenists and anti-Origenists saw each other as a brood of heretics. The abbot of the Great Laura Gelasius (some six years after the death of Sabas) decided to take decisive measures against the Origenists, and expelled forty monks, who took refuge in the New Laura. Cyril tells us that these Origenist monks of the New Laura asked Leontius, who was at the time in Constantinople, for help. Leontius returned to Palestine from the capital, 'being furious with Sabas', who was long dead, but it was he who had distanced Leontius from his company some years before in Constantinople. Leontius was also furious with abbot Gelasius and all the monks of the Great Laura.⁹ This turbulence took place in c. 538. Leontius died (probably

⁸ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 123.

⁹ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 189: τότε οἱ πατέρες κοινῇ γνώμῃ τῆς λαύρας ἐξέωσαν αὐτοὺς κατὰ μέρος, τεσσαράκοντα σχεδὸν εὐρεθέντας. οἳτινες εἰς τὴν Νέαν λαύραν ἀπελθόντες πρὸς τε τὸν Νόννον καὶ Λεόντιον τὸν Βυζάντιον τὸ τηλικαῦτα ἀπὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως παραγεγονότα καὶ κατὰ τῶν τοῦ μακαρίου Σάβα διαδόχων ἐμμανῶς ἔχοντα κατεβόων τοῦ τε ἀββᾶ Γελασίου καὶ τῶν τῆς Μεγίστης λαύρας πατέρων.

before reaching his sixtieth year of age) sometime between 538 and 542, since in 543 he was already dead, as Cyril recounts.

Following Sabas' death in 532, the inexperienced Melitas became the new abbot. Which is why the band of Nonnus came into the open and embarked on an overt propaganda of their ideas, not only among the educated of the New Laura, but also in the monastery of Martyrius, where the abbot was Domitian, a member of the group, as well as at the Laura of Firminus. It took only a short time for them to penetrate the Great Laura and the other desert monasteries.¹⁰ Cassian found himself in the horns of a dilemma: on the one hand, he maintained an unfailing friendship with Leontius, and presumably with the rest of the members of the group; on the other, Leontius was disfavoured by Sabas himself, Cassian's spiritual father. To this, it should be added that Cassian was an intellectual type, not one who aspired to gain bishoprics to himself. He remained only a presbyter and his priorities were intellectual, not mundane.

Cassian was sheltered at the monastery of the Akoimetoï ('the never-sleeping' monks) as an intellectual, while officially he remained a 'monk and presbyter' of the Great Laura. He no doubt used to take intermittent and temporary trips to Palestine. We know that between the monastery of the Akoimetoï and those of Palestine and Syria there were strong bonds, connections and exchanges of visits and theological ideas.¹¹

Cassian took part in the Local Synod of 536 in Constantinople, along with monks from the New Laura and the Akoimetoï. This was the only synod in which the Akoimetoï seem to have ever taken part. It is noteworthy that four powerful monks represented the New Laura,¹² whereas only two monks represented the Laura of Sabas (virtually one, since the second scarcely appears in the acts): this was Cassian the Sabaite. We also know that in 536 Leontius was the abbot of 'a monastery of his own', according to the acts of that Local Synod of Constantinople.

Cassian's contact and discussions with Leontius made him an admirer of the latter's erudition and eloquence, and introduced him to a higher and more intellectual understanding of Christian doctrine. Along with Leontius, he signed the resolutions which were levelled against the Monophysite champions. His participation in the Local Synod suggests that he was living

¹⁰ Op. cit. pp. 187–189.

¹¹ Peter Hatlie, *The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople, ca. 350–850*, Cambridge, 2007.

¹² See *RCR*, chapter 1, p. 77.

in Constantinople at the time. Identifying Cassian with Caesarius suggests that his residence in the capital was owing not only to his spiritual father Sabas having recommended him to the imperial circles, but also to Sabas' opponent Leontius, who appreciated the Origenist colours in Cassian's teaching, or what he thought to be Origenistic views.

This was still the period during which Cassian was swayed by the personality of the brilliant Origenist Leontius. He had witnessed his resolute theological intellectualism. He had also admired his persistence and perseverance, since this was the period when monks suspect of Origenism were now and then expelled from their monasteries to be readmitted later, only to be driven away anew. This turmoil had started in 514 and Leontius was adamant in his well-sustained views, indeed so much so as not to hesitate to found 'his own monastery' and subscribe the acts of 536 under his personal title, namely, 'abbot of his own monastery'.

The year 536, however, marked a dramatic shift in Justinian's policy towards theological controversy. Abandoning his diplomatic and conciliatory handling of the Severian Monophysitism, he took radical steps that made the imperial power (and theological doctrine) felt harshly by all dissidents. His decision was to finish once and for all (or, so he thought) with all rancorous division, not only over the reception of Chalcedon, but also in regard to any real or imagined heresy, however old, which might cause perturbation at any point of the empire, particularly in Palestine. His decision was to impose retrospective condemnation and anathemas even to deceased theologians. For all the reaction by Eastern fathers to this innovation, he adamantly went on with his plan. This *peripeteia* of 536 resulted in Justinian's edict against Origen, written in 543 and vindicated by a Local Council presided over by Patriarch Menas faithfully complying with the emperor's wishes.

Cassian subscribed to the deposition of Anthimus, the Monophysite-sympathizer Patriarch of Constantinople (535–536),¹³ who was succeeded by Menas. This synod was a local one (ἐνδημοῦσα), which meant that participants were only those who *happened* to be in the capital at the time. Cassian indeed happened to be living in Constantinople in 536. In return for backing the emperor's resolutions in 536, Menas (in fact, Justinian) appointed Domitian as Bishop of Ancyra (the capital of Galatia) and Theodore Askidas as Bishop of Caesarea (the capital of Cappadocia).

¹³ Deposed by Pope Agapetus before March 13, 536, and later hidden by Empress Theodora for twelve years, until his death.

Cassian remained in Constantinople for six years (533–539), in the monastery of the Akoimatoi, where Antiochene monks like him were pretty at home. He returned to Palestine to stay permanently as abbot of the monastery of Souka in 539. This total of six years stay in Constantinople is the period attested for Caesarius' stay in the capital, as discussed in Appendix I.

His friendship with Leontius and the Origenist party, along with tolerance for Monophysite and Nestorian views, made it impossible for him to return to the Great Laura, where the superior was Gelasius of Isauria (September 537–October 546), a relentless persecutor of any opinion that might appear 'Origenist' to him. What would a serene intellectual have possibly done had he been present at the events that took place at the Old Laura in 537? For what happened was this: when Gelasius took over as abbot of the Great Laura (September 537), he enjoined that a libel against Origen by Antipatrus of Bostra be read in church. It seems however that what Antipatrus alleged was a bundle of fanciful interpolations and extrapolations regarding Origen's work, which resulted in commotion within the church, with the erudite followers of Origen protesting against the hostile adulteration of his writings.¹⁴ As a result, they were expelled from the Laura. What could Cassian have probably done amidst this madness? The environment of the Akoimatoi was incomparably better for him to live in, since this suited both his character and intellectual purposes.

After Gelasius' death, the Origenist party made George the Origenist abbot of the Great Laura. He remained in the post for seven months and was expelled by the Origenists themselves on charges for corruption. Following this, a stand-off between the two parties came under way and the Patriarch of Jerusalem suggested that Cassian (currently an abbot at Souka for eight years) should be transferred to the Great Laura as abbot, on the grounds of compromise. By that time, the Origenists had grown very powerful and even the secretaries (σύγχελλοι) of the Patriarch of Jerusalem were Origenists that treated very badly the anti-Origenist monks of the Great Laura who went to the Holy City to ask the Patriarch for a new (evidently anti-Origenist) abbot to be appointed.

The two parties accepted Cassian, but he remained in the post for only a while: he died ten months later, on the 20th of July, 548.

Cassian had maintained contact with his birth-city Scythopolis. A token of that was his initiative to establish a new monastery there, the monastery

¹⁴ P. Koetschau picked up alleged quotations from this book of Antipatrus, which John of Damascus preserved in his *Sacra Parallela*, and made them part of his edition of Origen's *Princ*. This is indicative of the quality of that edition.

of Zougga, evidently availing himself of his powerful friends in the capital. He was officially a presbyter of the Laura of Sabas until 540, the year when he was appointed abbot of the Monastery of Souka, which recent archaeological labour has identified with the monastery of Chariton, near Bethlehem. Cassian remained in this post for eight years until he was appointed abbot of his well-known monastery of St. Sabas (October 547), only to remain in the new post for ten months until he died. His body was interred in the same crypt where Sabas' body was lying and Cassian was the first abbot after Sabas (of whom he was the fourth successor as abbot) to be honoured with burial beside the body of Sabas. At the time of Cassian's burial, the body of Sabas was found incorrupt, a good sixteen years after his death. None of the previous three successors of Sabas had been dignified with the honour of having the body placed next to that great figure of Palestinian monasticism.

Cassian was a moderate, tolerant, and broad-minded man. The atmosphere at the Akoimetoï was tolerant and broad-minded, too. Chalcedonians and Monophysite lived there side by side under the same roof. This was the place where the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite have been composed and Cassian must have met this monk personally, and we have from him (under the pseudonym 'Caesarius') the sole testimony attesting to 'Areopagite' having been a monk of Thracian origin. The Akoimetoï made it an established practice to produce pseudepigrapha, under the names of great theologians of the past, in order to promote what they were seeing as orthodox faith.

Cassian wrote the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, which during the last hundred years have been attributed to Origen. He put neither title nor indeed any header at the top of this writing. Following his Origenistic sympathies, he had made extensive use of the commentary on the Apocalypse by Didymus, in order to make up his mind as to whether the Apocalypse should be regarded as a canonical book. He also wrote *De Trinitate*, which has been spuriously ascribed to Didymus. Whether this was an anonymous work or a pseudepigraphon we cannot know, since the title page of the manuscript is missing. *De Trinitate* clearly bespeaks an author writing under the burden of obloquy for heresy. This was immediately followed by the *Erotapokriseis* (under the name 'Caesarius'), which points to an author having just escaped condemnation. Nevertheless, an open file was kept against Cassian's name, since he was vilified with the heresies that had been laid at the door of the Akoimetoï as a whole, namely, Nestorian and Monophysite sympathies, plus Origenism. It is indeed hard not to allow that Cassian had fell under the spell of the great Antiochene doctors (Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret) and that in many respects Origen was his *spiritus rectus*.

In 543 nine counts against Origen were drawn up in Justinian's despotic communication to Patriarch Menas. In 553, at the emperor's behest, a coda to the proceedings of the Council pronounced anathemas on fifteen allegedly Origenistic doctrines. The verdict by and large was that Origen had been of the devil's party, though his name itself was not mentioned to any of the resolutions. Cassian was dead by that time, yet the official calumniation of the Alexandrian had begun during the very early 540s, and ironically it originated in his own monastery, the Great Laura.

I have extensively discussed in earlier works of mine that all surviving products of Origen's pen definitely show him to be an anti-Platonist in many respects. However, modern representations of Origen's alleged Platonism have relied on these articles by Justinian, which originate in Antipatrus of Bostra's willful slur aiming at a deliberate caricature.¹⁵ This irascible and saturnine tincture became the norm for modern scholarship to assess Origen's theology.

Cassian's parlance was taken up, along with his books, by Theodore Studites and 'the book of Cassian' was no doubt reproduced also in Theodore's great *scriptorium*, along with that of the Laura of Sabas, which we now have as Metamorphosis Codex 573. Both his *Scholia in Apocalypsin* and the monastic ones evince that a huge library was available to him. Indeed Cassian drew heavily and freely on Greek and Oriental lore, amidst a social environment that regarded Hellenism as too intricate and too intractable a phenomenon to deal with. The same goes for *De Trinitate* and the *Erotopokriseis*. Composing these texts, which are ostentatiously florid in diction, the author is profligate in his use of an impressively large number of Greek neologisms that are put to use for the first time and reflect a specific attitude and psychological tension. Besides, *De Trinitate* is the work where a large number of Greek and Oriental maxims are found for the first and

¹⁵ Since 1986, I have been arguing against the palpable bias of the modern fancy branding Origen a Platonist. Cf. P. Tzamalikos, *The Concept of Time in Origen*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1986, later published by Peter Lang, Bern/Frankfurt/Paris/New York/London/Wien/Berlin, 1991. Also, *Origen: Cosmology and Ontology of Time*, Brill, Leiden/Boston, 2006. *Origen: Philosophy of History and Eschatology*, Brill, Leiden/Boston, 2007. "Origen and the Stoic View of Time". *Journal of the History of Ideas*, v. 52 (4), 1991, pp. 535–561. "Creation *ex nihilo* in Origen: Rebuttal of a tragic historical bias". *Papers in Honour of Professor Emeritus G. Nitsiotas*, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki Press, Thessaloniki 1994, pp. 1157–1208. "Origen: The Source of Augustine's Theory of Time". *Philosophia*, Yearbook of the Research Centre for Greek Philosophy at the Academy of Athens, v. 17–18, 1989, pp. 396–418. Mark Edwards made a case against this theory, through his book *Origen Against Plato*, Ashgate Studies in Philosophy and Theology in Late Antiquity, Aldershot, 2002.

last time in literature and call for further exploration. For all the obloquy of heresy against him, the author declares himself prepared to find in philosophy an arsenal of precepts that concur with the rectitude of Christian spirituality.

During an epoch of blind anti-Hellenism having become the official ideology of the state, these texts only tell us that their author renounces the crude dichotomy between Christianity and Hellenism.

This was probably one of the blames laid at Cassian's door, at a time when mainstream theologians disdained even cursory and tendentious accounts of Classical philosophy, let alone Late Antique one. Fear alongside ignorance prevailed in abundance, with prelates being bemused by secular ambitions and craving for mundane power originating in royal favour. If instruction were to be expected by anyone purporting to be orthodox, this engagement was hardly allowed to mean anything more than mere propaganda of the episcopal decisions alone. Even mere dabbling in the field of Classical patrimony and parleying with Late Antique philosophy was treated as dangerous fraternizing with the devil. In this respect, Cassian was eventually assessed as a delinquent theologian, who indulged in betrothal with Neoplatonic sects as well as with flirtations with straying or lapsed theologians. In view of Cassian's textual evidence, the truth is that we come upon a common language, not necessarily a profession of common doctrines. However, the custodians of orthodoxy during these times of *caesaropapism* saw common language as a safe token of intellectual affinity and no room was allowed for this possibly to be a precondition of disceptation.

The Texts in Context

Although supposedly composed as admonition to monks, Cassian's texts stand far from propounding an arid moralism. He sets on to combat not evil action proper, but the 'roots' of it, which in the first place are given rise in man's own intellectual functions, they are 'thoughts' that arise 'in the soul', as intellectuals of old used to put it.

Besides, although the term 'monastic' comes from the adjective *μόνος*, meaning 'alone' and betokening seclusion, Cassian was all but a solitudinarian and bans this attitude rigorously: one seeks reclusion and loneliness, on the pretext that since no one could induce him to wrath, the virtue of forbearance could be easily accomplished in solitude. But in reality a hermit pursues segregation from his brethren only because of pride and unwillingness both to regard himself as the only one to be blamed and to impute

the cause of his embarrassment only to his personal indolence. His advise is, therefore, that once one seeks the desert and seclusion, thus evading the struggle for forbearance, all of his unhealed passions which he shall carry thither together with himself, will continue to lurk at that place. For to those who have not got rid of passions, not only does seclusion and retreat maintain their defects, but they also conceal them. What is more, it does not allow a hermit to realize which passion he is defeated by. In contrast, as long as there is no one around who might arouse or put passions to the test, the recluse is deluded by the fancy that he is righteous and has accomplished forbearance and humility. However, once something moving or disciplining him comes to pass, then at once the passions which previously were lying hidden, just like unbridled horses diligently fed up during too long a time of quietness and idleness, dash forth the more vehemently and fiercely, to the destruction of their rider. For the passions inherent in us get fiercer once they are not tried out through the practice of living among men. Even that mere shadow of patience and forbearance which, when mixing with other monks one thinks one possesses, he loses altogether through the carelessness of want of training and of aloneness. This is like all kinds of poisonous beasts: while they remain in solitude they are quiet, but they display the ferocity of their nature once they notice someone drawing near. Likewise, passionate men who remain quiet not by reason of their virtue, but because of this being imposed upon them by solitude itself, hurl the poison of their soul once they lay hold of anyone who comes closer and excites them. Therefore, health of the soul is accomplished not by detachment from other people, but by virtuous intercourse with them and by training. When therefore one abandons his brethren by using certain ostensibly reasonable pretexts, this does not entail that he has eliminated the origins of dejection: he only has substituted them, since the disease which is established within him can always stir them up by means of other things, too. His conclusion is plain: one should strive to destroy the roots of sins rather than their fruits. For once the root of anger, for instance, is cut off from one's heart, neither hatred nor ill-will can develop to action.¹⁶

These texts were written amidst a state of decay in monastic life, especially in Cassian's native region of Palestine, which was ailed by the so-called Origenistic controversies and the relentless rancour of both parties, which allowed no room for unruffled assessment of Origen's real thought. There were monastic institutions that struggled to conduct a life inspired by the

¹⁶ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, pp. 41^v–44^r.

old and uncontaminated monastic ethos of the Egyptian and Palestinian coenobia, such as the community of the Akoimatoi in Constantinople, where Cassian himself spent a considerable part of his life. Being primarily an intellectual, he sought peace in order to carry out his monastic duties and accomplish his intellectual aspirations as an author. He was not a stranger to the specific monastery, since this was in effect a colony of the Antiochene spirituality instilled into the heart of the capital and stuck to the old Antiochene tradition. This tradition involved several aspects: one of them was devotion to hymnography and psalmody, especially the Antiochene practice of antiphonal music;¹⁷ another one was pursuit of Aristotelian rather than Platonic studies, especially logic, the concept of virtue as the mean between two extremes, and the Aristotelian ethics in general combined with the long patrimony of Stoic morality. Besides, the community saw all of Christian tradition up until the sixth century in a spirit of broadminded tolerance. Gone were the old personal rivalries between Theodoret and Cyril, which later scholarship mistook as ostensibly an antithesis between Alexandria and Antioch, even though at close examination of the Christologies of the two iconic prelates reveal no substantial difference. Cassian was erudite enough as to see that alleged 'heretics' such as Origen, Didymus, Evagrius, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Nestorius, Severus of Antioch, had set forth some useful reflections after all. Especially as far as Origen is concerned, Cassian could see that his lighting beacon, namely Gregory of Nyssa, was a devout student of the Alexandrian and had taken up from him cardinal notions such as that of apokatastasis, even though Justinian was eager to suppress and condemn it. He also knew that the notorious exegesis of the 'skin-tunics' of Genesis 3:21 bespeaking 'human bodies', was a resolution that had been urged by Gregory of Nazianzus, whereas Origen (who was branded the father of the 'heretical' doctrine) had dismissed this Platonic idea in the most clear terms.¹⁸

The conflict in Palestinian monasteries echoed in the capital, whereas political shifts in Constantinople had instant repercussions in the region, and in the hearts and minds of those involved none the less. For indeed what was an ostensible doctrinal conflict was often a mere echo of imperial vicissitudes and short-term political design.

¹⁷ See *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Introduction.

¹⁸ See *RCR*, pp. 291–294. Equally Platonic was Gregory of Nazianzus' concept of αἰών, in contrast to Origen's anti-Platonic attitude. I have shown Gregory of Nazianzus' Platonic tendencies in *COT*, pp. 264–266; 370.

Cassian was practically present in both regions of the empire and yet he strove to keep aloof from both theatres of antagonism. Wise man as he was, he realised that there is no way for a real theological debate to take place: the stakes for the court were deemed as too high, whereas the boiling point of both parties was too low. To combatants, it was in fact mundane power that was at stake, hence their main concern was political correctness. At best, it was about securing the established political order and the homogeneity of the population by means of a uniform doctrine, no matter what Origen and others had propounded. One should wonder, for instance, as to why was Justinian so furious at the doctrine of apokatastasis and so unconcerned about Irenaeus' Millenarist ideas. To which the answer is given by the edict against Origen itself: his concern was that the citizens might become 'lazy' and indifferent to conducting a life of Christian morality, if such a doctrine were adopted.¹⁹ Christian morality was sacrosanct, not out of concern for individual souls, but on account of its cohesive social power at a time when lethal menaces surrounded the empire. Although the doctrine of apokatastasis was vehemently incriminated as a daemon, Cassian knew that this was a doctrine that had been advanced by Gregory of Nyssa—and all of Cassian's writings plainly show that he was above all a pupil of Gregory, notwithstanding his Antiochene extraction, mentality, and education.

Cassian was erudite enough as to see that the assault on such alleged aberrations as Monophysitism and Nestorianism was hardly scholarly or accomplished. To him, as a scholar, such 'heretics' as Theodore of Mopsuestia, Severus of Antioch, Nestorius, not to mention Origen, Didymus and Evagrius, had made contributions that should not be ignored. This is what we should bear in mind, since it would be a mistake to brand Cassian an 'Origenist', or a 'Monophysite' or a 'Nestorian', once we come upon pertinent casual liabilities, or some specific statements that appear as distinctive parallel ones to Nestorian or Monophysite locution.

By the same token, at the time when the state was anxious to anathematise the doctrine of the Genesis 'skin-tunics' bespeaking human bodies, Cassian was aware of some simple historical facts: although it was fashionable to style this doctrine 'Origenist', it had been vehemently dismissed by Origen himself and it was Gregory of Nazianzus that had advanced this idea.²⁰

¹⁹ Justinian, *Edictum Contra Origenem*, p. 100 & ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana Anno 536*, Tome 3, p. 205: ταῦτα δὲ λέγοντες ῥαθύμους μὲν ποιοῦσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους περὶ τὸ πληροῦν τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ.

²⁰ See RCR, pp. 291–294.

Cassian wrote as he wrote, because he had a first hand knowledge of Patristic works, accompanied by discussions with his learned contemporary intellectuals, such as Leontius of Byzantium. This knowledge that he had is shown to be different from what current mainstream scholars believe. If one of such scholars were asked 'who is the Platonist, Origen or Gregory of Nazianzus?', the question could be definitely taken to be a rhetorical one. It is not, however. Origen's life should be distinguished in three parts: his early pagan background and activity, the period of *De Principiis*, and his Christian life. Even the latter is not uniform, but a certain evolution of thought can be discerned from the first and second books of the commentary on John to the twentieth book of this work and later. While gradually disowning Platonic premises, he moved into Stoicism and ended up in a theology that no Platonist or Stoic could have ever conceded as having anything to do with these philosophical schools. For quite simply Origen paved the way to Nicaea and it was Athanasius that had the courage to acknowledge this. Eusebius (who wrote accurate history on issues that were not sensitive to the royal court, but also made up history at other points) could have never allowed that the theology composed by a convert ushered in Nicaea. He then made Origen a Christian by upbringing, and his father Leonides a 'martyr'.²¹ Later authors did not rest content with this, so they made Origen's father not only a martyr but also 'a bishop'.²²

I have maintained that there is a glass wall between Origen and us, and this wall is the sixth century.²³ Not only controversies, but also production of forgeries, make it difficult to see Origen himself clearly and a lot of work is necessary in order to see beyond the fog. Cassian, however, had a clearer grasp and access to the real Origen, through the libraries of the Great Laura and that of the Akoimatoi, plus his discussions with erudite Origenists. All this background constituted his own vantage point of considering the events of his lifetime. Writings amidst raging rancour and

²¹ Eusebius, *HE*, 6.1. So in *Antiquorum Martyriorum Collectio (fragmenta)*, PG.20.1524. George Syncellus, *Ecloga Chronographica*, p. 434. Pseudo-Nicephorus I of Constantinople, *Chronographia Brevis (recensiones duae)*, p. 94. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 118, p. 92b. Symeon Logothetes (tenth cent.), *Chronicon*, p. 72. George Cedrenus, *Compendium Historiarum*, v. 1, p. 441. John Zonaras, *Epitome Historiarum*, v. 3, p. 107. Ephraem of Thrace (thirteenth–fourteenth cent.), *Historia Chronica*, lines 153–154. Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos, *HE*, 5.2.

²² George Monachus, *Chronicon (lib. 1–4)*, p. 452; *Chronicon Breve (lib. 1–6) (redactio recentior)*, PG.110.533. Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De Virtutibus et Vitiis*, v. 1, p. 137. Suda, *Lexicon*, alphabetic letter omega, entry 182. Joel of Constantinople (thirteenth–fourteenth cent.), *Chronographia Compendiaria*, p. 31.

²³ See *RCR*, pp. 259; 382. Also, *infra*, p. 403.

surrounding hostility against Origen, Didymus, Evagrius, even Theodoret, he felt that he could entertain his amazing erudition (both Greek and Christian) only implicitly. That dark age of *caesaropapism* and despotism allowed for nothing better than that. This is the reason why his *Scholia in Apocalypsin* have no author-name at all. This is also why his monastic texts make use of the Classical lore of philosophy, poetry, prose, along with the Late Antique sequel of that glorious age, in an oblique and covert manner, which the present edition has strove to decipher and cast light upon. It is not common in Christian literature to come upon texts so heavily loaded with the notions and tools of the Greek lore. Exploration of Cassian's writings reveals the commanding presence of Aristotle and his late antique commentators, as well of the best moments of the old Stoicism as expressed by Chrysippus.

I have insisted on philological exploration of these texts, only because this methodology turned out a gate to the author's mentality, his vast philosophical and theological background, his liabilities, his allegiances, and his fears none the less. The Aristotelian notions that permeate his texts are owing to his Antiochene education. Casual Neoplatonism stems from his personal acquaintance with both the Areopagite (and his Proclean background) and the contemporary masters Simplicius and Damascius, whom most probably he had met personally (assuming that Simplicius is not Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite himself).²⁴

There is something more that Cassian knew, actually experienced, during the sixth-century rage with the Monophysites disputing Chalcedon. Whereas the cardinal notion of the dispute was that of nature (φύσις), nearly all those involved in the dispute had no inkling of either the meaning or the implications of the term. Worse still, everyone felt that one could take liberties at defining the term at one's own liking. Severus of Antioch's definition of φύσις as a synonym of ὑπόστασις is an example in case, still he was not the only one that had treated the notion so crudely. There was one exception to this treatment, however: this was John Philoponus, well-known as an Aristotelian commentator, less known as a Monophysite Christian. Whether right or not on his theological views, at least he was consistent with the received patrimony. If one aspires to introduce non-scriptural terminology (such as φύσις) to Christian doctrine, the least that could be expected would be consistency with the import such terms had been loaded with by both the Greeks and earlier Christian intellectuals. How else could it be possible

²⁴ See. *RCR*, p. 332.

to transform the import of the notion, if necessary? During the preceding centuries, theologians such as Origen and the Cappadocians, who had felt it necessary to build on notions such as οὐσία and ὑπόστασις, took pains to display a clear grasp of those terms and make themselves clear as to both Christian doctrine and Greek philosophy.

It was Cassian's Greek erudition that enabled him to see that dispute and ominous schism over Chalcedon was not as radical as fanatics of both sides were anxious to contend. The same goes for the formulations of Nestorius. Being a spiritual offspring of Theodoret, Cassian was able to realize that Nestorius was not the kind of extreme heretic that the imperial inquisitors were eager to represent.

This is the reason why we come upon formulations in Cassian's text, which a rash student would be quick to style either Monophysite, or Nestorian, or Origenist, no matter how incompatible (and sometimes hostile) such tendencies were to each other in the first place. But if a modern theologian were quick to so style Cassian, a modern philosopher could more easily style Cassian as above all an Aristotelist intellectual.

Therefore, philology alone cannot suffice in order to accord Cassian any label. This is only a gate to his mind, as already noted. Exploration of this mind itself, to the extent this might be possible, is a different matter.

Cassian was an offspring of the Antiochene doctors Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret, Chrysostom, Nestorius—yet at the same time an intellectual who found his creative flare in the thought of Gregory of Nyssa, whereas he admired Evagrius of Pontus. The books of Didymus were never removed from his desk, whereas Origen's and Cyril of Alexandria's books were stored on a shelf that was at hand. Pretty near them, were the books of Homer, Pindar, Polybius, Plutarch, Athenaeus, Galen, Alexander of Aphrodisias, Proclus, Simplicius, and Damascius. On a higher shelf, he stored the other two Cappadocians, Basil and Nazianzen, along with John Philoponus and Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite.

This was a library too dangerous to draw on during the hot and volatile debates of the 530s and 540s. The author was, however, prudent enough as to entertain this vast and diverse patrimony as implicitly as possible. He was above all an intellectual seeking his own truth, while being utterly indifferent to political power and detached from plots concerning seizure of clerical office. He remained a humble monk and presbyter throughout his life, even though his theological aptitude was acknowledged and he was the one who represented the Great Laura of Sabas at the Local Synod of Constantinople in 536. His long stay with the Akoimetoι spared him from getting involved with the Origenistic war waged in Palestine.

Despite his desire to devote himself to study, reflection, and as pure a monastic life as possible, the circles of the capital were not that broad and wide for Cassian's views and indeed his intellect to pass unnoticed. For all his modesty, for all his predilection for study, writing, and church service, and for all his tendency to reflection rather than politics, he made himself a suspect to all parties, as much as he was respected by all factions. His return to Palestine was inevitable in c. 539, but he did not return to the Great Laura when the formidable anti-Origenist Melitas was still the abbot (535–546): he went to the monastery of Souka, of which he was appointed abbot, in order to seek what he always craved: serenity, peace of mind, books, together with the monastic ethos of the old quality, which he was now in a position to impose on the institution, as the head of it.

Labels of all kinds were easy to attach to anyone during those dark times of bigotry and fanatic zeal, under the shadow of the anti-Origenist obsession, which originated in the Great Laura under abbot Melitas, and took hold of the imperial favour. Depending on what one had sought to fight for, and the sides that had been taken, Cassian could be branded either a Monophysite, or a Nestorian, or an Origenist. That such tendencies were conflicting with each other was a detail, which no one cared to take into consideration.

Nevertheless, quite definitely, Cassian was a respected scholar, as well as hegumen, and both the powerful Origenists and the anti-Origenists in Palestine accepted him as a compromise solution to the post of the superior of the Great Laura, in October 547, to which he moved from the monastery of Souka. It is plain that, given the sway held by Origenists at the time, only a moderate Origenist of high moral and scholarly reputation could have been conceded as a solution by all parties. Cassian's moral standing can easily be assumed from the fact that the previous abbot of the Great Laura was a certain George, who was an Origenist, but he stayed in post for hardly six months and was deposed by the Origenists themselves on grounds of moral corruption. Quite evidently, the powerful party could opt for a successor who shared their ideas, but also had a high moral standing.

There are not many authors who are styled 'great' by posterior authors, especially if they happened to have been humble presbyters, not bishops. And yet this is how certain subsequent authors saw Cassian.²⁵ However,

²⁵ See *RCR*, Conclusion, p. 403 and Appendix II, references to Cassian by John Climacus, Theodore Studites, Nikon of Montenegro. The twelfth-century constitution of the monastery of Prodromus the Dreadful (Προδρόμου τοῦ Φοβεροῦ) styles him 'the great Cassian' (τὸν μέγαν Κασσιανόν) and 'the divine Cassian' (ὁ θεῖος Κασσιανός), ch. 6, p. 16.

what in the late 540s was a reward for Cassian's personal qualities, it became an obloquy by posterity immediately after his death. A few decades after Cassian's body was interred in a crypt alongside that of Sabas, another member of the Great Laura, namely Antiochus of Palestine, copied heavily Cassian's texts, and yet nowhere did he mention the name of his source. So did later authors, who made Cassian's texts their own.²⁶ At the same time, the flourishing Medieval forgery took advantage of the open file that Cassian's enemies had kept against his name: works of his were attributed to old theological authorities, such as Athanasius (as the first two out of the five present texts), Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea, Basil of Seleucia et. al.

At the same time, Cassian himself was eclipsed altogether by those who revisited and revised the collection of biographies by Gennadius of Marseilles. Books of Cassian were attributed to an alleged obscure figure of the fifth century called 'John Cassian'. The allegation was, and still is, that his biography was written by Gennadius, not by later hands that tampered with Gennadius' collection of biographies. The real Cassian was condemned to that which the Revelation calls 'second death', which he himself treated as a notion in his comments on the Apocalypse.

These texts were originally written in Greek by a Greek author and they influenced decisively the spirit of monasticism, both in the East and the West. Their value lies not only in their content itself, but also in the fact that they are heavily loaded with an enormous lore of both the Greek and the Patristic tradition that had reached Cassian. Whereas his compilation of the scholia on the Apocalypse make the most ancient extant commentary on Revelation earlier by two centuries,²⁷ these texts are heavily pregnant with information concerning the critical interplay between Hellenism and Christianity well into the sixth century.

We have been taught that Theodoret was the last great Christian scholar of Late Antiquity. The present text of Cassian, and many current spuria which will be determined as products of his pen, will result in this opinion being reassessed: the period of great scholarship lasted for one more century, and Cassian the Sabaite was an illustrious representative of this prolonged fruitful autumn.

²⁶ See *RCR*, Appendix I.

²⁷ Oecumenius' work (sixth century) is currently regarded as the most ancient extant commentary on Revelation. Cassian's *Scholia*, although compiled during the sixth century, too, carry within themselves a large part of Didymus' lost commentary on Revelation, which is by two centuries earlier than that of Oecumenius.

ON THE RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE COENOBIA

† ΚΑΣΣΙΑΝΟΥ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ

1^τ

Κασσιανού μοναχοῦ Ῥωμαίου
Πρὸς Κάστ(ο)ρα ἐπίσκοπον
περὶ διατυπώσεως καὶ καν(ό)νων τῶν κατὰ
τὴν Ἀνατολὴν καὶ Αἴγυπτον κοιν(ο)βίων

5

1^ν

Ἐπειδὴ μοι προσέταξας, μακαριώτατε πάτερ Κάστ(ο)ρ, γνωρ(ί)σαι σοι τὰς
καν(ο)νικάς διατυπώσεις¹ τῶν κοιν(ο)βίων, τ(ῶ)ν τε ἀνατολικῶν καὶ μάλιστα
τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ὧν αὐτόπτης γέγονα, (εἴ)ξας² ἐγὼ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ κελεύσει,³ τοῦ-
τ(ο)ν ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὸν λόγον ὑμῖν ἀπέστειλα, ἵνα ἔχωσιν ἐφ(ό)διον πρὸς ἀρετὴν οἱ
συνειλεγμένοι σὺν Θεῷ ἐν τῷ νέῳ σου μοναστηρίῳ, τοὺς τῶν μακαρίων ἀνδρῶν
κανόνας τε καὶ ἄθλους. |

10

(Περὶ Προσευχῆς)

Ἀναγκαῖον τοίνυν πρὸ πάντων περὶ προσευχῆς τῆς πάντων αἰτίας τῶν ἀγαθῶν
διηγήσασθαι, ὅπως τε καὶ μετὰ πάσης τῆς καταστάσεως ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν
Αἴγυπτον μάλιστα καὶ Θηβαΐδα κοιν(ο)βίοις ἐπιτελοῦσιν ταύτην.

15

Συναγ(ο)μένων γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τ(ὸ) αὐτ(ὸ) κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς συνάξεως,
ἡνίκα τελει(ω)θῇ ὁ ψαλμός, οὐ παραχρήμα πρὸς γονυκλ(ι)σίαν ὁρμῶσιν, ἀλλὰ
πρὶν ἢ τὰ γόνατα κάμψαι, πρὸς ὀλίγον πάλιν ἱστάμενοι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτετα-
μένας ἔχοντες, εὐχονται· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα χαμαὶ προσπίπτοντες καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον

3 Κάστ(ο)ρα Cod. Κάστωρα 4 καν(ό)νων Cod. κανόνων 5 κοιν(ο)βίων Cod. κοινωβίων. V121: κοινωβίων [κοινωβίων] καὶ τῆς τούτων διαγωγῆς. Δέσποτα εὐλόγησον. V104: Τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἁββᾶ Κασσιανοῦ τοῦ Ῥωμαίου, Πρὸς Κάστορα ἐπίσκοπον περὶ διατυπώσεως κανόνων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Ἀνατολὴν κοινωβίων καὶ τῆς τούτων διαγωγῆς καὶ περὶ τῶν ὀκτώ λογισμῶν
6 Κάστ(ο)ρ Cod. Κάστωρ 6 γνωρ(ί)σαι Cod. γνωρῆσαι 7 καν(ο)νικάς Cod. κανωνικάς
7 κοιν(ο)βίων Cod. κοινωβίων 7 τ(ῶ)ν Cod. τόν 8 αὐτόπτης Cod. αὐτόπτης 8 (εἴ)ξας Cod. ἤξας. V104: Αἰγυπτίων, εἷξας 8-9 τοῦτ(ο)ν Cod. τούτων 9 ἐφ(ό)διον Cod. ἐφώδιον 11 ἄθλους M. ἄλλους. V121: ἄθλους 13 πρὸ πάντων V121: πρῶτον πάντων
15 κοιν(ο)βίοις Cod. κοινωβίοις 15 ἐπιτελοῦσιν ταύτην M. & V121: ταύτην ἐπιτελοῦσι
16 Συναγ(ο)μένων Cod. συναγμένων 16 τ(ὸ) αὐτ(ὸ) Cod. τῷ αὐτῷ 17 τελει(ω)θῇ Cod. τελειοθῇ 17 γονυκλ(ι)σίαν Cod. γονυκλησίαν. V121: γονυκλησίαν 18 ὀλίγον πάλιν ἱστάμενοι V121: ὀλίγον ἱστάμενοι 19 προσπίπτοντες καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον V121: προσπίπτοντες πρὸς ὀλίγον 19-22.1 πρὸς ὀλίγον ... γονυκλισίᾳ εὐχόμενοι So V121. Wotke wrongly read, πρὸς ὀλίγον πάλιν ἀρχόμενοι

† THE BOOK OF MONK CASSIAN

1^r

Monk Cassian the Roman,
To Bishop Castor:
On the Rules and Regulations of the
Coenobia in the East and Egypt

1^v

Since you have enjoined me, o you most blessed father Castor, to report to you about the regulations holding both on the Eastern Coenobia, and especially those in Egypt, of which I have been an eyewitness myself, I have now sent this concise (ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ) discourse to you in compliance with your command; so that those who have been with God's blessing gathered in your new monastery in order to pursue virtue, have these rules and other regulations as a recourse. |

⟨*On Prayer*⟩

It is therefore necessary, before saying anything else, to describe the procedure of prayer (which is the source of all benefits), namely, how those who live in the coenobia of Egypt, especially at Thebais, conduct this, and what the circumstances surrounding this performance are.

As a matter of fact, when they are all assembled upon the time of congregation, once the Psalm is concluded, they do not make haste to kneel down, but before they bend their knees they stand for a few moments, and while they are standing erect they pray with their hands outspread. Following this, they lie prostrate once again, they pray while kneeling for

2^τ πάλιν ἐν τῇ γονυκλισίᾳ εὐχόμενοι, πάντες, ἅμα ἐγείρονται· καὶ πάλιν διαπετάσαντες τὰς χεῖρας, ἐκτενέστερον καὶ ἐπιτεταμένως τὰς ἱκεσίας ἀποπληροῦσιν, οὐδενὸς γόνυ κλίνοντος, ἢ ἐκ τῆς γονυκλισίας ἀνισταμένου, | ἕως ἂν ὁ ποι(ῶ)ν αὐτοῖς τὴν εὐχὴν κλίνη πρῶτος ἢ ἀναστῇ πρῶτος.

Καθὰ τοίνυν εἴρηται, ὅτε τὰς προειρημένας συνάξεις ἐπιτελέσοντες συνέρχονται, 5 τοσαύτη ὑπὸ πάντων παρέχεται σιωπή, ὡς νομισθῆναι μηδὲνα ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῇ τοσαύτῃ πολυαριθμῆτῳ πληθύϊ⁴ τῶν ἀδελφῶν παρῆναι. Ἐξαιρέτως δὲ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῶν προσευχῶν, ὅτε οὔτε πτύσμα προπέμπεται, οὔτε β(ῆ)ξ διηχεῖ, οὐκ ἀκηδίας ἢ νυσταγμοῦ χάσμη,⁵ οὐ στεναγμοὶ μετ' ἡχοῦς ἀναπέμπονται. Τὸν γὰρ ἐν χαυνότητι διανοίας⁶ μετὰ κραυγῆς τὰς εὐχὰς ἐπιτελοῦντα, 10 δισσῶς ἀμαρτάνειν λέγουσιν· πρῶτον μὲν, ὡς βραθύμως εὐχόμενον, δεύτερον δέ, ὡς ἀπαιδεύτῳ τῇ φωνῇ ἄλλου τὴν ἀκοὴν κατακτυποῦντα καὶ διασκεδάζοντα 2^ν τὴν διάν(οι)αν, συνεπιτιθεμένων καὶ τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων, οἱ, ἐπειδὴν | ἴδωσιν ἡμᾶς εἰς προσευχὴν ἵσταμένους, λογισμοῖς ἀπρεπέσιν καὶ ἀκηδίᾳ ψυχὴν καταβαρύνουσιν. Καὶ τούτου χάριν τοὺς ψαλμοὺς οὐ μετὰ θορύβου καὶ ταρ- 15 χῆς σπεύδουσιν ἐπιτελεῖν, οὐδὲ τῷ πλήθει τῶν στίχων, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῆς διανοίας νοήσει εὐφραίνεσθαι, ἐκείνῳ τῷ λόγῳ κατακολουθοῦντες τῷ φάσκοντι· *Ψαλῷ τῷ πνεύματι, ψαλῷ καὶ τῷ νοῖ*^α ὠφελιμώτερον γὰρ ἔχουσιν τ(ὸ) δέκα στίχους μετὰ συνέσεως ψάλλειν, ἢ ὅλον τὸν ψαλμὸν μετὰ συγχύσεως διανοίας.

1 ἐν τῇ ... πάντες, ἅμα M. ἐν τῷ ἅμα 1 ἐγείρονται· καὶ πάλιν M. ἐγείρονται· καὶ πάλιν. V121: ἐγείρονται· πάλιν 1–2 διαπετάσαντες τὰς χεῖρας V121: διαπετάσαντες τὰς χεῖρας. M. τὰς χεῖρας διαπετάσαντες 3 ποι(ῶ)ν Cod. ποιόν 5 ἐπιτελέσοντες M. ἐπιτελέσαι. V104 & V121: ἐπιτελέσοντες 6 ὡς Wotke wrongly wrote ὥστε, although V121 actually reads ὡς 7 ἐν τῇ ... τῶν ἀδελφῶν M. ἐν τῇ τοσαύτῃ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀναριθμῆτῳ πληθύϊ. V121: ἀδελφῶν πληθύϊ. Wotke wrongly read πλήθει, and emended to ἐν τῷ τοσούτῳ πολυαριθμῆτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν πληθει. V104: τοσαύτῃ τῶν ἀδελφῶν πολυαριθμῆτῳ πληθύϊ 7 πληθύϊ Cod. πληθύει 7–8 Ἐξαιρέτως δὲ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ M. ἐξαιρέτως ἐν τῷ καιρῷ 8 προσευχῶν, ὅτε V104: προσευχῶν, οὔτε 8 προπέμπεται M. προσέρχεται 8 β(ῆ)ξ Cod. βίξ 9 διηχεῖ M. ἡχεῖται 9 χάσμη Cod. χασμοί. M. οὐκ ἀκηδία, οὐ νυσταγμός, οὐ χάσμα. V121: οὐκ ἀκηδία, οὐ νυσταγμοῦ χάσμαι. V104: οὐκ ἀκηδίας ἢ νυσταγμοῦ χασμαί 9 μετ' ἡχοῦς M. μετ' ἡχου. V121: μετ' ἡχοῦς 11 δισσῶς M. δισσῶς. V104 & V121: διπλῶς 12 ἀπαιδεύτῳ M. ἀπαιδεύτῳ. V121: ἀπαιδεύτου 12 τὴν ἀκοὴν M. τὴν τοῦ πλησίον ἀκοὴν 12 καὶ M. V121: κά. Wotke misread this as ἡ 13 διάν(οι)αν Cod. διάνυσαν 13 δαιμόνων, οἱ M. πνευμάτων. οἱ (sic). V121: δαιμόνων. οἱ 13–14 ἐπειδὴν ἴδωσιν ἡμᾶς V104: ἐπειδὴν ἡμᾶς 14 ψυχὴν M. V121: τὴν ψυχὴν 15 καταβαρύνουσιν M. καταβαρύνουσι. Wotke misread καταμαροῦσιν emending to καταμαραίνουσιν. But V121 actually has it καταβαροῦσιν, which is perfectly acceptable 15 χάριν V121: χάριν καί 16 ἐπιτελεῖν M. ἐκτελεῖν 17 εὐφραίνεσθαι M. εὐφραίνονται 17 λόγῳ M. λογισμῷ. V121: λογίῳ 18 νοῖ Wotke emended νῷ, but νοῖ is the correct Dative-form for νοῦς 18 ἔχουσιν M. V121: ἔχουσι 18 τ(ὸ) Cod. τῷ 19 τὸν ψαλμὸν M. τὸ ψαλτήριον

^a1 Cor. 14:15.

a while and then they all stand up simultaneously. Then, having outspread their hands once again, they conclude their entreaties (which are now somewhat more lengthy) intensely. No one should venture to kneel down or to stand from kneeling unless | he who is praying on their behalf kneels down first or stands first.

Therefore, and according to what I have said so far, when they are assembled to celebrate a rite (σύναξις), so much do they all contribute to silence, that one would believe that no human being is present, even though so large a number of brethren is assembled.

Especially, once one is present at a time when prayers are offered, there is neither spitting sent forth, nor any noise of coughing spreads, nor yawns of accedie,¹ nor open mouths or sleepiness occur, nor any audible groans uttered. For they declare that anyone who prays out loud due to slackness of mind (χαυνότητι διανοίας) commits a twofold sin. First, because he prays in a lax way; secondly, because by the rude noise he produces he pounds the ears and disorders the thoughts of the others, which contributes to the attacks by evil daemons: for once they | see us standing in prayer, they attack the soul by means of instilling inappropriate cogitations and accedie.

On account of this, they do not make haste to finish with the Psalms in noise and eagerness, since they do not take pleasure in the quantity of verses, but in the grasp of them by the mind, following the dictum which goes, *I will sing with the spirit; and I will sing with understanding also.*² For they deem it better for ten verses to be sung thoughtfully, than for a whole Psalm [to be sung] in bafflement of mind.

¹ The depressing boredom with the life of prayer, ἀκηδία.

² 1 Cor. 14:15.

Τελειωθέντων δὲ τῶν ψαλμῶν καὶ τοῦ κανόνος οὕτως ὡς ἀνωτέρω ἐμνημο-
νεύσαμεν, οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀδελφῶν κἂν στήναι πρὸς ὀλίγον καὶ ὁμ(ι)λῆσαι τολμᾷ,
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦ ἰδίου κελλίου προελθεῖν, ἢ τὸ ἔργον καταλειπεῖν ὃ μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχου-
3^τ σιν, ἀποστολικὸν πληροῦντες παράγγελμα, εἰ μὴ πού γε χρεῖα γένηται | πρὸς
καθῆκόν τινος ἀναγκαίου ἔργου πάντας συνελθεῖν· ὅπερ οὕτως μετὰ σπουδῆς 5
καὶ ἡσυχίας πληροῦσιν, ὡς μηδεμίαν ὁμ(ι)λίαν μεταξὺ αὐτῶν ἀνακύπτειν, ἀλλ'
ἓνα ἕκαστον προσέχοντα τῷ ψαλμῷ καὶ τῇ μελέτῃ ἀποπληροῦν τὸ προστεταγ-
μένον ἔργον. Μεγάλῃ δὲ σπουδῇ φυλάττουσιν, μὴ τις μετὰ ἄλλου, καὶ μάλιστα
μετὰ ἀρχαρίου, ἀπολ(ε)ιφθεὶς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἰδιάσῃ πού ποτε, ἢ τὰς ἰδίας χεῖρας
ἐκτείνας τολμῇσ(η) κατασχεῖν ἢ περιπλακῆναι τῷ ἐτέρῳ. Εἰ δὲ τις παραβαίνων 10
τὸν καν(ό)να τοῦτον εὐρεθῇ, ἐπιτιμίῳ βαρυτάτῳ ὑποβάλλεται.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ κανονικοῦ τρόπου τῶν τε εὐχῶν καὶ τῶν ψαλμῶν, ὡς ὀφείλει
ἐν ταῖς καθημεριναῖς συνόδοις φυλάττεσθαι, ἱκανῶς ἡμῖν εἴρηται. Ὅφειλομεν δὲ
3^ν λοιπὸν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀποτασσομένων τῷ κόσμῳ διηγῆσασθαι, | ποίῳ τρόπῳ ἐν
τούτοις τοῖς κοιν(ο)βίοις εἰσέρχονται, καὶ πῶς διαμένουσιν ταπεινοφρονοῦντες 15
καὶ ὑποτασσ(ό)μενοι ἕως βαθυτάτης πολιᾶς. Τοσαύτῃ γάρ ἐστι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡ
τε ὑπακοὴ καὶ ἡ ταπείνωσις ἄχρ(ι) γήρως, ὅση οὐκ ἂν εὐρεθῇ οὐδὲ κατὰ (τὸν)
πρῶτον ἐνιαυτὸν (ἐν) τοῖς ἀποτασσομένοις ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς μοναστηρίοις.⁷

2–3 κἂν στήναι ... τολμᾷ, ἀλλ' M. κἂν πρὸς ὀλίγον στήναι ἢ ὁμιλῆσαι μετ' ἄλλου τολμᾷ. V121: πρὸς ὀλίγον στήναι καὶ ὁμιλῆσαι κἂν μετ' ἄλλου τολμᾷ 2 ὁμ(ι)λῆσαι Cod. ὁμηλῆσαι 3 τοῦ ἰδίου κελλίου M. τοῦ κελλίου 3 καταλειπεῖν Cod. καταλείπειν 4 παράγγελμα M. παράγγελα. V121: ἐπάγγελμα 4 εἰ μὴ Cf. Cod. p. 2^v: (εἰ) μὴ διὰ τὸ βαλεῖν ἀρχὴν χάριν. I discuss the Origenistic expression εἰ μὴ used by Cassian, *infra*, Cod. p. 34^v, note 23, p. 161. 5 συνελθεῖν M. συνεισελθεῖν 5 ὅπερ M. ὅπερ. V121: οἵπερ 5–6 μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ ἡσυχίας M. μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐξερχόμενοι V121: μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ ἡσυχίας ἐξερχόμενοι 6 ὡς M. ὡς. Wotke persists in reading ὥστε, although V121 reads ὡς 6 ὁμ(ι)λίαν Cod. ὁμηλίαν 6–8 ἀλλ' ἓνα ... προστεταγμένον ἔργον M. ἀλλ' ἕκαστον προσέχοντα τῇ μελέτῃ τῆς διανοίας καὶ τῷ ψαλμῷ, πληροῦντες τὸ προτεταγμένον 7–8 ἀποπληροῦν τὸ προστεταγμένον M. πληροῦντες τὸ προτεταγμένον 8 φυλάττουσιν M. φυλάττουσι. V121: φυλάττουσιν 8–9 μάλιστα μετὰ ἀρχαρίου M. μάλιστα ἀρχαρίου 9 ἀπολ(ε)ιφθεὶς Cod. ἀπολειφθεὶς, M. ἀπολειφθῇ 9 ἰδιάσῃ Cod. ἰδιάσει. M. ἰδιάζων 9 πού ποτε M. πού ποτε. V121: πώποτε 10 ἐκτείνας M. ἐκτείνας. V121: ἐκτείνει 10 τολμῇσ(η) Cod. τολμήσει 10 περιπλακῆναι τῷ ἐτέρῳ M. περιπλακῆναι ἐτέρῳ 11 καν(ό)να Cod. κανῶνα 11 εὐρεθῇ M. εὐρεθῇ, V121: εὐρεθείη 11 βαρυτάτῳ M. V121: βαρυτάτῳ Wotke read ισχυροτάτῳ, which a word of his own, yet different from the actual codex-text 12 μὲν οὖν τοῦ M. μὲν οὖν τοῦ. V121: μὲν τοῦ 12 εὐχῶν καὶ τῶν ψαλμῶν, ὡς M. εὐχῶν καὶ τῶν ψαλμῶν, ὅς V121: τῶν τε ψαλμῶν 12 ὡς M. ὅς V121: ὡς 14 λοιπὸν καὶ περὶ M. λοιπὸν περὶ. V121: λοιπὸν περὶ 14 ἀποτασσομένων M. V121: ἀποτασσομένων. Wotke wrongly read ἀποταττομένων in V121 15 κοιν(ο)βίοις Cod. κοινωβίοις 15 εἰσέρχονται M. εἰσέρχονται. V104 & V121: ἔρχονται 15 καὶ πῶς διαμένουσιν M. καὶ διαμένουσι. V121: καὶ πῶς διαμένουσι 16 ὑποτασσ(ό)μενοι Cod. ὑποτασσόμενοι 16 ἕως M. V121: ἕως. Wotke wrongly read εἴσω 16 γάρ ἐστι παρ' αὐτοῖς M. γάρ παρ' αὐτοῖς 16–17 ἡ τε ὑπακοὴ M. V121: ἡ ὑπακοή 17 καὶ ἡ ταπείνωσις M. καὶ ταπείνωσις 17 ἄχρ(ι) Cod. ἄχρη 17 (τὸν) With M. and V121 18 τοῖς ἀποτασσομένοις M. V121: τοῖς ἀποτασσομένοις. Wotke misread ἐν τοῖς ἀποτασσομένοις

And so, when the Psalms and the daily assembly are finished in the way we described above, none of the brethren dares to loiter even a little or to converse with another, nor even to leave his cell, or to forsake the manual work which they normally are wont to carry out thus observing the Apostolic enjoinder, except when a certain requirement comes up
 3^r at a certain place, | which calls for everyone to gather in order to carry out a necessary duty. This they fulfil by going out of doors moving quickly, so that there may not be any conversation at all among them. But every one performs the work assigned to him while at the same time concentrating on the Psalm and the relevant study.

Besides, a rule which they are most particular to observe is that none of the brethren should go anywhere apart along with another and remain with him only, especially a novice, or dare to extend his hands on him, or hold one another. And if one is found to break this rule, a severe penalty is imposed upon him.

We have so far made sufficient reference to the canonical rituals regarding both prayers and Psalms, which has to be observed during the daily assemblies. It is now our duty to report on those who forsake the
 3^v world, | notably, how they join the coenobia, how they dwell there in humility and obedience until a very old age (βαθυτάτης πολιᾶς). For both obedience and humility among them is such that could not be matched by one obtaining in the monasteries³ of our region by those who have forsaken the world during the first year of their stay.

³ ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς μοναστηρίοις ('in the monasteries of our region'). This suggests the decay in the monastic ethos in the Palestine monasteries during the first half of the sixth century, and mainly alludes to the so-called Origenistic controversy. The 'our' also suggests that both Cassian and Castor lived in the same region, namely, Palestine.

(Περὶ ὑποταγῆς καὶ ταπεινώσεως)⁸

Οὐ πρ(ό)τερον τοίνυν δεχθήσεται ἔσω ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ ὁ θέλων μονάσαι,
 πρ(ί)ν (ῆ) ἀπόδειξ(ί)ν τινα καὶ πείραν τοῦ πρὸς Θεὸν πόθου καὶ τῆς ταπεινώ-
 σεως καὶ μακροθυμίας διὰ τῆς ἐπιπλ(εῖ)στον ἐπιμονῆς παράσχῃ. Δοκιμασθεὶς
 οὖν ἐν τούτοις, εὐπρόσδεκτος παρ' αὐτοῖς γίνεται καὶ διδάσκεται τῆς αὐτοῦ
 5 περιουσίας μὴ ἔχειν τι τεθησαυρισμένον· ἐπίστανται γὰρ τὸν παρακρατοῦντά
 4^τ τι τῶν ἰδίων μὴ δύνασθαι | διαμένειν πολυχρόνιον ἐν τῇ τοῦ μοναστηρίου ὑπο-
 ταγῇ καὶ ἐπιστ(ή)μῃ,⁹ μὴδὲ τῆς ταπεινώσεως καὶ ὑποταγῆς κατορθῶσαι τὴν
 ἀρετὴν, μὴδὲ τῇ τοῦ κοιν(ο)βίου πτωχεΐᾳ εἰς τέλος ἐγκαρτερεῖν. Ἦνικά γὰρ
 (ἂν) οἷα δῆποτε πρόφασις ἢ θλίψ(ι)ς τὴν αὐτοῦ κινήσ(ῃ) διάνοιαν, εὐθὺς αὐτὸν
 10 ἢ τοῦ ἀποκειμένου κτήματος ἐλπίς, ὥσπερ σφενδόνῃ λίθον, τοῦ μοναστηρίου
 ἐκτινάσσει. Διὰ τοι τοῦτο (οὕτως) ἕκαστος γυμνοῦται τῆς ἀρχαίας περιουσίας,
 ὡς μὴδὲ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔνδυμα ὃ περιβεβλημένος ἦλθεν τοῦ λ(οι)ποῦ φορεῖν συγ-
 χωρεῖσθαι. Ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν πάντων συνηγμένων, προαχθεὶς εἰς τὸ μέσον
 ἐκδύεται τὰ ἴδια ἱμάτια καὶ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ ἀββᾶ ἐνδύμασι τοῦ μοναστηρίου
 15 4^υ μεταμφιέν(ν)υται· ὡς διὰ τοῦ τοιοῦτου τύπου ἐπιγνώωναι αὐτὸν ὅτι, | πάντων τῶν
 κοσμικῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς ἀλαζον(ε)ίας καὶ τοῦ τύφου γυμνωθεὶς, ἐνεδύ-
 σατο τὴν πτωχ(ε)ῖαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ὅτι ἀνεπ(αι)σχύντως συναριθμ(εῖ) ἑαυτὸν

2 πρ(ό)τερον Cod. πρῶτερον 2 ἔσω M. V121: ἔσω. Wotke misread εἶσω 3 πρ(ί)ν Cod. πρῆν.
 M. V121: πρὶν ἀπόδειξιν 3 ἀπόδειξ(ί)ν Cod. ἀπόδειξην. V121: πρὶν ἀπόδειξιν 4 ἐπιπλ(εῖ)στον
 Cod. ἐπὶ πληστων 4 ἐπιμονῆς παράσχῃ M. ὑπακοῆς. V121: ὑπομονῆς παράσχῃ. V104: ὑπομονῆς
 δεῖξῃ 4 Δοκιμασθεὶς Cod. δοκειμασθεῖς 5 οὖν ἐν ... αὐτοῖς γίνεται M. οὖν ἐν τούτοις, V121: οὖν
 παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν τούτοις εὐπρόσδεκτος γίνεται 5-6 αὐτοῦ περιουσίας V104: περιουσίας αὐτοῦ
 8 ἐπιστ(ή)μῃ Cod. ἐπιστήμη 8 ὑποταγῆς V104 & V211: ὑπακοῆς 9-10 μὴδὲ τῇ ... αὐτοῦ
 κινήσ(ῃ) M. πολυχρόνιον ἐν τῇ τοῦ μοναστηρίου ὑποταγῇ καὶ κακουχίᾳ εἰς τέλος ἐγκαρτερεῖν.
 Ἦνικά γὰρ V121: μὴδὲ τῇ τοῦ κοινωβίου πτωχεΐᾳ καὶ κακουχίᾳ εἰς τέλος ἐγκαρτερεῖν. Ἦνικά
 γὰρ οἷα δῆποτε θλίψις τὴν αὐτοῦ εὐρήσῃ 9 κοιν(ο)βίου Cod. κοινωβίου 10 θλίψ(ι)ς
 Cod. θλίψις 10 κινήσ(ῃ) Cod. κινήσει. M. κινήσει. V121: εὐρήσει. But at this point ἡνικά
 introduces a conditional sentence and calls for Subjunctive 10-11 εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἢ M. εὐθὺς
 ἢ. V121: εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἢ 11 τοῦ ἀποκειμένου κτήματος ἐλπίς M. τοῦ ἀποκειμένου ἐλπίς. So V121,
 but Wotke emended to τοῦ ἀποκειμένου θησαυροῦ ἐλπίς. He actually needed κτήματος, not
 θησαυροῦ, as the present codex reveals 12 Διὰ τοι τοῦτο V104: Διὰ τοῦτο 12 (οὕτως) I add
 οὕτως because the ensuing sentence starts with ὥς. "This is why each one of them is slipped
 off his former possessions to such an extent, that he is no longer allowed to retain even the
 clothes". Later, I came upon this in V121: διὰ τοι τοῦτο οὕτως ἕκαστος γυμνοῦται 12 ἕκαστος
 γυμνοῦται M. ἕκαστος αὐτῶν γυμνοῦται 13 λ(οι)ποῦ Cod. λυποῦ 14 προαχθεὶς V104:
 προσθεὶς 15 τὰ ἴδια ἱμάτια M. V121: τὰ ἱμάτια τὰ ἴδια. Wotke's τὰ ἱμάτια ἴδια is a misreading
 16 μεταμφιέν(ν)υται Cod. μεταμφιένυται 16 ὡς M. V121: ὡς. Wotke's reading ὥστε does not
 exist in his codex 16 τοῦ τοιοῦτου τύπου So V121. M. τοῦ τύπου τούτου 17 ἀλαζον(ε)ίας
 Cod. ἀλαζονίας 18 πτωχ(ε)ῖαν Cod. πτωχίαν 18 ἀνεπ(αι)σχύντως Cod. ἀνεπεσχύντως
 18 συναριθμ(εῖ) Cod. συναριθμῇ. M. V121: ἀναριθμῇ. Wotke wrote ἀναριθμῇ (sic), which is
 not a Greek word

⟨On Obedience and Humility⟩

One then who seeks to become a monk is never admitted to the life of the monastery, before he gives a certain evidence of his desire for God and of his humility and clemency, which will be put to the test through enduring obedience. Once he is subject to these tests, he is welcomed by them and he is taught not to have anything of his own property stored in reserve. For they know that one who withholds anything of his own
 4^r belongings on reserve, he cannot | stay in the state of the monastery's obedience and deeper knowledge for long, nor can he attain the virtue of humility and obedience, nor can he endure the poverty of the coenobium until the end.

For as soon as any pretext or distress excites his mind, then right away his trust in the property that still belongs to him will dart him off from the monastery, like a stone from a sling.

This is why each one of them is stripped of his former possessions to such an extent, that he is no longer allowed to retain even the clothes which he was wearing when he came [to the monastery asking to be received]. Instead, in the gathering of all the brethren, he is brought forward into the midst and stripped of his own clothes and clad anew by the abbot's hands in the dress of the monastery, so that, in this way,
 4^v he may know that | having been despoiled of all secular things and of presumption and haughtiness, he has been cloaked with the poverty of Christ and that he is now not ashamed to both number and put himself

καὶ ἐξ(ι)σοὶ τῷ σώματι τῆς ἀδελφότητος. Τὰ δὲ ἱμάτια, ἃ ἀποδύεται, λαβὼν ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς μονῆς ἐπὶ πολλὸν χρόνον φυλάττει, ἀφορ(ι)σας ἕως ἂν τῆς προκοπῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀναστροφῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπομονῆς τῆς ἐν διαφόροις πειρασμοῖς ἀπόδειξ(ι)ν παράσχ(η). Καὶ εἰ μὲν εὖρωσιν αὐτὸν δυνάμενον καρτερεῖν καὶ ἐν τῇ σπουδῇ καὶ διαπύρῳ θέρμῃ ἢ ἐνήρξατο διαμένοντα, τοῖς λ(οι)ποῖς συναριθμοῦ- 5
σιν· εἰ δὲ τι γογγυσμοῦ ἐλάττ(ω)μα ἢ παρακοῆς οἴας δῆποτε ἀμαρτίαν ἐν αὐτῷ καταμάθωσιν, ἐκδύοντες τοῦτον ἅπερ ἐνεδύσαντο ἐκ τοῦ μοναστηρίου (καὶ) τοῖς 5^τ
κοσμικοῖς ἐνδύμασι πάλιν | περιβάλλοντες, ἀπ(ω)θοῦνται τοῦ κοινοβίου. Ὡς ἐκ ταύτης λοιπὸν (τῆς ἀκριβείας) μὴ εὐχέρ(ε)ιαν εἶναι τῷ βουλομένῳ ὡς ἔτυ- 10
χεν ἀναχωρεῖν τῆς μονῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὴ ἐμμένοντα κατὰ πάντα τρόπον τῇ ἰδίᾳ ὁμολογίᾳ μετενδύεσθαι τὴν κοσμικὴν ἐσθήτα καὶ οὕτως ἀπολύεσθαι τοῦ μονα-
στηρίου.¹⁰

“Οτε τοίνυν ὁ ὑποδεχθεὶς ταύτη ἢ προειρήκαμεν ἀκριβεῖα δοκιμασθῇ καὶ ἀμεμπτος εὐρεθῇ, οὐ παραχρήμα τῇ συνοδίᾳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν συναναμίγνυσθαι ἐπιτρέπεται, ἀλλὰ παραδίδοται τῷ ἐπιτεταγμένῳ τὴν φροντίδα τῶν ξένων 15
καὶ τούτοις πᾶσαν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ ὑπηρεσίαν ποιεῖν προστάσσεται· καὶ ὅτε ὁλόκληρον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀμέμπτως ἐξυπηρετήσ(η) τοῖς ξένοις, τυπωθεὶς διὰ τούτου 5^ν
πρὸς ταπεινώσιν καὶ μακροθυμίαν, συναριθμ(εῖ)ται τῇ συνοδίᾳ | λοιπὸν τ(ῶ)ν ἀδελφ(ῶ)ν καὶ παραδίδοται ἐνὶ τῶν προβεβηκότων ἀδελφῶν, ὅς ταύτην ἔχει τὴν

1 ἐξ(ι)σοὶ Cod. ἐξησοὶ 2 τῆς μονῆς ... χρόνον φυλάττει M. τῆς μονῆς φυλάττει 2 πολλὸν Cod. πολλὴν 2 ἀφορ(ι)σας Cod. ἀφορήσας 2 ἕως ἂν Cod. M. V121: ἕως δ' ἂν 2-3 ἕως ἂν ... τῆς ἀναστροφῆς V104: ἕως προκοπῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναστροφῆς 4 ἀπόδειξ(ι)ν Cod. ἀπόδειξιν 4 παράσχ(η) Cod. παράσχοι, M. παράσχη. V121: παράσχοι, which is wrong, since ἕως ἂν calls for a Subjunctive, not Optative mood 4 δυνάμενον καρτερεῖν M. V121: δυνάμενον ἐν τούτοις καρτερεῖν. V104: δυνάμενον ἐν τούτοις ἐγκαρτερεῖν 4-5 καὶ ἐν τῇ σπουδῇ M. καὶ ἐν σπουδῇ πάσῃ 5 λ(οι)ποῖς Cod. λυποῖς 5-6 συναριθμοῦσιν M. συναριθμοῦσιν ἀδελφοῖς 6 ἐλάττ(ω)μα Cod. ἐλάττομα 6 ἀμαρτίαν ἐν αὐτῷ V104: ἐν αὐτῷ ἀμαρτίαν 7 καταμάθωσιν Migne employs two alternatives neither of which makes sense: καταμάθωσιν [καταμάρψωσιν] 7 τοῦτον M. τοῦτον. V121: αὐτόν 7 τοῖς With M. and V121 8 περιβάλλοντες Cod. περιβαλλόντες 8 ἀπ(ω)θοῦνται Cod. ἀποθούνται 9 εὐχέρ(ε)ιαν Cod. εὐχέριαν 10 τὸν M. τόν. V121: αὐτόν 13 ἢ M. ἢ περ. V121: ἢ 13 προειρήκαμεν M. εἰρήκαμεν. V121: προειρήκαμεν 13-14 ἀκριβεῖα δοκιμασθῇ καὶ ἄμεμπτος εὐρεθῇ M. ἀκριβεῖα δοκιμασθῇ ... εὐρεθῇ, οὐ καὶ ἄμεμπτος εὐρεθῇ V121: ἀκριβεῖα δοκιμασθῇ οὐ 13 δοκιμασθῇ Cod. δοκιμασθεῖν 16 προστάσσεται Wotke did not read προστάσσεται which though does exist in V121 17 ἐξυπηρετήσ(η) Cod. ἐξυπηρετήσει 18 συναριθμ(εῖ)ται Cod. συναριθμήται 18-30.1 τῇ συνοδίᾳ ... τὴν μέριμναν M. λοιπὸν τῇ συνοδίᾳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ παραδίδοται. V121: λοιπὸν τῇ συνοδίᾳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὅς ταύτην ἔχει τὴν μέριμναν καὶ παραδίδοται 18-19 τ(ῶ)ν ἀδελφ(ῶ)ν Cod. τὸν ἀδελφόν. V121: ἀδελφῶν, ὅπως διδάξῃ 19 ἐνὶ τῶν προβεβηκότων ἀδελφῶν M. ἐνὶ τῶν γερόντων. V121: ἐνὶ τῶν προβεβηκότων ἀδελφῶν

in line with the body of the brethren. As for the clothes which were laid aside, they are consigned to the care of the steward for a long time. He keeps them separately in store, until [the novice] provides firm proof of his progress and reversal [of life] and endurance, by means of different sorts of temptations.

And if they find him able to endure through these [temptations] and remain in that fervour with which he began, they count him as one among the [brethren].

But if they discover that he has been guilty of any faulty cogitation, or of any instance of disobedience, then they expel him from the coenobium, after they have stripped him of the dress of the monastery in which he had been clad | and have re-clothed him with his secular garments. Therefore,
5^r on account of this strict rule, to leave the monastery is not upon the casual choice of anyone who wishes to do so: only one who does not abide by his own confession in every way is vested once again with his mundane cloak and is subsequently expelled from the monastery.

When, then, any one who has been received is tested by that steadfastness of which we have spoken, and is found flawless, he is not allowed to mix right away with the congregation of the brethren, but is given into the charge of a [brother] who is responsible for taking care of the hospitality of visitors, and is bid to offer them all his caring diligence and kind service.

And once he has offered his services flawlessly to the visitors for a whole year, thus having been initiated into the first rudiments of humility and leniency, he is admitted into the congregation | of the brethren. He is
5^v then handed over to one of the elder brothers, who is assigned with the

μέριμναν, ὅπως διδάξ(η) τὸν μαθητευόμενον διὰ ποίας ὁδοῦ ἀρξάμενος δυνηθῇ ἐπὶ τὴν τελειοτάτην¹ ἀρετὴν φθάσαι. Ἐν πρώτοις γοῦν πειράζει διδάσκ(ω)ν αὐτὸν σπουδάζειν νικᾶν τὰς ἰδίας ἡδονάς, διὰ τοῦ ἐπιτάσσειν αὐτῷ τὰ ἐναντία τῶν θελημάτων αὐτοῦ. Οὐκ ἄλλως γὰρ λέγουσιν οἱ πατέρες δύνασθαι τινα τὰς ἰδίας ἡδονάς χαλινοῦν, ἢ ὀργῆς περιγενέσθαι, ἢ λύπης, ἢ γνώσιν ἀληθῆ 5 κτήσασθαι, ἢ ἀπλῶς μετὰ ἀδελφότητος ἐν κοιν(ο)βίῳ καλῶς τελειωθῆναι, εἰ μὴ πρ(ό)τερον διὰ τῆς ὑπακοῆς νεκρώσ(η) τὰ ἑαυτοῦ θελήματα.

Ταύταις ταῖς διατυπώσειςι καὶ διδασκαλίαις τὸν μαθητευόμενον προβ(ι)βά- 6^ρ σαντες, ὡσανεὶ στ(οι)χείοις τ(ι)σὶ καὶ συλλαβαῖς, | (ἀκολούθως) πάλιν διδάσκουσιν μὴ κρύπτειν τοὺς ἰδίους λογισμούς· ἀλλὰ παραχρῆμα ἡνίκα ἐπέρχ(ω)ν- 10 ται, τούτους τῷ οἰκείῳ πατρὶ ἀποκαλύπτειν καὶ μηδὲν περὶ τῆς τούτων διακρίσεως τῇ ἰδίᾳ καρδίᾳ πιστεύειν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖν(ο) γινώσκειν καλὸν ἢ κακὸν εἶναι ὅπερ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ διακρίσει δ(ο)κιμάσας ὁ πατὴρ ἀποδείξει. Οὕτως γὰρ δυνησεται ἐν μηδενὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ὁ πρὸς ἀρετὴν τυπούμενος¹² ἀπατάσθαι, ὡς ἄπει- 15 ρός τε καὶ μήπω γνώσιν κεκτημένος μεθοδ(ε)ίας διαβολικῆς. Καὶ τοῦτο δεῖγμα καθολικὸν καὶ προφανές τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου λέγουσιν εἶναι τέχνης οἱ πατέρες, τὸ ἀναπείθειν¹³ αὐτὸν τοὺς μαθητευομένους ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων κρύπτειν τοὺς ἰδίους λογισμούς, ἢ δι' ὑπεροψίαν, ὡς δῆθεν ἱκανοὺς ὄντας ἑαυτοῖς τὰ συμφέροντα

1 διδάξ(η) Cod. διδάξει. M. διδάξη. V121: διδάξει. Wotke was wrong to retain this, and not to have emended to διδάξη 2 τὴν τελειοτάτην ἀρετὴν M. τὴν τελειότητα τῶν ἀρετῶν 2 διδάσκ(ω)ν Cod. διδάσκειν. M. διδάσκει αὐτὸν σπουδάζειν νικᾶν. V121: γοῦν διδάσκει αὐτὸν νικᾶν 3 ἡδονάς M. ἐπιθυμίας καὶ ἡδονάς 3 διὰ τοῦ ἐπιτάσσειν M. V121: διὰ τὸ ἐπιτάσσειν. Wotke's ἐπιτάττειν is a misreading 3 τοῦ V121: τό 4 ἄλλως γὰρ V104: ἄλλως δέ 5 τὰς ἰδίας ἡδονάς M. τὰς ἡδονάς. V121: τὰς ἰδίας ἡδονάς 5 περιγενέσθαι M. περιγίνεσθαι 5-6 λύπης, ἢ γνώσιν ἀληθῆ κτήσασθαι M. ταπεινώσιν ἀληθῆ. V121: ἢ λύπης, ἢ ἀληθῆ ταπεινώσιν κτήσασθαι 6 κοιν(ο)βίῳ Cod. κοινωβίῳ. V104: καλῶς τελειωθῆναι ἐν κοινοβίῳ 7 πρ(ό)τερον Cod. πρότερον 7 νεκρώσ(η) Cod. νεκρώσει 8 Ταύταις ταῖς M. V121: ταύταις δὲ ταῖς 8-9 προβ(ι)βάσαντες Cod. προηβῆσαντες 9 στ(οι)χείοις τ(ι)σὶ Cod. συγχοῖς τῆσι 9 (ἀκολούθως) With M. and V121 9 (ἀκολούθως) πάλιν M. ἀκολούθως πάλιν 10-11 ἐπέρχ(ω)νται Cod. ἐπέρχονται 12 ἐκεῖν(ο) Cod. ἐκεῖν 12 γινώσκειν καλὸν M. V121: γινώσκειν ἀγαθόν 13 τῇ ἑαυτοῦ διακρίσει δ(ο)κιμάσας M. ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ διακρίσει δοκιμάσας. V104: τῇ ἰδίᾳ κρίσει δοκιμάσας 13 δ(ο)κιμάσας Cod. δοκιμάσας 14-15 ἄπειρός τε καὶ μήπω M. V121: ἄπειρος καὶ μήπω 15 μεθοδ(ε)ίας Cod. μεθοδῖα 15 διαβολικῆς V121: διαβολικόν. But since the expression τοῦ διαβόλου follows, adding διαβολικόν is only a pleonasm 16 τῆς τοῦ ... εἶναι τέχνης following μεθοδῖας, Migne: διανές τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου λέγουσιν εἶναι τέχνης. But there is no Greek word such as the nonsensical διανές. This actually was written by the editor, who was misled by the lacuna at this point of the Migne-text. In fact, δια are the first three letters of διαβόλου and νές are the last three letters of προφανές. The phrase which is actually missing from Migne can be restored by means of the text of this codex: δια[βολικῆς] καὶ τοῦτο δεῖγμα καθολικὸν καὶ προφαν[ές] 16 διαβόλου λέγουσιν εἶναι τέχνης M. V121: διαβόλου τέχνης λέγουσιν εἶναι 18 ἢ δι' ὑπεροψίαν M. ἰδίᾳ ὑπεροψίᾳ. V121: ἢ διὰ ὑπεροψίαν 18 ἑαυτοῖς τὰ συμφέροντα M. ἑαυτοῖς τὰ συμφέροντα. V121: τὰ συμφέροντα ἑαυτοῖς

duty to teach the abecedarian which road he should follow in order to attain to the most perfect virtue.

First, he tries him out, by teaching him to conquer his own wishes; he does this by giving him such orders as he knows to be contrary to his liking. For the Fathers teach that there is no way to curb one's own personal desires, or to overcome ire, or sorrow, or to obtain real knowledge, or simply attain to perfection living into the coenobium in a spirit of fraternity, unless one mortifies his own personal will by means of obedience.

6^r Once they have improved the novice by means of these practices and teaching, whom they train with the alphabet, as it were, | they instruct him not to conceal his own thoughts; but, as soon as ever such [thoughts] arise, to lay them bare to his own father, and not to trust his own discretion in forming a judgment about them; but he should hold that good or bad is that which the father shows to be so, after he has tested this with his own discretion.

This is how the one who is trained towards virtue (who is inexperienced and has not yet knowledge of devilish trickery) will not to be deceived by the enemy. For the following is what the Fathers lay down as a universal and plain proof of the devil's obliquity, namely, [the devil] winning over novices to conceal their thoughts from the Fathers, on account of haughtiness making them presume that they are able to instruct

6^v συμβουλευσαι, ἢ διὰ κενοδοξίαν αἰσχυνομένους δημοσιεύσαι | τὰς ἐαυτ(ῶ)ν¹⁴ ἐνθυμήσεις.

Τοσαύτη δὲ φυλάττεται παρ' αὐτοῖς ὑποταγή, ὥς μὴ τολμήσαι τινα ἐκτὸς τοῦ ἀββᾶ μηδὲ τοῦ κελλίου, ὅπου κάθηται, προβαίνειν. Οὕτω δὲ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προστασσ(ό)μενα ἐπιτελεῖν σπουδάζουσιν, ὥς παρὰ Θεοῦ ταῦτα δεχόμενοι. 5
Καθήμενοι δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις κελλίοις καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ τῇ μελέτῃ καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ μετὰ σπουδῆς πάσης προσέχοντες, ἐπειδὴν ἀκούσωσι τοῦ κρούοντος τὴν θύραν τῶν κελλίων, ἢ εἰς τὴν κοινὴν προσευχὴν ἢ πρὸς τι ἔργον τούτου(ς) προσκαλουμένου, παρακρήμα πάντα ὁμοῦ ἀφέντες, πρὸς τὸ ἐπιταγὲν ὁρμῶσι, πάση σπουδῇ τὴν τῆς ὑπακοῆς ἀρετὴν ζηλοῦντες, ἣν οὐ μόνον τοῦ ἔργου τῶν χειρῶν, 10
ἀναγνώσεώς τε καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ ἡσυχίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν προτιμῶσιν καὶ ταύτης ἅπαντα δεύτερα τίθενται. |

Ἐκεῖν(ο) δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν ἄλλων καλῶν περιττόν ἐστιν καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὥς οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἄλλο τι κέκτηται πλὴν κολοβίου καὶ ἡμιφορίου καὶ σανδαλίων καὶ μηλωτῆς καὶ ψιάθου, αἰσχύνην ἡγούμενοι τὸ λέγεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, βιβλίον ἐμόν, πινακίδιον ἐμόν, γραφίον ἐμόν, ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐμόν. Τοσοῦτον δὲ ἕκαστος τούτων καθ' ἡμέραν ἐξ ἔργου τε καὶ ἰδρώτος ἰδίου πορισμὸν συνεισφέρει τῷ μοναστηρίῳ, ὥς μὴ μόνον ταῖς ἐαυτῶν χρεαῖς ἐξαρκεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ διακονίᾳ τῶν ξένων καὶ πτωχῶν ὑπουργεῖν.

Οὕτως δὲ κάμνοντες οὐ φυσιοῦνται, οὐ(χ) ὑπερ(η)φανεύονται, οὔτε τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ οἰκείου ἔργου καὶ ἰδρώτος ἀπαιτεῖ περισσὴν τῆς διδομένης χρεαῖς 20

1 συμβουλευσαι M. συμβουλευσασθαι. The text of the present codex is constantly rendered in better Greek 1 διὰ κενοδοξίαν M. ἰδίᾳ κενοδοξίᾳ. V121: διὰ κενοδοξίαν 1 ἐαυτ(ῶ)ν Cod. ἐαυτον 3 αὐτοῖς ὑποταγή M. αὐτοῖς ὑποταγή. V121: αὐτοῖς ἢ ὑποταγή 4-5 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ M. V121: παρ' αὐτοῦ 5 προστασσ(ό)μενα Cod. προστασσώμενα. M. V121: προστασσόμενα Wotke's προσταττόμενα is not his codex-text 6 τῷ ἔργῳ ... τῇ προσευχῇ M. τῷ ἔργῳ τε καὶ τῇ μελέτῃ καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ προσκείμενοι 7 μετὰ σπουδῆς πάσης M. καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς. V121: μετὰ σπουδῆς πάσης 8 τῶν κελλίων M. τοῦ κελλίου 8 ἢ πρὸς τι ἔργον V121: ἢ εἰς πρὸς ἔργον 8 τούτου(ς) Cod. τούτου 8-9 προσκαλουμένου M. προσκαλουμένου. V121: προσκαλεσμένου 11 ἀναγνώσεώς V121: ἢ ἀναγνώσεως 11 ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ M. V121: ἐν κελλίῳ 11 πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν M. πασῶν ἀρετῶν. V121: πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν 13 Ἐκεῖν(ο) Cod. ἐκείνω 13 ἄλλων καλῶν ... καὶ εἰπεῖν M. ἄλλων περιττόν ἐστι καὶ λέγειν 15 ψιάθου M. ψιάθου. V121: ψιέθου, which is an almost non-existent word, and definitely wrong. The second-century sophist and lexicographer Phrynichus of Dorylaeum blames those who use this inappropriate form, styling this usage ἀδόκιμον: *Eclogae*, lexical entry 280 15-16 βιβλίον ἐμόν, ... γραφίον ἐμόν M. βιβλίον ἐμόν, γραφεῖον ἐμόν 16 τούτων M. αὐτῶν 17 πορισμὸν συνεισφέρει τῷ μοναστηρίῳ M. προσφέρει πορισμὸν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ 18 ὥς M. V121: ὥς. Wotke misread ὥστε 20 οὐ(χ) Cod. οὐκ 20 ὑπερ(η)φανεύονται Cod. ὑπεριφανεύονται 20-21 οὔτε τις ... τοῦ οἰκείου M. τις αὐτῶν. V121: οὔτε τις ἐκ τοῦ οἰκείου 21-34.1 ἀπαιτεῖ περισσὴν ... χρεαῖς ἀνάπαισιν M. ἀπαιτεῖ περισσότερον τῆς διδομένης παρὰ τοῦ ἀββᾶ χρεαῖς. V121: ἀπαιτεῖ περισσὴν τῆς διδομένης χρεαῖς ἀνάπαισιν 21 περισσὴν Cod. περιουσεῖν. V121: περισσὴν Wotke's περιττὴν is not his codex-text

6^v themselves about what is in their interests, or on account of their vanity, which renders them ashamed of disclosing | their thoughts.

The obedience observed by them is such that no one could dare even leave his cell where he lives without the permission of the abbot. And so are they quick to fulfil all those things that are ordered by him, that they receive as if they were commanded by God. And so, sitting in their cells and devoting their energies equally to work and to meditation and to prayer, when they hear the sound of someone knocking the door of the cell, summoning them to the common prayer, or to some work, they abandon whatever they may be doing at the time and eagerly dash into carrying out that which has been ordered, craving with the utmost earnestness and zeal to attain the virtue of obedience. This [virtue] they put not merely above manual labour and reading and silence and quietness in the cell, but even above all virtues, so that they consider that
 7^r everything else should be postponed. | Among their other virtues it is unnecessary even to mention this, viz., that none of them possesses anything other than a short-sleeved garment, and a short outer garment and sandals and sheepskin and rush-mat; and among them it is deemed shameful to say [such an expression as] my book, my tablet, my pencil, or to designate anything as being 'mine'. And each one of them, through his labour and sweat, gives back daily to the monastery such plentiful a return, as not only to satisfy his own demands, but also to serve the needs of the visitors and of the poor. And although they toil so hard, they are neither puffed up, nor do they take pride in this, nor does any one of them at any time take rest beyond that which is

7^v ἀνάπαυσιν, οὐ κτήμα οἷας δῆποτε ὕλης ἑαυτῷ περιποιεῖται, πάροικον ἑαυτὸν
καὶ ξένον ἔχων ὄλου τοῦ κόσμου καὶ δοῦλον μάλλον καὶ ὑπηρετὴν τῶν | ἀδελφῶν
ἑαυτὸν λογιζόμενος, ἡπερ δεσπότην οἴου δῆποτε πράγματος.

Εἰ δέ κλάσῃ τις σκευὸς οἶον δῆποτε ἢ ἀπολέσῃ, ἐξομολογεῖται τῷ ἀββᾷ
τῆς ἰδίας ῥαθυμίας τὸ πταῖσμα, καὶ οὕτως μετὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης μετανοῶν 5
λαμβάνει συγχώρησιν. "Ὅστις δὲ πρὸς τι ἔργον μετακληθεὶς ἢ πρὸς σύναξιν,
καταφρονήσας βραδύτερον ἀπαντήσῃ, ἢ σκληρόν ἢ προπετέστερον ἀποκρι-
θῇ, ἢ ἀμελέστερον ἢ ὑπογογγύζων τὴν προσταχθεῖσαν ὑπακοὴν ποιήσῃ, ἢ τὴν
ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τῆς ὑπακοῆς προτιμήσας τὰ προσταχθέντα αὐτῷ ἔργα
βραδύτερον ἐκτελέσῃ, ἢ ἀπολυθείσης τῆς συνάξεως μὴ ταχέως πρὸς τὸ ἔργον 10
αὐτοῦ ἀναδράμῃ) ἢ μετὰ τινος ἐκτὸς ἀναγκαίας χρεῖας ὁμ(ι)λήσῃ, ἢ ἄλλου
8^r μετὰ παρῥησίας κατὰσχ(η) τὴν χεῖρα, ἢ τινι τῶν | ξένων πατέρων ἢ φ(ι)λων
ἢ συγγενῶν συντύχῃ χωρὶς ἐπιτροπῆς καὶ εὐλογίας τοῦ ἰδίου ἀββᾶ, ἢ ἐπιστο-
λὴν παρὰ τινος δέξ(η)ται, ἢ τιν(ι) ἀντιγράψαι ἄνευ τοῦ ἀββᾶ ἐπιχειρήσῃ, ἢ τι
τῶν ὁμοίων τούτοις πλημμελήσῃ, τοιούτῳ ἐπιτιμῶ ὑποβάλλεται. Συνηγμέ- 15
νων τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐν τῇ συνάξει, ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐξομολογούμενος,
συγχώρησιν αἰτεῖ τοῦ ἰδίου σφάλματος καὶ ἀρμοζόντως δέχεται τὸ ἐπιτίμιον.

Τὰ δὲ παχύτερα τούτων πταίσματα (εἴ) τις εὗρεθῇ πράττων, ἅτινά ἐστι
καταφρόνησις, ἀντιλογία μετὰ ὑπερ(η)φανίας, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ μοναστηρίου πρό(ο)δος
ἐκτὸς ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ ἀββᾶ, ἢ πρὸς γυναῖκα συντυχία, ἢ ὄργαι, ἢ μάχαι, ἢ ἔχθραι, 20
8^v ἢ μνησικακία, ἢ φιλαργυρία, ἣτις | ἐστὶν λέπρα ψυχῆς, ἢ κτήσις οἴου δῆποτε

1 περιποιεῖται Cod. περιποιεῖτε 2-3 καὶ δοῦλον ... ἑαυτὸν λογιζόμενος Cod. τῶν ἀδελφῶν.
M. καὶ δοῦλον ἑαυτὸν μάλλον καὶ ὑπηρετὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν λογιζόμενος. V121: καὶ δοῦλον μάλλον
ἢ ὑπηρετὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν λογιζόμενος, Wotke's μάλλον καὶ ὑπηρετὴν is not the codex-text
3 οἴου δῆποτε πράγματος M. V121: οἰουδῆποτε γηγῖνου πράγματος 4 κλάσῃ τις M. τις
κλάσῃ 4 ἀπολέσῃ Cod. ἀπολέσει 7 ἀπαντήσῃ Cod. ἀπαντήσῃ. M. ἀπαντήσῃ. V121:
ἀπαντήσῃ 7 σκληρόν M. V121: σκληρότερον 8 ποιήσῃ Cod. ποιήσῃ. M. τὸ προσταχθέν
ποιήσῃ 10 ἐκτελέσῃ Cod. ἐκτελέσει. M. ἐκτελέσῃ, V121: ἐκτελέσει 10 ἀπολυθείσης M.
ἀπολυθείς 11 ἀναδράμῃ Cod. ἀναδράμει. M. ἀναδράμῃ. V121: ἀναδράμει 11 ὁμ(ι)λήσῃ
Cod. ὁμηλήσῃ. M. ὁμιλήσῃ. V121: ὁμιλήσῃ 12 κατὰσχ(η) Cod. κατὰσχοι. M. κατὰσχῃ. V121:
κατὰσχοι 12-13 τὴν χεῖρα, ... ἰδίου ἀββᾶ M. τὴν χεῖρα, ἢ συγγενεῶν συντύχῃ χωρὶς τοῦ
ἀββᾶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιτροπῆς καὶ εὐλογίας 12 χεῖρα Cod. χεῖραν 12 φ(ι)λων Cod. φήλων
14 δέξ(η)ται Cod. δέξασθαι 14 τιν(ι) Cod. τινῇ 14 ἐπιχειρήσῃ Cod. ἐπιχειρήσει. M.
ἐπιχειρήσῃ. V121: ἐπιχειρήσει 15 τῶν ὁμοίων τούτοις Cf. the expression ταῦτα τοῖνυν καὶ
τά τοῖτοις ὅμοια, discussed in endnote 32 (p. 305) to the Greek text, *SerenPrim*, Cod. p. 93^r
15 πλημμελήσῃ Cod. πλημμελήσει. M. πλημμελήσῃ. V121. πλημμελήσει 17 καὶ ἀρμοζόντως
δέχεται τὸ ἐπιτίμιον καὶ ἀρμοζόντως δέχεται τὸ ἐπιτίμιον is missing from both Migne and V121
18 (εἴ) Cod. ἢ. M. V121: εἴ 19 ὑπερ(η)φανίας Cod. ὑπεριφανίας 19 πρό(ο)δος Cod. πρόωδος
20-21 ὄργαι, ἢ ... ἢ μνησικακία M. ὄργαι, ἢ μάχαι. V121: ὄργῃ ἢ μάχῃ, M. ὄργῃ, ἢ μάχῃ, ἢ ἔχθρα,
ἢ μνησικακία 21 ἢ κτήσις οἴου δῆποτε Cod. ἢ κτήσις ἢ οἰουδῆποτε

7^v granted to him as necessary. Besides, none of them cares to reserve any material commodity for himself, since he regards himself as a foreigner and alien to this world; and he sees himself as a servant to his | brethren rather than as an owner of any [material] object.

If then any one happens to break any earthenware vessel, he confesses his fault in humble repentance to the abbot and this is how he is subsequently granted absolution.

Similarly, if anyone who has been bid to perform a certain duty, or to join the congregation, responds to this belatedly because of slight, or replies to this roughly or impertinently, or does so carelessly, or carries out the services enjoined to him even with slight complaint, or he is slow in performing the duties he was bid to do having preferred to read a book instead rather than obey the command, or if when service is over he does not make haste to go back to his appointed duty without delay, or converses with someone whereas this is not necessary in connection with a certain duty, if he takes any one else boldly by the hand, if he
8^r sees any | father who does not belong to the monastery, or meets with any friend or relative of his without permission and blessing by his own abbot, or receives a letter from anyone or ventures to write back without his abbot's leave, or he is, in general, careless with respect to similar things, he is subject to the following penalty: at the time when all the brethren are assembled for service, he must lie on the ground, and after having confessed, he asks for absolution of his misdeed and receives the appropriate sentence.

In regard to misconduct which is more serious than the foregoing one, such as manifest contempt, arrogant contradictions, going out from the monastery without permission by the abbot, familiarity with women,
8^v wrath, quarrelling, animosity, resentment, covetousness, which is | leprosy to the soul, or acquisition of any thing beyond those given by

πράγματος ἐκτὸς τῶν δεδομένων παρὰ τοῦ ἀββᾶ, ἡ τροφή ἄνευ εὐλογίας κλεψιμαίῳ τρόπῳ γινομένη, καὶ τὰ τοῦτ(οις) παραπλήσια, οὐ τῷ προειρημένῳ ἐπιτιμίῳ ὑποβάλλεται, ἀλλὰ σφοδροτέρῳ καὶ μείζ(ο)νι. Καὶ εἰ μὴ διορθωθῇ, ἐκβάλλεται τοῦ μοναστηρίου.

- Τὸ δὲ ἀνάγνωσιν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι ἐν τ(ι)σι κοιν(ο)βίοις κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς 5
ἐστιάσεως, οὐκ ἀπὸ (τοῦ) κανόνος τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν Καππαδόκων¹⁵
παραδεδοσθαι ἔγνωμεν, οἵτινες οὐ πνευματικῆς ἕνεκεν τοσοῦτον γυμνασίας,
ὅσον ἡσυχίας χάριν τ(ῆ)ς πρὸς τὰς ὁμ(ι)λίας τὸ τοιοῦτον διετύπωσαν. Παρὰ
9^φ πάντων παρέχεται ἡνίκα εἰς ἐν τὸ τοσοῦτον πλήθος τῶν ἀδελφῶν | κατὰ τὸν 10
κ(αι)ρὸν τῆς ἐστιάσεως συνάγεται, ὅση σχεδὸν ἐν ἄλλοις (οὐχ) εὐρίσκεται,
οὕτως ὡς μὴδὲ τολμᾶν γρύξαι τινα παρεκτὸς τοῦ ἀρχηγοῦ τῆς τραπέζης, ὅστις,
εἰ χρεῖα τιнос γένηται, κρούσματι μᾶλλον ἢ φωνῇ τοῦτ(ο) σημαίνει. Καὶ τὰ
κουκούλλια¹⁶ δὲ ἕως κάτω τῶν βλεφάρων φοροῦσιν οὗτοι, ἵνα μὴ ῥεμβοὺς τοὺς
ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχ(ο)ντες περιεργότερον ἀλλήλοις ἐνορῶσιν· τῇ δὲ τραπέζῃ μόνῃ 15
καὶ τῇ τοῦ τρέφοντος Θεοῦ εὐχαρ(ι)στεία ἐνατενίζουσιν. Μεγάλη δὲ ἐστὶν
παραφυλακὴ παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὅπως μηδεὶς ἔξω τῆς τραπέζης τροφῆς μεταλάβῃ.
Ἴνα δὲ μὴ τι δόξ(ω)μεν τῶν κοινοβιακῶν κανόνων παραλελ(οι)πέναί, ἐπι-
μνησθῆναι δ(εῖ) καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις κλ(ι)μασι παραδεδομένων διατυπώσεων.
9^ν Κατὰ πάσαν τ(οί)νυν τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν καὶ Παλαιστ(ι)νην καὶ Καππαδοκίαν 20

1 δεδομένων παρὰ M. διδομένων παρὰ. V121: δεδομένων ὑπό 1 τροφή M. V121: τροφῆς
2 γινομένη M. V121: γινομένης 2 τοῦτ(οις) Cod. τούτων. V121: τοῦτοις 3 ἐπιτιμίῳ
Cod. ἐπιτιμείω 3 μείζ(ο)νι Cod. μείζωνι 3-4 ἐκβάλλεται M. ἐκβάλλεται. V121. καὶ
ἐκβάλλεται 5 τ(ι)σι Cod. τησι 5 κοιν(ο)βίοις Cod. κοινωβίσις 6 (τοῦ) With M
and V121 6 ἀλλ' ἀπὸ M. ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ 6-7 τῶν Καππαδόκων παραδεδοσθαι ἔγνωμεν,
οἵτινες M. τῶν Καππαδόκων, οἵτινες 7 παραδεδοσθαι ἔγνωμεν παραδεδοσθαι ἔγνωμεν,
neither in M. nor in V121 7 πνευματικῆς ἕνεκεν τοσοῦτον γυμνασίας M. πνευματικῆς
ἕνεκεν τοσοῦτον γυμνασίας. V121: πνευματικῆς τοσοῦτον γυμνάσεως ἕνεκεν 8 τ(ῆ)ς Cod.
τάς 8 ὁμ(ι)λίας Cod. ὁμηλίας. M. χάριν τῆς παρὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας. V121: ἡσυχίας χάριν τοῖς παρὰ
τάς ὁμιλίας 8 τοιοῦτον διετύπωσαν M. τοσοῦτον διετυπώσαντο. V121: τοιοῦτον διετυπώσαντο
9 Ταβεν(ν)ησιώταις Cod. ταβενησιώταις 10 ἡνίκα εἰς ... τῶν ἀδελφῶν M. ἡνίκα εἰς τοσοῦτον
πλήθος πολυαριθμητον τῶν ἀδελφῶν. V121: ἡνίκα τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἀδελφῶν 11 κ(αι)ρὸν Cod.
κερόν 11 τῆς ἐστιάσεως συνάγεται, ὅση M. τῆς συνάξεως τῆς τραπέζης αὐτῶν, ὅσην 11 (οὐχ)
Cod. μὴ 12 μὴδὲ M. μὴ 12 γρύξαι M. βρῆξαι. The verb γρύζω means 'murmur'. Migne's
verb makes no sense. He probably meant (βρῆξαι = cough). V121: γρύξαι 13 εἰ χρεῖα τινος
M. εἴ τινος χρεῖα. V121: εἰ χρεῖα τινος 13 τοῦτ(ο) Cod. τούτω 14 κουκούλλια δὲ ἕως
M. κουκούλλια ἕως. V121: κουκούλλια δὲ ἕως 15 ἔχ(ο)ντες Cod. ἔχωντες 15 μόνῃ V121:
μόνον 16 εὐχαρ(ι)στεία Cod. εὐχαρηστεία. I retain the colloquial εὐχαριστεία for εὐχαριστία
17 παραφυλακὴ M. φυλακὴ. V121: παραφυλακὴ 17 μηδεὶς ἔξω M. μηδεὶς αὐτῶν ἔξωθεν. V121:
μηδεὶς ἔξωθεν 18 δόξ(ω)μεν Cod. δόξομεν 18 παραλελ(οι)πέναί Cod. παραλελυπέναί
19 δ(εῖ) Cod. δῆ 19 ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις M. ἐν ἄλλοις 19 κλ(ι)μασι Cod. κλήμασι. V121: κλήμασι
20 τ(οί)νυν Cod. τύνυν 20 Μεσοποταμίαν Cod. μεσοποταμαίαν 20 Παλαιστ(ι)νην Cod.
παλαιστηνήν

the abbot, or taking food without leave by stealth, and things like these, they are dealt with not by that penalty of which we spoke, but by a more austere and harsh one. And if one is not corrected, he is expelled from the monastery.

As for the habit of reading during the time of eating, which holds in some coenobia, we have learnt that this originates in the rules not of the Egyptians, but those of the Cappadocians. The latter introduced this rule not so much for the sake of spiritual exercise as for the purpose of silencing any conversation. For among the Egyptians, especially those of Tabennesus, such strict silence is observed by all during the time
9^r when so large a number of the brethren | is assembled for meal, as one [silence] which is almost impossible to find in other monasteries, so that no one ventures to talk even in a low tone except for the head of the table; and once something is needed, he signifies this by a sign rather than his voice. Moreover, they wear their hoods drawn down over their eyelids, so as to prevent their roving eyes from having the opportunity of looking inquisitively at each other. They concentrate only on the table and thanksgiving to God who supplies the food. Besides, there is strict observance by all, lest someone takes additional food with oneself upon leaving the dining-room.

In order that we may not appear to have omitted any of the institutes of the coenobia, I think that I should mention the rules traditionally holding in other regions, too. For throughout the whole of Mesopotamia and
9^v Palestine and Cappadocia | and all of the East, at the time of gathering for

καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀνατολήν, ἐν τῷ κ(αι)ρῷ τῆς συνάξεως, τρίτης, ἑκτης, ἐνάτης
 ὥρας, εἴ τις, πρὶν ἢ ὁ πρῶτος ψαλμὸς πληρωθῇ, μὴ ἀπαντήσ(η), τοῦ λ(οι)ποῦ
 εἰς τὸ εὐκτήριον εἰσελθεῖν οὐ τολμᾷ, οὔτε ἑαυτὸν καταμ(ι)ξαι τοῖς ψάλλουσιν·
 ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὴν ἀπόλυσιν πρ(ὸ) τῶν θυρῶν ἐκδέχεται ἱστάμενος· καὶ
 ἐξερχομένων πάντων, βάλλων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν μετάνοιαν, ἐξαιτεῖτ(αι) τῆς οικείας
 ῥαθυμίας συγχώρησιν. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς νυκτεριναῖς συνάξεσιν, ἕως τοῦ δευτέρου
 ψαλμοῦ παρέχεται συγγνώμῃ τοῖς βραδύνουσι.

Παρὰ τούτοις, καὶ ἐβδομάδας οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἐκ διαδοχῆς ποιοῦσιν ἓν τε τῷ
 μαγ(ει)ρεῖω καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις καθήκουσιν, ἅμα καὶ ἑαυτοὺς διαναπαύοντες καὶ
 10^φ νόμον ἀγάπης διὰ τὸ δου|λεύειν ἀλλήλοις πληροῦντες. Τοσαύτη δὲ ταπεινοφρο- 10
 σὺνῃ καὶ σπουδῇ ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ ἐπιτελεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν, ὅση οὐκ ἂν δεσπόταις
 παρὰ δούλων παρασχεθεῖη. Συμπληρωθ(εῖ)σης δὲ τῆς ἐβδομάδος, τῇ ἀναστα-
 σίμῳ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τοὺς ἑωθ(ι)νοὺς ὕμνους ἄλλοις πάλιν τοῖς εἰσερχομένοις ὑπη-
 ρετ(ῇ)σ(αι) τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν σκεύη σεσημειωμένα παραδιδ(ό)ασιν· ἅτινα
 δεχόμενοι, τοσαύτην μέριμναν καὶ φροντίδα εἰς τὴν τούτων παραφυλακὴν ἐν- 15
 δεῖκνυντ(αι), μὴ τι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπόλ(η)ται ἢ κλασθῇ, ὅσην εἰκὸς τὸν ἐμπεπι-
 στευμένον σκεύ(η) ἱερὰ καὶ τῷ Θεῷ ἀνατεθ(εῖ)μένα. Ὑφέξ(ει)ν γὰρ λόγον

1 κ(αι)ρῷ Cod. κερῷ 1 ἐνάτης Cod. ἐννάτης. M. V121: τρίτης, καὶ ἑκτης, καὶ ἐνάτης 2 πλη-
 ρωθῇ, μὴ ἀπαντήσ(η) M. τελειωθῇ, μὴ ἀπαντήσῃ, V121: τελειωθῇ, μὴ ἀπαντήσῃ 2 ἀπαντήσ(η)
 Cod. ἀπαντήσῃ. V121: ἀπαντήσῃ 2 λ(οι)ποῦ Cod. λυποῦ 3 εἰσελθεῖν M. εἰσελθεῖν. V121:
 ἐλθεῖν 3 ἑαυτὸν καταμ(ι)ξαι M. καταμιξαι ἑαυτὸν. V121: ἑαυτὸν καταμιξαι 3 καταμ(ι)ξαι
 Cod. καταμιξαι 4 ἀπόλυσιν πρ(ὸ) ... ἐκδέχεται ἱστάμενος M. ἀπόλυσιν πρὸ θυρῶν ἐκδέχεται
 ἱστάμενος V121: ἀπόλυσιν ἐκδέχεται πρὸ θυρῶν ἱστάμενος 4 πρ(ὸ) Cod. πρω 5 ἐξερχομέ-
 νων πάντων M. Ἐξερχομένων δὲ πάντων 5 βάλλων V104: βαλὼν 5 ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν μετάνοιαν
 V121: ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. M. ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. Wotke emended μετάνοιαν το μετανουσ, which is wrong
 5 ἐξαιτεῖτ(αι) Cod. ἐξαιτεῖτε. V104: ἐξαιτεῖ 6-7 συνάξεσιν, ἕως τοῦ δευτέρου ψαλμοῦ M.
 V121: συνάξεσιν δευτέρου ψαλμοῦ 7 συγγνώμῃ Cod. συγγνώμην 9 μαγ(ει)ρεῖω Cod.
 μαγηρίω 10 πληροῦντες M. ἀναπληροῦντες 10-11 Τοσαύτη δὲ ταπεινοφροσύνη καὶ
 σπουδῇ So M. Wotke erroneously placed the phrase in Dative: τοσαύτη δὲ ταπεινοφροσύνη
 καὶ σπουδῇ, even though the ensuing ὅση (which he retains) calls for Nominative 11 αὐ-
 τῶν M. αὐτοῖς 12 Συμπληρωθ(εῖ)σης Cod. συμπληρωθήσῃ 13 ἑωθ(ι)νοὺς Cod. ἐωθηνούσ
 13-14 ὑπηρετ(ῇ)σ(αι) Cod. ὑπηρετῆσαι. M. V121: ὑπηρετῆσαι 14 χρῆσιν M. χρῆσιν. V121:
 χρῆσιν 14 παραδιδ(ό)ασιν Cod. παραδιδώσιν 15-16 ἐνδείκνυντ(αι) Cod. ἐνδείκνυντε
 16 ἀπόλ(η)ται Cod. ἀπόλιται 16 ἀπόλ(η)ται ἢ κλασθῇ M. κλασθῇ ἢ ἀπόλῃται 16 ὅσην
 εἰκὸς M. ὅσην εἰκὸς. Wotke wrote ὅσην εἰκὸς (but this is not a Greek word, eventhough a cou-
 ple of modern editors made the same mistake. The term εἰκὸς, or εἰκοτός, derived from
 the verb ἔοικα is a different matter). He should have emended to εἰκός 16-17 ἐμπεπιστευ-
 μένον M. πεπιστευμένον. V121: ἐμπεπιστευμένον 17 σκεύ(η) Cod. σκεύει 17 ἀνατεθ(εῖ)μένα
 Cod. ἀνατεθημένα 17 Ὑφέξ(ει)ν Cod. ὑφέξην

service (which obtains at the third, sixth, and ninth hours), if anyone is not present before the first Psalm is finished, he does not even dare to enter the chapel, nor to join those who chant. Instead, he stands before the gate, waiting for the brethren to be released; and while they all make their exit, he lies on the ground in penitence, asking for his laziness to be forgiven; and during the nighttime offices, those who happen to be belated and miss them until the second Psalm, receive absolution.

Moreover, the brethren succeed one another in turn every week for the performance of cooking and other duties, thus satisfying their own needs and observing the rule of love, since they work | for one another. And they hasten to fulfil these duties with such a humility which no slave bestows on his service to a master. Once their week on duty is complete, on the day of Resurrection⁴ after the dawn-hymns are chanted, they hand over the vessels and utensils duly marked to those who take over in service. The latter receive them with such consideration and care to preserve them, so that no piece of them should be either lost or smashed, treating them with the care of one who has been entrusted with objects which are holy and dedicated to God. For they believe that they will be called to account

⁴ Viz. on Sunday.

10^v ἐτ(οι)μάζονται οὐ μόνον τῷ παρόντι οἰκονόμῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Θεῷ, εἰ τύχοι ἐξ ἀμελείας ἢ ῥαθυμίας κλασθέν τί ποτε ἢ μ(ε)ιωθὲν | ἐξ αὐτῶν.

Καὶ πρὸς πίστωσιν τῶν εἰρημένων, ὅπερ αὐταῖς ὕψεσιν ἔθεασάμεθα προσθήσω τῷ διηγῆματι. Ἐν τῇ ἐβδομάδ(ι) τινὸς ἀδελφοῦ, παριῶν ὁ οἰκονόμος ὀλίγους κόκκους φακ(ῆ)ς κατὰ γῆν ἐρῶ(ι)μμένους θεασάμενος, οὐ κατεφρόνησεν ὡς οἰκτροῦ πράγματος· ἀλλ' ἐγκαλέσας πολλὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ τὴν ἐβδομάδα πεπιστευμένῳ, δέδωκεν αὐτῷ ἐπιτιμίαν ὡς ἀμελοῦντι τῶν τῷ Θεῷ ἀνατεθ(ει)μένων καὶ καταπατοῦντι τὴν ἰδίαν συν(ει)δησιν. Τοσαύτῃ γὰρ πίστει καὶ σπουδῇ πάντων ἐπιμελοῦνται, ὡς καὶ αὐτὰ ἅπερ ἡμῖν εὐτελ(ῇ) καὶ καταφρονήσεως ἄξια φαίνονται, μετὰ πολλῆς προσοχῆς φυλάττειν, οἷον ἀγγεῖον κακῶς 5 κείμενον μεταστήσαι, ἢ σκευὸς ἐρῶ(ι)μμένον συνάξαι, πιστεύοντες καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων μισθὸν ἔχειν παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ.

11^f Τούτους δὲ τοὺς | κανόνας τῶν ἐβδομάδων κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀνατολὴν εἰρήκαμεν γίνεσθαι. Παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις οὐχ οὕτως τῶν ἐβδομάδων ἡ ἐναλλαγὴ ἐπιτελεῖται, ἀλλὰ ἐνὶ δοκιμωτάτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡ τοῦ μαγ(ει)ρ(ε)ίου φρον- 15 τὶς ἐπιτρέπεται, ἐφ' ὅσον ἡ ἀρετὴ τούτου ἐπιδίδωσιν καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς τοῦ σώματος ὑπουργεῖ ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ καὶ μήτε γήρας αὐτῷ μήτε ἀσθένεια ἐμποδ(ι)σει.

Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν περὶ ὑποταγ(ῆ)ς καὶ ταπεινώσεως εἴρηται, δι' ὧν πρὸς τὸ ἀκρό(τατο)ν τῆς ἀρετῆς¹⁷ ἀνελθεῖν δυνάμεθα, ἀναγκαῖον ὑπολαμβάνω

1 ἐτ(οι)μάζονται Cod. ἐτυμάζονται 1 τῷ παρόντι οἰκονόμῳ M. παρόντι τῷ οἰκονόμῳ. V121: τῷ παρόντι οἰκονόμῳ 1 τῷ M. ἐν τῷ 1 καὶ τῷ Θεῷ M. καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι τῷ Θεῷ 1 εἰ τύχοι M. εἰ τύχοι. V121: εἰ ἢ τύχει 2 ἢ ῥαθυμίας ... ἐξ αὐτῶν M. ἢ ῥαθυμίας ἀπολέσθαι τι ἐξ αὐτῶν 2 μ(ε)ιωθὲν Cod. μιωθὲν 3 Καὶ πρὸς πίστωσιν τῶν εἰρημένων M. Πρὸς πλείονα δὲ πίστιν τῶν εἰρημένων. V121: Καὶ πρὸς πίστωσιν τῶν εἰρημένων 3 ἔθεασάμεθα M. ἔθεασάμην. This sentence introducing the personal experience by Cassian ('of which I have been an eyewitness myself') is absent from the Latin. Cf. *Institutiones*, IV.20, PL.49.180B 4 ἐβδομάδ(ι) Cod. ἐβδομάδῃ 5 φακ(ῆ)ς Cod. φακίς 5 ἐρῶ(ι)μμένους Cod. ἐρρημμένους 5 θεασάμενος, οὐ M. ἔθεάσατο καὶ οὐ 6 ὡς οἰκτροῦ πράγματος M. ὡς οἰκτροῦ καὶ οὐδαμινού πράγματος 6-7 ἀλλ' ἐγκαλέσας ... ἐβδομάδα πεπιστευμένῳ M. ἀλλὰ πολλὰ ἐγκαλέσας τῷ τὴν ἐβδομάδα πεπιστευμένῳ ἀδελφῷ. V121: ἀλλ' ἐγκαλέσας πολλὰ τῷ τὴν ἐβδομάδα πεπιστευμένῳ 7-8 ἀνατεθ(ει)μένων Cod. ἀνατεθειμένων. M. ἀνατιθεμένων. V121: ὡς ἀμελοῦντι τῶν τῷ Θεῷ ἐμπιστευμένους καὶ ἀνατεθειμένους 8 συν(ει)δησιν Cod. συνήδησιν 9 πάντων ἐπιμελοῦνται M. ἐπιμελοῦνται, καὶ πάντα διοικοῦσιν. ἐπιμελοῦνται, V121: καὶ πάντα διοικοῦσι 9 εὐτελ(ῇ) Cod. εὐτελεῖ 10 προσοχῆς φυλάττειν M. προσοχῆς φυλάττειν. V121: φυλάττειν προσοχῆς 11 μεταστήσαι, ἢ σκευὸς M. μεταστήσαι, σκευὸς 11 ἐρῶ(ι)μμένον Cod. ἐρρημμένον 12 παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ M. παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ Δεσπότη Θεῷ. V121: παρὰ τῷ Δεσπότη Θεῷ 13-14 εἰρήκαμεν M. εἰρήκαμεν. V121: εἰρήκαμεν 14 οὕτως M. οὕτω 17 ὑπουργεῖ M. ὑπουργεῖ. V121: ὑπουργεῖν 17 ἐμποδ(ι)σει Cod. ἐμποδῇσει. M. ἐμποδίζει 18-19 Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ... ἀναγκαῖον ὑπολαμβάνω V104: Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν περὶ ταπεινώσεως καὶ ὑποταγῆς εἴρηται, ἀναγκαῖον ὑπολαμβάνω. In effect, this is the title accorded by Cassian himself to the present discourse; *supra*, Cod. p. 3^v 18 ὑποταγ(ῆ)ς Cod. ὑποταγεῖς 19 ἀκρό(τατο)ν Cod. ἄκρον. M. V121: ἀκρότατον

not only by a present steward, but also by God, if by chance any of them
 10^v is smashed or injured, due to their carelessness or laziness. |

And in order to authenticate what I have just said, let me add to my narrative that of which we have been an eyewitness. During the week of a certain brother being on duty, the steward passed by and saw a few lentil beans lying on the ground; still he did not neglect them, but he summoned the brother who was on duty that week and imposed a penalty on him for both being careless of the things which were dedicated to God and contravening his own consciousness. They take care of everything with such faith and circumspection, that they preserve mindfully even those things which seem common and paltry to us, such as to change the position of a vessel which is not placed in its proper position, or to collect a piece of equipment lying on the ground. For they believe that they will give an account to God even about these things.

11^r We have said that those rules | about being on weekly duty intermittently hold to the whole of the East.⁵ However, among the Egyptians there is no mutual change of weekly service. Instead, the duty of cooking is assigned to a most proficient brother, so long as his skill allows for this, the physical strength of his body contributes to this service, and he is not hindered by either old age or any ailment.

Since my narrative so far is relevant to obedience and humility, by means of which we can attain to the summit of virtue, I deem it necessary

⁵ The Latin text carries on with the phrase thus: "which also we say should be observed as a matter of course in our own country." This is of course an interpolation. For 'our own country' for Cassian is no other than Palestine, that is, the East, not the West.

ὀλίγα ἐκ πολλῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς κοινοβίοις διαλαμψάντων πατέρων κατορθώματα παραδείγματος χάρ(ι)ν παραθέσθαι τῷ διηγήματι.

- 11^v Γέγονε τις Πατερμούθιος¹⁸ ὀνόματι. Οὗτ(ο)ς ἐπιποθὼν ἀποτάξασθαι τῷ κό-
σμῳ, παραγενόμενος ἐν κοινοβίῳ, ἐπὶ πολὺ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ μοναστηρίου |
διατελὼν ἐκαρτέρησεν, ἕως ὅτε τῇ πολλῇ αὐτοῦ ὑπομονῇ μετὰ μικροῦ υἱοῦ παρὰ 5
τὸν συνήθη κανόνα τοῦ κοινοβίου ἐδέχθ(η). Καὶ ὅτε μετὰ πολλοῦ κόπου εἰσήλ-
θον, οὐ μόνον διαφόροις ἔργοις παρεδόθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κελλίου
οἴκησιν διεχωρ(ι)σθησαν, ὅπως τῇ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διαζεύξει κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς πρὸς
ἀλλήλους φυσικῆς προσπαθείας ἀπαλλαγῶσιν· ἥς χάριτι Χριστοῦ διὰ τῆς πολ-
λῆς γυμνασίας ὁ πατὴρ ἡλευθερώθη. Καὶ ποτε πρὸς βάσανον καὶ δοκιμασίαν 10
τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρετῆς προσεποιήσατο ὁ ἀββάς μετ' ὀργῆς ἀγανακτ(εῖ)ν πρὸς τὸν
παῖδα, καὶ προστάσσει τῷ εἰρημένῳ αὐτοῦ πατρὶ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ῥῖψαι εἰς τὸν
ποταμόν. Τότε ἐκεῖνος, ὥσανεῖ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ προσταχθεὶς, βασιτάσας τὸν παῖδα δρο-
μαῖ(ο)ς ἐπὶ | τὴν (δ)χθ(η)ν τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραγίνεται· καὶ σπεύδων πληρῶσαι 15
τὸ πρόσταγμα τῇ θερμότητι τῆς πίστεως καὶ ὑπακοῆς, ἐκωλύθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελ-
φῶν τῶν ἐπιφθασάντων καὶ ἀφαρπασάντων τὸν παῖδα. Τοσοῦτον οὖν ἡ πίστ(ι)ς
τούτου παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἡ ὑπακοή προσεδέχθη, ὥς ἀποκαλυφθῆναι τῷ ἀββᾷ
ἐκ Θεοῦ ὅτι τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Ἀβραάμ οὗτ(ο)ς ἐποίησεν. Μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ χρόνον ὁ
εἰρημένος ἀββάς τοῦ κοινοβίου τελευτῶν, τοῦτον διάδοχον ἑαυτοῦ κατέλιπεν.
20 Ἄλλον ἔγνωμεν ἀδελφὸν ἀποταξάμενον, ὃς κατὰ κόσμον μέγας ὑπῆρχεν· καὶ
γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ κόμης ἐστρατεύετο καὶ πλούσιος ἐτύγχανεν καὶ ἀναγνώ-
σμασι σπουδαίοις οὐ μετρίως ἦν γεγυμνασμένος. Οὗτ(ο)ς καταλείψας τὸν ἴδιον

1 διαλαμψάντων πατέρων M. διαλαμψάντων ἀγώνων [ἀγίων] Πατέρων 2 χάρ(ι)ν Cod. χάριν 2 παραθέσθαι M. προσθεῖναι 2-4 τῷ διηγήματι. ... τῷ κόσμῳ M. τῷ διηγήματι. Ποθὼν ἀποτάξασθαι τῷ κόσμῳ 3 Οὗτ(ο)ς Cod. οὕτως. V121: οὗτος. The phrase Γέγονε τις πάτερ Μούθιος ὀνόματι οὕτως does not exist in Migne 4-5 μοναστηρίου διατελὼν ἐκαρτέρησεν M. μοναστηρίου ἐκαρτέρησεν 6 ἐδέχθ(η) Cod. ἐδέχθει 6-7 πολλοῦ κόπου εἰσήλθον M. πολλοὺς κόπους εἰσήλθεν. V104: πολλοὺς καμάτους εἰσήλθον 8 οἴκησιν M. V104: συνοίκησιν 8 διεχωρ(ι)σθησαν Cod. διεχωρήσθησαν 8 τῇ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων V104: τῇ ἀλλήλων 10 δοκιμασίαν M. V121. V104: δοκιμὴν 11 ἀγανακτ(εῖ)ν Cod. ἀγανακτῆν 12 εἰρημένῳ αὐτοῦ πατρὶ M. εἰρημένῳ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ 13 ὥσανεῖ M. ὥς ἂν 13 βασιτάσας M. βασιτάσαι. V104: βασιτάξας 13 βασιτάσας τὸν παῖδα M. βασιτάσαι αὐτοῦ τὸν παῖδα 13-14 δρομαῖ(ο)ς Cod. δρομαῖωσ 14 (δ)χθ(η)ν Cod. ὤχθαν 15 τῇ θερμότητι ... καὶ ὑπακοῆς M. πίστει διαπύρῳ καὶ θερμότητι τῆς ὑπακοῆς 15-16 ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἐπιφθασάντων M. ἀδελφῶν, ἐπιφθασάντων 16 ἀφαρπασάντων M. ἀφαρπασάντων. V121: ἀρπασάντων 16-17 οὖν ἡ ... τοῦ Θεοῦ M. οὖν παρὰ Θεοῦ ἡ πίστις τούτου. V121: παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ πίστις τούτου. V104: οὖν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ πίστις τούτου 16 πίστ(ι)ς Cod. πίστησ 17 ὥς Cod. ὅς 18 ἐκ Θεοῦ M. ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ 18 οὗτ(ο)ς Cod. οὕτως 18 ἐποίησεν M. ἐποίησε 19 κατέλιπεν Cod. κατέλειπεν 20 ἔγνωμεν ἀδελφὸν M. ἔγνωμεν ἀδελφόν. V121: ἀδελφὸν ἔγνωμεν 20 κατα M. καὶ κατὰ 20 κατα κόσμον M. κατὰ τὸν κόσμον 20 ὑπῆρχεν V104: ἐτύγχανε 21 ἐτύγχανεν V104: ὑπῆρχε 21-22 ἀναγνώσμασι M. ἐν ἀναγνώσμασι 22 γεγυμνασμένος V104: ἐγγεγυμνασμένος 22 Οὗτ(ο)ς Cod. οὕτως 22-44.1 Οὗτ(ο)ς καταλείψας ... κοσμικὴν περιφάνειαν M. Οὗτος οὖν καταλείψας τὴν κοσμικὴν περιφάνειαν

to add to my account, as an example, a few deeds out of the many ones, which the illustrious Fathers who lived in the coenobia accomplished.

There was a certain Patermuthius. In his yearning for denouncing the world, he arrived at a certain coenobium and persisted in standing before
 11^v the doors of the monastery for a long time, | until he was received along with his little boy, on account of his tenacious patience despite the normal regulations of the coenobium. And when they were at last admitted, they were not only assigned with different duties, but also put to live in separate cells, so that both could somehow wipe out their mutual natural attachment. Indeed the father was freed from this [natural feeling] after a lot of exercise by the grace of Christ. It then came to pass that the abbot wishing to put to the test and try out his [viz. the father's] virtue, pretended that he was furious in indignation at the child, and bid his aforestated father to take the child and throw him into the river. Then, as if it had been commanded him by the Lord to snatch up the child, he
 12^r run all too quickly until he reached | the bank of the river; and while he was ready to fulfill the order he had been bid to do, out of the fervour of his faith and obedience, he was obstructed by the brethren, who had reached the place and snatched the child. That man's faith and obedience was so acceptable to God, that it was revealed to the abbot that by this obedience of his he had imitated the deed of patriarch Abraham. And when shortly afterwards the same abbot of the monastery was dying, he made him his successor.

We also knew another brother, who had renounced [the world] whereas he was of high standing according to the rank of this world. For indeed his father was a count and a man of the army; he was wealthy and had been profoundly educated by means of important pieces of literature.

- 12^v πατέρα καὶ πᾶσαν | τὴν κοσμικὴν περιφάνειαν, πρὸς τὸν μονήρη βίον ὥρμησεν. Καὶ δὴ, πρὸς δοκιμὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ πίστεως καὶ ταπεινώσεως, προστάσσεται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀββᾶ δέκα σπυρίδας βαστάσαι καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ ἰδίᾳ π(ω)λῆσαι, καὶ μὴ πᾶσας ὁμοῦ ἀλλὰ κατὰ μίαν αὐτὰς πωλεῖν· ὅπερ ἐκεῖνος μετὰ πάσης ὑπομονῆς καὶ ταπεινώσεως ἐπλήρωσεν, ἐπιθείς τοῖς ὤμοις τὰς σπυρίδας καὶ ταύτας κατὰ μίαν πωλήσας, οὐδαμῶς λογισάμενος τὴν εὐτέλειαν τοῦ πράγματος καὶ τοῦ γένους τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τῆς πράξεως τὴν δοκοῦσαν ἀτιμίαν. Ἐσπούδαζεν γὰρ μ(ι)μ(η)τῆν^a ἑαυτὸν καταστήσαι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ταπεινώσεως. 5
- 13^r Καὶ ἄλλον δέ τινα τῶν πατέρων ἐθεασάμεθα ἀββᾶν Πινούφριον,¹⁹ ἄνδρα πάσῃ ἀρετῇ κεκοσμημένον, ὅστις ἦν πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀββᾶς μεγάλου | κοιν(ο)βίου, 10 ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐγγὺς τῆς Πανεφῶ πόλεως. Οὗτος ὁρῶν ἑαυτὸν καὶ διὰ τὴν προσοῦσαν αὐτῷ πολιτείαν καὶ τὸ γήρας καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡγουμένην ὑπὸ πάντων δοξαζόμενον, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενον ἐγγυμνάζεσθαι τοῖς τῆς ταπεινοφροσύνης ἐπιτ(η)δεύμασιν, οἷσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διὰ τῆς αὐτῷ περιποθήτου ὑποταγῆς ἐνησκήθη, λάθρα φυγὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου κοιν(ο)βίου ἀνεχώρησεν μόνος εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα 15 μέρη τῆς Θηβαΐδος· καὶ ἐπάρας τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ μοναχοῦ καὶ ἐνδυσάμενος κοσμικὰ ἱμάτια, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸ κοινόβιον τῶν Ταβεν(νη)σιωτῶν, νομίζων ἐν τούτῳ λανθάνειν τίς ἂν εἴη, διὰ τε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀπέχειν πολὺ τοῦ κλίματος, ἐν ᾧ ἦν τὸ αὐτοῦ κοινόβιον. Ἐπὶ πολλὰς οὖν ἡμέρας παρακαλῶν δεχθῆναι | ὕστερον διὰ τὴν πολλὴν αὐτοῦ καρτερίαν καὶ ὑπομονὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ 20 ἀββᾶ προσεδέχθη, ὃς παραδίδωσιν αὐτῷ, ὡς γέροντι καὶ εἰς μὴδὲν ἄλλ(ο) χρησιμεῦσαι δυναμένῳ, τὴν τοῦ κήπου φροντίδα καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν μετὰ καὶ ἄλλου

3 ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ ἰδίᾳ V104: εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἰδίαν 3 π(ω)λῆσαι Cod. πολῆσαι 5–6 ἐπιθείς τοῖς ... μίαν πωλήσας M. ἐπιθείς τὰς σπυρίδας τοῖς ὤμοις, καὶ αὐτὰς κατὰ μίαν πωλήσας. In V121 καὶ ταύτας κατὰ μίαν πωλήσας is absent 6 οὐδαμῶς M. μὴ 6 οὐδαμῶς λογισάμενος M. μὴ λογισάμενος 8 μ(ι)μ(η)τῆν Cod. μημιτῆν 8 καταστήσαι V104: ἀναδείξει 9 Πινούφριον Cod. πινούφιον. M. Πινοφᾶν, which though does not appear anywhere else. V121: Πινούφριον [also, on left margin, Πινιήφριος]. V104: Πινούφριον 10 πρεσβύτερος M. πρωτόβιος 10 κοιν(ο)βίου Cod. κοινωβίου. V104: μοναστηρίου 11 Πανεφῶ An alternative name for the town is Panephyssis, located at the delta of the Nile, next to Al-Matariyya, between the rivers Bubastis and Busiris. So the Latin has it: *Collationes*, IV,30, PL.49.191A. V104: Πανέφω 12 προσοῦσαν αὐτῷ ... τὸ γήρας M. προσοῦσαν πολιτείαν καὶ διὰ τὸ γήρας 12 ἡγουμένην M. V121: ἡγεμονίαν 13 δοξαζόμενον M. δοξαζόμενον καὶ τιμώμενον 14 ἐπιτ(η)δεύμασιν Cod. ἐπιτιδεύμασιν 14–15 ἐνησκήθη M. ἐν ἡ ἐκλήθη 15 κοιν(ο)βίου Cod. κοινωβίου 15 ἀνεχώρησεν M. ἀνεχώρησε 15–16 τὰ ἔσχατα μέρη τῆς M. τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς 17 Ταβεν(νη)σιωτῶν Cod. and M. Ταβενισιωτων. V121: Ταβενησιῶν 17 νομίζων M. νομίσας 18 διὰ τε τὸ M. διὰ τό 18 πολὺ Cod. πολλῷ 19 ἐν ᾧ ... αὐτοῦ κοινόβιον M. ἐν ᾧ τὸ τούτου κοινόβιον 19 Ἐπὶ πολλὰς οὖν ἡμέρας M. Καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας 19–21 παρακαλῶν δεχθῆναι ... ὃς παραδίδωσιν M. παρακαλῶν ἐδέχθη παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιμανδρίτου, ὃς παραδίδωσιν 21 ἄλλ(ο) Cod. ἄλλω 21–22 ἄλλ(ο) χρησιμεῦσαι δυναμένῳ M. ἄλλο χρησιμεύοντι

^a Cf. 1 Cor. 11:1.

12^v This man fled into a monastic life, after he abandoned both his father and all | mundane prominence. In order for his faith and humility to be tried out, he was at once bid by the abbot to load himself with ten baskets and sell them in his own town, indeed not all of them at one go, but one at a time. This is what he actually did: he filled them all full, in patience and humility, he put the baskets on his shoulders and sold them one by one. He was not deterred either by the indignity of this duty, nor by the eminence of his own origin, nor by the ignominy of the selling. For his aim was to make himself a *follower* of the humiliation of *Christ*.⁶

We also saw another one among the Fathers, namely abbot Pinufrius, a man adorned with all kinds of virtue. He was presbyter and abbot of a
 13^r big | monastery located in Egypt, near the city called Panepho. He was glorified by all men for the characteristic quality of his conduct, as well as for his old age and his office as abbot. But when he saw that for this reason he could not practice himself by engaging in acts of humility, in which he had been trained from the very beginning by means of his cherished obedience, he fled secretly from the coenobium and withdrew alone into the furthest parts of Thebais. There he laid aside the habit of the monks and assumed a secular dress, and thus withdrew to the coenobium of the Tabennesians. He fancied that by living in this monastery he would escape identification by others as to who he actually was, on account of both the large multitude of brethren and the spot being located too far away from the region of his own coenobium. After he had kept entreating for
 13^v admission over many days, | he was eventually admitted by the abbot, due to his perseverance and patience. He [viz. the abbot] assigned him with the duty of taking care of the garden, along with another brother, since he was an old man and could be useful in no other way. And having

⁶ Cf. 1Cor. 11:1.

ἀδελφοῦ, ᾧ τινι ὑποτασσ(ό)μενος τὴν περιπόθητον αὐτῷ ταπείνωσιν καὶ ὑπακο-
 ῇν ἐξετέλει. Καὶ οὐ ταύτῃ μόνῃ ἡρκεῖτ(ο) τῇ διακονίᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα τῶν ἔργων
 δυσχερ(ή) ἄλλοις ἐδόκουν, αὐτὰ προθύμως ἐποίει. Διατελέσας οὖν οὕτω λανθάνων
 τριετὴ χρόνον, τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν ἐπιζητούντων αὐτὸν κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν
 Αἴγυπτον, μόλις ὑπὸ τινος ἐγνώσθη ἀδελφοῦ, ὅστις ἦν παραγενόμενος ἐκεῖσε· 5
 ὅς θεασάμενος καὶ ἐπιγνοὺς τὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦ προσώπου, καὶ ἔτι ἀμφιβάλλων,
 14^τ ἐπειράτο καὶ φωνῇς τούτου ἀκοῦσαι· | οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐκ μόνῃς
 τῆς ὄψεως, θε(ω)ρῶν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα γεγηρακότες δίκελλαν κρατοῦντα καὶ
 γῆν ἐργαζόμενον καὶ κόπρον τοῖς οἰκείοις ὤμοις βασιτάζοντα καὶ ταῖς ῥίζ(αι)ς
 τῶν λαχάνων ἐπιβάλλοντα. Ὅτε τοίνυν τὸν τῆς φωνῆς ἦχον ἐπιμελῶς ἐξιχνεύων 10
 ἠδυνήθη καταλαβεῖν ὅστις ἐστίν, ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν τούτου μεγίστην
 ἔκπληξιν τοῖς θε(ω)ροῦσι παρείχεν, διότι τοῦτο πεποίηκεν ἀνθρώπῳ ὅς
 παρ' αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀρχάριος καὶ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τὸν κόσμον καταλείψας ἐνομιζέτο.
 Ἔτι δὲ μάλιστα ἐξεπλάγησαν, ὅτε τὸ ὄνομα τούτου ἔμαθον, ὃ πρὸ τούτου μέγα
 παρ' αὐτοῖς ἠκούετο· καὶ συγγνώμην ἤτουν, διότι τοῦτον ἀγνοήσαντες μετὰ τῶν 15
 ἐσχάτων ἔταξαν. Παρακαλέσαντες τοίνυν αὐτὸν πολλά, εἰς τὸ ἴδιον κοινόβιον
 14^ν ἐξέπεμψαν | ἄκοντα καὶ ὀδυρόμενον, ἅτε δὴ μὴ συγχωρηθέντα ἐκτελέσαι τὴν
 αὐτῷ φίλῃν ταπείνωσιν τε καὶ ὑποταγήν. Ποιήσας οὖν ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐν τῷ αὐ-
 τοῦ μοναστηρίῳ, πάλιν πυρωθεὶς τῷ πόθῳ τῆς ταπεινώσεως καὶ ὑποταγῆς, ἐπι-
 τηρήσας καιρὸν νυκτὸς ἔφυγεν, οὐκέτι μὲν εἰς Θηβαΐδα ἀλλὰ εἰς ἄλλοτρίαν καὶ 20
 ξένην χώραν· ἀνελθὼν γὰρ εἰς πλοῖον ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ μέρη Παλαιστ(ι)νης, ἐλπίζων
 ἐκεῖσε εἰς τέλος διαλαθεῖν. Παραγενόμενος τοίνυν ἐν Παλαιστ(ι)νῃ, ὥρμησεν εἰς
 τὸ μοναστήριον τὸ πλησίον τοῦ σπηλαίου ἔνθα ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς ἐκ παρθένου

1 ὑποτασσ(ό)μενος Cod. ὑποτασσώμενος 2 ταύτῃ μόνῃ M. ταύτῃ δὲ μόνον. V121: μόνον
 ταύτῃ 2 ἡρκεῖτ(ο) Cod. ἡρκεῖτω 3 δυσχερ(ή) Cod. δυσχερεῖ 3 αὐτὰ M. αὐτά.
 V121: αὐτός 3 οὕτω Cod. οὕτωσ. M. Διατελέσας οὕτω 5 ὑπὸ τινος ἐγνώσθη M. ἐγνώσθη
 ὑπὸ τινος 7 ἀκοῦσαι M. V121: ἀκούειν 8 θε(ω)ρῶν Cod. θεωρῶν 8 δίκελλαν M. καὶ
 δίκελλαν 9 ῥίζ(αι)ς Cod. ῥίξες 11 τούτου M. V121: αὐτοῦ 12 ἔκπληξιν τοῖς ... τοῦτο
 πεποίηκεν M. ἔκπληξιν τοῖς ὁρώσι παρείχεν, ὅτι οὕτω πεποίηκεν 12 θε(ω)ροῦσι Cod. θεωροῦσι
 13 καταλείψας ἐνομιζέτο M. καταλείψας ἔσχατος ἐνομιζέτο 14 ὁ πρὸ τούτου μέγα M. V121:
 ὅς πρὸ τούτου μέγας 16 ἐσχάτων ἔταξαν M. ἐσχάτων ἀρχαρίων ἔταξαν 16 αὐτὸν M.
 δὲ αὐτόν 17 συγχωρηθέντα M. συγχωρούμενον 18 ταπείνωσιν τε καὶ M. ταπείνωσιν
 καὶ 20–21 ἔφυγεν, οὐκέτι ... ξένην χώραν The Migne editor did not realise that this point
 is a lacuna, hence he has it, ἔφυγεν οὐκ ἔτι ξένην χώραν. Not only does this hardly make
 sense, but it actually points to the opposite of what Cassian intends: monk Pinufius fled
 to a foreign country so as not to be re-discovered by his brothers. The lost phrase, which
 the present codex reveals, is, ἔφυγεν, οὐκέτι μὲν εἰς Θηβαΐδα, ἀλλὰ εἰς ἄλλοτρίαν καὶ ξένην
 χώραν 20 ἀλλὰ V121: ἀλλὰ λοιπόν 21 ἦλθεν The author is a professed Palestinian: his
 hero came (ἦλθεν) to Palestine. Codex V121 got it full: οὐκέτι μὲν εἰς Θηβαΐδα ἀλλὰ λοιπόν εἰς
 ἄλλοτρίαν καὶ ξένην χώραν 21 Παλαιστ(ι)νης Cod. παλαιστήνησ 22 εἰς τέλος M. εἰς τέλος.
 V121: εἰς τέλειον 22 Παλαιστ(ι)νῃ Cod. παλαιστήνη. M. ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ. V121: εἰς Παλαιστίνην
 23–48.1 Χριστὸς ἐκ παρθένου ἐτέχθη M. Χριστὸς ἐτέχθη

been subservient to that brother, he practised humility and obedience, [the virtues] which were all too beloved to him. Nevertheless, he did not confine his service only to this, but he was quick to perform any other duty which others considered to be difficult. And when he had hidden himself there for three years and had been sought for high and low by the brethren all through Egypt, he was at last seen by one who happened to have come across that place. Once he saw him [viz. Pinufius], although he knew the characteristics of his face, he essayed to listen to the tone of his voice, since he was still in doubt. | For he could not recognise this man from his face only, since he had grown too old, and was holding a two-pronged hay fork, manipulating the soil and bringing dung on his shoulders and stooping down working with the roots of vegetables. When he eventually took careful note of the tone of his voice and was finally able to recognise who he was, he forthwith fell at his feet. At first all those who saw this were struck with the greatest astonishment, why he should do this to one who was looked upon by them as the lowest of all, as being a novice and considered to be one who had but lately forsaken the world. But afterwards they were struck with still greater wonder when they learned his name, which was one of great repute among them. And all [the brethren] asked for his pardon, because, on account of them ignoring who he was, they had classed him with the novices.

Consequently, after they had entreated much on him, they sent him back to his own coenobium | against his will, while he was sobbing, because he eventually did not manage to practice humility and obedience, which was so dear a conduct to him. Hence, after he had stayed for a little while in his monastery, he was seized with a longing and desire for humility and obedience again, and, taking advantage of the silence of night, he made his escape, this time not to Thebais, but to a country which was external and foreign. Subsequently, embarking in a ship, he came to Palestine,⁷ believing that he would lie hidden more securely until the end. Soon afterwards, when he arrived in Palestine, he forthwith rushed into the monastery which is located near the cave [of the Nativity] in which our Lord Christ was born

⁷ 'he came to Palestine' (ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ μέρη Παλαιστ(ι)νης) suggests that the author is living and writing in Palestine.

ἐτέχθη, ἐν ᾧ μοναστηρίῳ ἔτυχον τὸ τ(η)νικαῦτα διατρίβων· κακείσε δὲ παρα-
γενόμενος, οὐκ ἠδυνήθη διαλαθεῖν, κατὰ τὴν δεσποτικὴν φωνὴν τὴν λέγουσαν·
15^τ οὐ δύνατ(αι) πόλις κρυβῆναι ἐπάνω ὄρους κειμένη.^a Ἐλθόντες γὰρ ἀδελφοὶ ἀπὸ
τῶν μερῶν | τῆς Αἰγύπτου εἰς προσκύνησιν τῶν ἁγίων τόπων καὶ ἐπιγν(ό)ντες
αὐτόν, πολλαῖς δεήσεσιν καὶ ἱκεσίαις καὶ ὀδυρμοῖς πείσαντες, πάλιν ἀπήγαγον
εἰς τὸ ἴδιον κοινόβιον. 5

Τούτῳ τοίνυν τῷ ἁγίῳ ἀνδρὶ συνοικήσας²⁰ ἐγὼ χρόνον ὀλίγον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ,
ἅπερ ἀκήκοα αὐτοῦ νοουθετοῦντος ἕνα ἀδελφ(ὸ)ν ὃν παρουσία ἐμῇ ἐδέξατο,
διηγησάμενος πληρώσω τὸν λόγον.

Ἔγνων, φησίν, ἀδελφέ, πόσας ἡμέρας πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν διατελέσας σήμερον 10
ἐδέχθης· ἐὰν τοίνυν μάθης ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῆς δυσχερείας τὴν αἰτίαν, δυνήσεται σοι
ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὁδῷ ἡ(ς) ἐπιθυμ(εῖ)ς ἐπιβῆναι συμβαλέσθ(αι), καὶ δοῦλόν^b σε Χρι-
στοῦ σε ἀπεργάσασθαι (πιστόν). Ὡσπερ γὰρ τοῖς πιστῶς δουλεύουσι τῷ Κυρίῳ
τὴν δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐπαγγέλεται, οὕτω τιμωρίαι βαρύνταται
15^ν ἐτ(οι)μάζοντ(αι) τοῖς χλιαρῶς καὶ ῥαθύμῳς | προσερχομένοις ταύτῃ τῇ ἐπαγγε- 15
λίᾳ. Βέλτιον γὰρ ἐστὶν κατὰ τὴν Γραφὴν (μὴ) εὐξασθαι, ἢ εὐξασθαι καὶ μὴ ἀπο-
δοῦναι.^c Καὶ πάλιν εἴρητ(αι)· Ἐπικατάρατος ὁ ποιῶν τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀμελῶς.^d

1 ἔτυχον M. ἔτυχε 1 τ(η)νικαῦτα Cod. τινικαῦτα. V121: ἔτυχε τὸ τηνικαῦτα. V121: ἔτυχον
τηνικαῦτα 1 κακείσε M. V121: καὶ ἐκείσε 2 διαλαθεῖν M. λαθεῖν 2 λέγουσαν M. V121:
φάσκουσιν 3 δύνατ(αι) Cod. δύνατε 4 ἐπιγν(ό)ντες Cod. ἐπιγνόντες 5-6 πολλαῖς
δεήσεσιν ... ἴδιον κοινόβιον M. πάλιν ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὸ ἴδιον κοινόβιον, πολλαῖς δεήσεσι καὶ
ὀδυρμοῖς πείσαντες αὐτόν 5 πάλιν ἀπήγαγον M. πάλιν ἀπήγαγον. V121: ἀπήγαγον πάλιν
7 συνοικήσας M. συνώκησα. Once again, the Greek of Codex 573 is far better 8 ἅπερ ἀκήκοα
M. ἅπερ δὲ ἤκουσα 8 ἀδελφ(ὸ)ν Cod. ἀδελφῶν 8 παρουσία ἐμῇ M. παρουσία μου 10 τῶν
θυρῶν M. τῶν θυρῶν τῆς μονῆς 11 μάθης ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῆς δυσχερείας M. μάθης τῆς δυσχερείας
12 ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὁδῷ M. τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτῃ. V121: ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ 12 ἡ(ς) Cod. ἡ 12 ἐπιθυμ(εῖ)ς
Cod. ἐπιθυμήσ 12 συμβαλέσθ(αι) συμβαλλέσθε 12-13 δοῦλόν σε Χριστοῦ M. δοῦλον Χριστοῦ
13 ἀπεργάσασθαι (πιστόν) M. V121: ἀπεργάσασθαι πιστόν 13-14 Ὡσπερ γὰρ ... καὶ τιμὴν
M. Ὡς γὰρ τοῖς πιστῶς δουλεύουσι τῷ δεσπότη δόξα, τιμὴ. V121: τοῖς δουλεύουσι τῷ δεσπότη
δόξα καὶ τιμή. V104: τοῖς πιστῶς δουλεύουσι τῷ δεσπότη δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν 14 ἐπαγγέλεται M.
V104: ἐπήγγελλται. V121: ἐπαγγέλεται 14 τιμωρίαι βαρύνταται The Plural suggests the author
holding a notion of different degrees of punishment 15 ἐτ(οι)μάζοντ(αι) Cod. ἐτυμάζοντε
15-16 ἐπαγγελίᾳ Cod. ἐπαγγελεῖα. V104: πολιτεῖα 17 εἴρητ(αι) Cod. εἴρητε 17 ὁ ποιῶν M.
ὁ ποιῶν. V121: πᾶς ὁ ποιῶν 17 τοῦ Θεοῦ M. τοῦ Κυρίου

^a Matt. 5:14. ^b Cf. Rom. 1:1; 1 Cor. 7:22; Gal. 1:10; Eph. 6:6; Phil. 1:1; Col. 4:12; James 1:1; 2 Peter
1:1; Jude 1:1. ^c Eccl. 5:4. ^d Jer. 34:10 in LXX (48:10 in textu Masoretico). The LXX has it τοῦ
Κυρίου, the present Codex has taken the liberty of paraphrasing to τοῦ Θεοῦ.

of a virgin, in which monastery I myself, too, happened to live in at that time.⁸

While living in that place, however, he did not manage to conceal himself, according to the saying by the Lord, *a city that is set on a hill cannot be hid*.⁹ For some brethren, who had come from certain regions | of Egypt for pilgrimage in the Holy Land, recognized him and recalled him with most fervent prayers and entreaties and sobbing to his own coenobium.

Since I myself spent some time with this saintly man in Egypt, I propose to conclude this narrative by recording his own words, which he spelled out admonishing a certain brother, whom he had admitted [to his monastery] in my presence.¹⁰

You know, brother, said he, how many days you had to stand by the gates in order to be admitted today. Consequently, if you learn the reason for this obstruction right from the beginning, this [knowledge] will be of service to you on this road which you are desirous to enter, and will turn you to *a faithful servant of Christ*.¹¹ For in the same way [that God] promises glory and honour in the future to those who serve the Lord faithfully, so, too, there are most hard kinds of punishment in store for those who
15^v respond | to this promise lukewarmly and indolently.

For indeed, according to Scripture, *It is better that a man should not vow rather than that he should vow and not pay*.¹² Again, it is also said, *Cursed is he that does the work of the Lord carelessly*.¹³

⁸ ἐν ᾧ μοναστηρίῳ ἔτυχον τὸ τ(η)νικαῦτα διατρίβων. The writer was a monk of a Palestinian monastery.

⁹ Matt. 5:14.

¹⁰ There is no notion of 'we', as the Latin has it. The author speaks in first person (συνουχίας ἐγὼ and παρουσίᾳ ἐμῇ) about his sojourn in Egypt with abba Pinufius, and there is no notion of any companion escorting Cassian at the time.

¹¹ Cf. Rom. 1:1; 1 Cor. 7:22; Gal. 1:10; Eph. 6:6; Phil. 1:1; Col. 4:12; James 1:1; 2 Peter 1:1; Jude 1:1.

¹² Eccl. 5:4.

¹³ Jer. 34:10 in LXX (48:10 in textu Masoretico).

Τούτου τοίνυν χάριν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀπεστραφόμεθα σε καὶ ἀνεβαλλόμεθα τοῦ δέξασθαι, οὐχ ὅτι τὴν σωτηρίαν σου καὶ πάντων τῶν προσερχομένων (πιστευό)ντων οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα μή, προπετῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν ὑποδεχόμενοι, ἡμεῖς μὲν παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ κουφότητος καὶ εὐχερείας δίκας ὑφέξ(ω)μεν, σέ δε ὑπεύθυνον βαρυτέρας τιμωρίας ποιήσωμεν, εἰ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν εὐχερῶς ὑποδεχθεῖς καὶ μὴ μαθὼν τὸ βάρος καὶ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ ἐπαγγέλματος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα χαῖνος καὶ ῥάθυμος ἀποδειχθ(ῆ)ς. Διὰ τοῦτο, καθ' ἃ εἴρηται, τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀποταγῆς ὁφείλεις γνῶναι. Ἐὰν γὰρ ταύτην καταλάβ(ῃ)ς, δύνασαι γνῶναι τί σε δεῖ ποιεῖν.

Ἡ ἀποταγ(ῆ) οὐδὲν ἄλλ(ο) καθέστηκεν εἰ μὴ σταυροῦ καὶ θανάτου ἐπαγγελία. Γίνωσκε τοίνυν ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας τεθηκέναι σε καὶ ἐσταυρῶσθαι τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ τὸν κόσμον σ(οι), κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον^α καὶ καταμάνθανε τίς ἡ δύναμις τῆς σταυρώσεως, ἐπειδὴ οὐκέτι λ(οι)π(ὸ)ν σὺ ζῆς, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ἐν σ(οι) ζῆ,^β ὁ ὑπὲρ σου σταυρ(ω)θεῖς. Τούτῳ τοίνυν τῷ τύπῳ καὶ τῷ σχήματι, ᾧ ὁ δεσπότης ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ ἐκρεμάσθη, καὶ ἡμᾶς ὁμοίως ἐπάναγκές ἐστιν ἐν τ(ῷ κοινο)βίῳ διάγειν, καθὼς καὶ ὁ μακάριος Δαβὶδ εὐχεται, ἐκ τοῦ φόβου τοῦ Θεοῦ παρακαλῶν καθηλωθῆναι τὰς σάρκας^γ αὐτοῦ. Ὡς γὰρ ὁ τ(ὸ) σῶμα καθηλωμένον ἔχων τῷ ξύλῳ ἀκίνητός ἐστι πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐργασίαν ἣν ἂν θέλοι, | οὕτως ὁ τῷ θείῳ φόβῳ καθηλωμένος ἔχων τὸν λογισμὸν ἀκίνητος ὑπάρχει πρὸς πᾶν θέλημα σαρκικόν. Καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ σταυρῷ προσηλωμένος οὐκέτι τὰ παρόντα λογίζεται, οὐ

1 Τούτου τοίνυν ... πολὺ ἀπεστραφόμεθα M. τούτου χάριν ἀπεστραφόμεθα. V121: τούτου χάριν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀπεστρεφόμεθα. V104: Τούτου τοίνυν χάριν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀπεστρεφόμεθα 1 σε M. τε 2-3 (πιστευό)ντων οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦμεν M. τῶν εἰς Χριστὸν πιστευόντων οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦμεν. V121: τῶν εἰς Χριστὸν ἐπιστρεφόντων οὐκ ἐπιποθοῦμεν. V104: τῶν εἰς Χριστὸν ἐπιστρεφόντων οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦμεν 4 παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ M. παρὰ Θεῷ 4 καὶ εὐχερείας M. καὶ εὐχόμενοι, which makes no sense. The present text restores the real Cassian: 'we shall be punished for accepting new monks unthoughtfully and lightheartedly' 4 ὑφέξ(ω)μεν Cod. ὑφέξομεν. M. V121: δίκην ὑφέξωμεν 5 ποιήσωμεν M. καταστήσωμεν 5-6 εὐχερῶς ὑποδεχθεῖς καὶ μὴ μαθὼν M. εὐχερῶς καὶ μὴ μαθόντα. V121: εὐχερῶς καὶ μὴ μαθὼν 7 ἀποδειχθ(ῆ)ς Cod. ἀποδειχθεῖς. M. ἀποδειχθῆς. V121: ἀποδειχθῆς ἢ ὑποδειχθῆς. V104: ἀποδειχθείς 7 Διὰ τοῦτο, καθ' ἃ εἴρηται M. Διὰ τοῦτο, καθὼς εἴρηται 7-8 Διὰ τοῦτο, ... δεῖ ποιεῖν The phrase Διὰ τοῦτο, ... δεῖ ποιεῖν does not exist in M 8 γνῶναι M. γνῶναι, τί σε δεῖ ποιεῖν 8 καταλάβ(ῃ)ς Cod. καταλάβοις. V104: καταλάβῃς 9 ἀποταγ(ῆ) Cod. ἀποταγεῖ 9 ἀποταγ(ῆ) οὐδὲν M. ἀποταγῇ τοίνυν οὐδὲν 9 ἄλλ(ο) Cod. ἄλλω 11 σ(οι) Cod. σὺ 12 λ(οι)π(ὸ)ν Cod. λυπῶν 12 σ(οι) Cod. σὺ 13 σταυρ(ω)θεῖς Cod. σταυροθεῖς 13 τῷ τύπῳ καὶ τῷ σχήματι I discuss this, in RCR, pp. 350-352 14 ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ... σταυρῷ ἐκρεμάσθη M. V104: ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐκρεμάσθη. V121: ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν σταυρῷ ἐκρεμάσθη 14 ἡμᾶς ὁμοίως ἐπάναγκές M. ἡμᾶς ἐπάναγκές 14-15 ἐν τ(ῷ κοινο)βίῳ Cod. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βίῳ. M. V121: ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ 15 καὶ ὁ μακάριος Δαβὶδ εὐχεται M. V121: εὐχεται καὶ ὁ μακάριος Δαβὶδ 16 τ(ὸ) Cod. τῷ 16-17 καθηλωμένον M. προσηλωμένον 17 πᾶσαν ἐργασίαν ἣν ἂν θέλοι M. πᾶσαν ἐνέργειαν οἷαν θέλει. V104: πᾶσαν ἐργασίαν ἣν ἔαν ἐθέλοι 18 καθηλωμένον ἔχων τὸν λογισμὸν M. καθηλωμένον τὸν λογισμὸν

^a Cf. Gal. 6:14. ^b Cf. Gal. 2:20. ^c Cf. Psalm 118:120.

It was on account of this that we were dismissive of you for a long while and postponed any decision to admit you. This does not mean that we do not desire your salvation, as well as that of all the faithful who come to us; but for fear lest, if we received you rashly and haphazardly, we might, on the one hand, make ourselves guilty in the sight of God of levity and light-mindedness, and on the other, cause you to incur an even heavier punishment, if, when you had been too easily admitted without us having instructed you about the importance and the exact character of this profession, you had afterwards turned out lukewarm or indolent. According to the foregoing account, this is why you ought to learn the actual reason for the renunciation of the world. For once you grasp this,
 16^r you shall be able to learn | what is incumbent upon you.

Renunciation is nothing but proclamation of the cross and of death. And so you must know that, as of today, you are dead and *crucified to this world*, and *this world* to you, as the Apostle says.¹⁴ Therefore, do meditate intensively on what the power of the crucifixion is, since it *is no longer* you *who live*, but *he lives in* you who was crucified for your sake.¹⁵ It is therefore incumbent upon us to conduct our life in the coenobium in the form and model¹⁶ in which our Lord was hung up on the Cross for our sake, indeed in the same way as David prays asking for his *flesh* to be *pierced by the fear of God*.¹⁷ As then one who is nailed to the wood has
 16^v no power of moving so as to do any work that he might wish to do, | so anyone who has his own mind nailed by the fear of God has no power to move towards indulging in any carnal desire. And as he who is nailed on the cross no longer considers things present, nor thinks about his own

¹⁴ Cf. Gal. 6:14.

¹⁵ Cf. Gal. 2:20.

¹⁶ Latin: habitu ac figura (= 'in fashion and form') (*Institutiones*, PL.49.IV.34) which no Greek translator could have ever rendered through the established and heavily loaded theological scheme τῷ τύπῳ καὶ τῷ σχήματι. I canvas this in *RCR*, pp. 350–352.

¹⁷ Cf. Psalm 118:120.

τοῖς ἰδίοις θελήμασι συνδιατίθεται, οὐκ ἐπιθυμία ταράσσεται, οὐ φροντίδι τοῦ
 κτᾶσθαι κατατ(ε)ίνεται, οὐχ ὑπερφηφανεία φυσιοῦται, οὐ φιλον(ε)ικία οὐ φθόνῳ
 ἐξάπτεται, οὐ περὶ τῶν παρουσῶν ἀτιμιῶν ἀλγεί, οὐ τὰς παρελθούσας ὕβρεις
 ἀναμνησκέται· μικρὸν γὰρ ὕστερον τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βίου τούτου ἕξ(ο)δον προσδέ-
 χεται διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ. Οὕτως ὁ ἀποταξάμενος γνησίως τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ τῷ θείῳ 5
 φόβῳ ὡς ἐν σταυρῷ προσηλωμένος καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βίου τούτου ἕξοδον καθ' ἐκά-
 στην προσδεχόμενος, ἀκινήτους καὶ ἀνενεργήτους ἔχει πάσας τὰς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ
 17^τ τὰς σαρκικὰς διαθέσεις. Φυλάττου τοιγαροῦν | μὴ τί ποτε τούτων ἀναλαβεῖν
 ἔτι ἐπιθυμήσ(η)ς, ἅπερ ἀποτασσόμενος ἀποβέβληκας. Κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀπόφα-
 σιν τοῦ Δεσπότη, Ὁ βαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα ἐπ' ἄροτρον, καὶ στραφεὶς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, 10
 οὐκ εὐθετός ἐστιν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν^α τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ ὁ πρὸς τὰ ταπεινά τε καὶ
 γήϊνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου πράγματα ἀπὸ τῆς ὑψ(η)λῆς πολιτείας καταβαίνων
 πάλιν παρ' ἐντολὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πράττει, τοῦ δώματος καταβαίνων καὶ ἀραὶ τι
 τῶν τοῦ οἴκου^β ἐπιχειρῶν. Φυλάττου τοίνυν ἵνα μὴ, τῆς τῶν κατὰ σάρκα γονέων
 ἀρχαίας διαθέσεως ἀναμνησθεὶς καὶ πρὸς τὰς φροντίδας τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐπι- 15
 στραφεὶς, ἀνεύθετος εὐρεθ(ῆ)ς, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου φωνήν, τῆς βασιλείας τῶν
 οὐρανῶν.^γ Φυλάττου μήποτε τὴν ὑπερ(η)φάνειαν, ἣν νῦν ἀρχόμενος τῇ θερμῇ
 17^ν τῆς ταπεινώσεως κατεπάτησας, ἀνεγείρης καθ' ἑαυτοῦ, | ὅταν τὸ ψαλτήριον
 μάθῃς ἢ τινα τῆς Γραφῆς, καί, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀποστόλου φωνήν, ἃ κατέλυσας πάλ-
 λιν ἀνοικοδομῶν, παραβάτην^δ ἑαυτὸν ἀποδείξ(η)ς· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ὡς ἐνήρξω καὶ 20

1 ταράσσεται M. ταράττεται 2 κατατ(ε)ίνεται Cod. κατατίνεται. M. κατατίνεται. V121: καταγίνεται V104: κατατέμνεται 2 φιλον(ε)ικία Cod. φιλονικία 4-7 ἕξ(ο)δον προσδέχεται ... ἐκάστην προσδεχόμενος M. ἕξοδον ἐκδέχεται διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ· οὕτως ὁ ἀποταξάμενος γνησίως τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ τῷ θείῳ φόβῳ ὡς ἐν σταυρῷ καθηλωμένος, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βίου τούτου ἕξοδον καθ' ἐκάστην προσδεχόμενος. In V121, the scribe has missed some words, notably, προσδέχεται διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ. Οὕτως ὁ ἀποταξάμενος γνησίως τῷ κόσμῳ, hence the text hardly makes sense. V121: ἕξοδον ἐκ κόσμου καὶ τῷ θείῳ φόβῳ 7 ἀνενεργήτους Cf. Cod. p. 104^τ: Οὐ γὰρ νομιστέον τὸν Θεὸν ἀνενεργήτον εἶναι ποτε 7-8 καὶ τὰς σαρκικὰς V104: καὶ σαρκικὰς 8 ποτε M. μήποτε 9 ἐπιθυμήσ(η)ς Cod. ἐπιθυμήσεις. M. V121: ἀναλαβεῖν ἐπιθυμήσης, ὦν. V104: ἀναλαβεῖν ἐπιθυμήσης, ἅπερ 9 ἅπερ M. ὦν 10 χεῖρα ἐπ' ἄροτρον V121: χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἄροτρον, καὶ βλέπων 11 εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν V121. V104: ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ 12 ὑψ(η)λῆς Cod. ὑψηλῆς 14 τοῦ οἴκου V121: τοῦ κόσμου for τοῦ οἴκου. V104: τοῦ οἴκου 14 τοίνυν ἵνα μὴ M. τοίνυν μὴ. V104: μὴ τι 15 ἀναμνησθεὶς V104: ἀναμνησθῆς 15-16 ἐπιστραφεὶς V104: ἐπιστραφῆς, καὶ 16 εὐρεθ(ῆ)ς Cod. εὐρεθεῖς. M. εὐρεθῆς. V121: ἐπιστραφῆς 16-17 τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν M. V104: ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν 17 ὑπερ(η)φάνειαν Cod. ὑπερφηφανειαν 17 ἣν νῦν ἀρχόμενος M. ἣν ἀρχόμενος 17-18 τῇ θερμῇ τῆς ταπεινώσεως V104: τῇ θερμότητι τῆς μετανοίας 19 ἢ τινα Cod. ἢ τι 19 καὶ M. ἢ καὶ 20 ἀνοικοδομῶν M. V121: οἰκοδομῶν 20 ἑαυτὸν M. σεαυτὸν 20 ἀποδείξ(η)ς Cod. ἀποδείξεις 20 ἐνήρξω M. ἐνήρξω. V121: ἐνήρξας

^α Cf. Luke 9:62. ^β Cf. Matt. 24:17; Mark 13:15; Luke 17:31. ^γ Cf. Luke 9:62. ^δ Cf. Gal. 2:17-18.

wants, nor is disconcerted by any desire, nor disturbed by any concern of possession, nor puffed up by any pride, nor inflamed by any strife or envy; he grieves not at present tribulations, and remembers not past ones. For once day in day out he believes that there is only a short time left for him before he departs from this life, he has all desires and carnal appetites
 17^r inert and inactive. Beware, therefore, | lest at any time you relapse to the desire of any of those things which you forsook by renouncing the world. For according to the saying by the Lord, *No man having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.*¹⁸ Beware therefore lest you be found unfit *for the kingdom of* heavens,¹⁹ as the Lord said, when you resumed your previous disposition, once you have thought of your physical parents or have relapsed to caring for things of this world. Beware lest you restore against yourself that pride which now at your
 17^v beginning you have trampled under foot in the ardour of humility, | at any time, when you have begun to dip into the knowledge of the Psalms or some points of Scripture, lest you *make yourself a transgressor by building again the things which you have destroyed,*²⁰ according to the saying by the apostle. But rather take heed to continue even to the end in that state

¹⁸ Luke 9:62.

¹⁹ Cf. Luke 9:62.

²⁰ Cf. Gal. 2:17–18.

(ὡ)μολόγησας, τὴν ταπείνωσιν ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀγγέλων ἕως τέλους δια-
 τήρησον. Ὅμοίως τὴν ὑπομονήν, ἣν ἐπεδείξω ἵνα δεχθ(ῇ)ς ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ ἐπὶ
 πολλές ἡμέρας πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν διακαρτερῶν καὶ μετὰ δακρύων ἰκετεύων, σπού-
 δασον ἐπαυξῆσαι. Ἐὰν γὰρ ὄντως, ὁφείλοντά σε καθ' ἐκάστην προστιθέναι
 τῇ πρώτῃ θέρμῃ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον ἀναβαίνειν, ὑφαιρεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῆς καὶ πρὸς 5
 τὰ κάτω ἐπαναλύειν. Οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἐναρξάμενος τοῦ καλοῦ μακάριος, ἀλλ' (ὁ)στις
 ἕως τέλους^a ἐν τούτῳ διαμένει. Ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ γῆς συρόμενος ὄφρις τὴν ἡμετέραν
 18^r αἰετ(η)ρεὶ πτέρναν,^b τοῦτέστιν | τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐξόδῳ ἐπιβουλεύει καὶ ἕως τέλους
 τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν ὑποσκελίζειν ἡμᾶς ἐπιχειρεῖ. Καὶ τούτου χάρ(ι)ν τὸ ἐναρξασθαι
 καλῶς οὐδὲν ὠφελήσει, οὐδὲ ἡ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἀποταγῆς θερμότης, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸ τέ- 10
 λος ὡσαύτως γένηται. Καὶ ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δὲ ταπείνωσις, ἣν νῦν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ
 ἐπηγγείλω, οὐκ ἄλλως βεβαιωθήσεται εἰ μὴ ἕως τέλους ταύτην ἐπιδείξ(ης). Διό,
 ἵνα δυνηθ(ῇ)ς ταύτην κτήσασθαι τελείως καὶ συντρίψαι τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ δρά-
 κοντος, σπούδαζε, ὅταν ἐπέρχ(ω)νταί σοι λογισμοί, εὐθέως τούτους ἐξ ἀρχῆς
 ἀναγγέλλειν. Οὕτω γὰρ δ(η)μοσιεύων τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν ὀλεθρίων τοῦ δράκοντος 15
 λογισμῶν, καὶ μὴ αἰσχυρόμενος ἐκφαίνειν τῷ σῶ πατρὶ, συντρίψ(εις) τὴν τού-
 του κεφαλὴν. Διὸ δὴ, κατὰ τὴν Γραφήν, εἰ προσήλθες δουλεύειν Θεῷ, ἐτοίμασον^c

1 (ὡ)μολόγησας Cod. ὁμολόγησας 1 ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ M. ἐνώπιον Θεοῦ 2 ἐπεδείξω M.
 ἐπεδείξω. V121: ἐδείξω 2 δεχθ(ῇ)ς Cod. δεχθεῖς, The expression ἵνα δεχθ(ῇ)ς is necessary,
 yet absent from Migne 3 θυρῶν διακαρτερῶν καὶ μετὰ M. θυρῶν διακαρτερῶν καὶ μετὰ. V121:
 θυρῶν καὶ μετὰ 5 ἐπὶ τὸ M. εἰς τὸ 5 ἀναβαίνειν M. ἀναβαίνειν προκόπτοντα 5 ὑφαιρεῖν
 V104: ἀφαιρεῖν 6 ἐπαναλύειν The verb ἐπαναλύειν means 'to return', or 'come back', or
 'regress'. M. ὑπαναλύειν, which is a misspelling of ἐπαναλύειν 6 οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἐναρξάμενος
 ... The text from this point down to the end of it is quoted in the *Constitutio Monasterii
 Prodromi* τοῦ Φοβεροῦ, 6, pp. 16–19, following a portion (pp. 14–16) from Cassian's account
 on accedie. See *RCR*, Appendix I 6 ἐναρξάμενος M. ἀρχόμενος 6 (ὁ)στις Cod. ὥστις
 7 διαμένει M. διαμείνη. V121; V104: διαμεμένηκεν 8 τ(η)ρεὶ Cod. τιρεὶ 8 ἡμετέρᾳ V104:
 ἡμετέρᾳ αἰετ 9 ὑποσκελίζειν Cod. ὑποσκελίζειν 9 χάρ(ι)ν Cod. χάριν 10 ὠφελήσει, οὐδὲ
 ... ἀποταγῆς θερμότης M. ὠφελεῖ οὐδὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐν ὑποταγῇ θερμότητος. V121: ὠφελεῖ οὐδὲ ἡ
 ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐν ἀποταγῇ θερμότητος 10 ἡ ἐν ... ἀποταγῆς θερμότης V104: ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἀποταγῆς
 καὶ ἡ θερμότης. V121: ὠφελεῖ οὐδὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐν ἀποταγῇ θερμότητος. M. ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐν ὑποταγῇ
 θερμότητος 12 ἐπιδείξ(ης) Cod. ἐπιδείξει. M. ὑποδείξ(ης), which is incorrect 13 δυνηθ(ῇ)ς
 Cod. δυνηθεῖς 13 κτήσασθαι τελείως M. V104; V121: τελείως κτήσασθαι 14 σπούδαζε V104:
 σπούδασον 14 ἐπέρχ(ω)νταί Cod. ἐπέρχονται 14–15 τούτους ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναγγέλλειν M.
 V121: ἐξ ἀρχῆς τούτους ἀπαγγέλλειν 15 δ(η)μοσιεύων Cod. διμοσιεύων 16 συντρίψ(εις) Cod.
 συντρίψ(ει)ς. V104: κεφαλὴν συντρίψεις 17 προσήλθες M. προσέλθης 17 Θεῷ M. τῷ Θεῷ
 17–56.1 ἐτοίμασον τὴν καρδίαν σου M. ἐτοίμασον σεαυτὸν. *Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi*
 τοῦ Φοβεροῦ ch. 6, p. 17: ἐτοιμάσατε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν

^a Cf. Matt. 10:22; 24:13; Mark 13:13. ^b Cf. Gen. 3:15. ^c Ecclesiasticus 2:1.

of humility, which you started practising and professed in the sight of God and of his angels. Likewise, you should strive to increase that patience, which you displayed in order to be admitted to the monastery, by persevering many days before the doors entreating in many tears. For it is miserable that, whereas you ought every day to add to that initial ardour and to attain to perfection by gradual progress, to diminish this and to fall back to mean things. For not he who begins these things, but he who endures them to the end, shall be saved.²¹ For the serpent who crawls on the earth
 18^r always *bruises* our *heel*,²² which means | he is lying in wait [to harm us] so as to depart [from this life in sin] and endeavours to trip us up right to the end of our life. It is on account of this that to have made a good beginning will be of no use, neither will the initial fervour of obedience, if the end does not obtain in the same circumstances. There is no way for you to bear out the humility of Christ, of which you have now made profession in his sight, other than preserving this right to the end [of your life]. And that you may succeed in possessing this [humility] perfectly and in shattering the head of the dragon, whenever thoughts rise in you, you should be on your guard to report them at once [to your father]. For it is in this way that you will be able to shatter his head, namely, by divulging the beginnings of the destructive thoughts of the dragon, and by not being ashamed to disclose them to your father. Wherefore, as Scripture says, if you have come forth *to serve the Lord, prepare yourself*²³ not for carelessness, not

²¹ Cf. Matt. 10:22; 24:13; Mark 13:13.

²² Cf. Gen. 3:15.

²³ Cf. Ecclesiasticus 2:1.

- 18^v τὴν καρδίαν σου μὴ πρὸς ἀμεριμνίαν, μὴ πρὸς ἄνεσιν καὶ τέρψιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς |
πειρασμούς, πρὸς θλίψεις.^a Διὰ γὰρ πολλῶν θλίψεων (δει) ἡμᾶς, φησιν, εἰσελθεῖν
εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν^b καί, Στενὴ καὶ τεθλιμμένη ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς
τὴν ζωὴν, καὶ ὀλίγοι εἰσὶν οἱ εὕρισκοντες αὐτήν.^c Πρόσχες τοῖνυν τοῖς σπουδαίοις²¹
καὶ καλοῖς καὶ ἐκ παραδείγματος αὐτῶν κανόνιζε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον· μὴ προσχῆς
τοῖς ῥαθύμοις καὶ καταφρον(η)ταῖς, κἂν πολλοὶ ᾧσιν. Πολλοὶ γάρ, φησιν, κλητοί,
ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί,^d καὶ μικρὸν τὸ ποῖμνιον (ᾧ) ὑπόδοκῃσεν ὁ πατὴρ δοῦναι τὴν βασι-
λείαν.^e Μὴ μ(ι)κρὸν γάρ (εἶναι νομίσσης) ἀμάρτημα ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι τελει(ό)τητα
καὶ τοῖς ἀμελεστέροις καὶ ῥαθύμοις ἀκολουθεῖν. Ἵνα τοῖνυν δυνηθ(ῇ)ς ἐπιβῆναι
τῇ τελει(ό)τητι, ταύτῃ κέχρησο τῇ τάξει καὶ τούτοις ἀνάβαινε τ(ο)ῖς βαθμοῖς.²² 5
- 19^r Πρῶτος βαθμὸς τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας καὶ ἀσφάλεια ὁ
φόβος ἐστὶν τοῦ Κυρίου^f διὰ | τούτου γάρ καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτ(η)μάτων ἀποκάθαρσις
καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν φυλακὴ καὶ ὁδὸς ἐπὶ τὴν τελειώσιν γίνεται. Ὅταν γάρ ὁ τοῦ
Θεοῦ φόβος εἰσέλθ(ῃ) εἰς ψυχὴν, καταφρονεῖν πείθει πάντων τῶν τοῦ κόσμου
πραγμάτων καὶ λ(ή)θην τῶν κατὰ σάρκα συγγενῶν²³ γεννᾷ καὶ αὐτοῦ ὅλου τοῦ
κόσμου. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων ταπεινώσις τὸ κεφάλ(αι)ον καὶ πλήρωμα πάντων τῶν 15

1 ἀμεριμνίαν M. ἀμεριμνίας 1 ἄνεσιν M. ἀνέσεις. The expression καὶ τέρψιν is missing in Migne. Cf. *Institutiones*, IV.38. PL.49.198A: Quapropter secundum Scripturae sententiam egressus ad serviendum Domino, sta in timore Dei, et praepara animam tuam non ad requiem, non ad securitatem, non ad delicias, sed ad tentationes et angustias 1 ἄνεσιν καὶ τέρψιν M. ἀνέσεις, ἀλλὰ. V121: ἄνεσιν καὶ τέρψει ἀλλὰ. V104: ἀνέσεις καὶ τέρψεις ἀλλὰ 2 ἡμᾶς, φησιν, εἰσελθεῖν V104: ἡμᾶς εἰσελθεῖν 3 εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν So M. But V121: εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν 3 Στενὴ M. Στενὴ ἡ πύλη, *Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi*, στενὴ καὶ τεθλιμμένη ἡ ὁδὸς 4 σπουδαίοις V104: ὀλίγοις 5 καλοῖς M. V121: τοῖς ὀλίγοις καλοῖς. Cf. *infra*, Cod. p. 20^v: καὶ ζηλοῦν τοὺς σπουδαίους μεγίστη (ὠ)φέλεια γίνεται 5 προσχῆς Cod. προσσχῆς. M. προσχῆς. V121: προσθεῖς 6 καταφρον(η)ταῖς Cod. καταφρονिताῖς. M. ῥαθύμοις καὶ καταφρονηταῖς. V121: καταφρονηταῖς καὶ ῥαθύμοις 6 κἂν πολλοὶ ᾧσιν κἂν πολλοὶ ᾧσιν ('even if they happen to be many'): the abbot describes a state of decay of the monastic ethos, and represents the majority of monks as being indolent and despisers. M. ᾧσι 7 (ᾧ) Cod. ὃ 8 μ(ι)κρὸν Cod. μικρὸν 8 γάρ (εἶναι νομίσσης) ἀμάρτημα M. γάρ εἶναι νομίσσης ἀμάρτημα 8 νομίσσης With V121, since a verb is needed, on which the ensuing infinitive ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι is dependent. V104: νόμιζε εἶναι 8 τελει(ό)τητα Cod. τελειώτητα 9 δυνηθ(ῇ)ς Cod. δυνηθεῖς 10 τελει(ό)τητι Cod. τελειώτητι 10 τ(ο)ῖς Cod. ταῖς 11 βαθμὸς τῆς ἀρετῆς M. βαθμὸς ἀρετῆς 11–12 σωτηρίας καὶ ἀσφάλεια ὁ φόβος M. σωτηρίας ὁ φόβος. V121; V104: σωτηρίας καὶ ἀσφάλεια ὁ φόβος 12 τοῦ Κυρίου M. τοῦ Θεοῦ 12 διὰ τούτου γάρ καὶ M. διὰ τούτου καί. V104: διὰ γάρ τούτου 12 ἀμαρτ(η)μάτων Cod. ἀμαρτιμάτων 13 τελειώσιν M. τελειότητα 13–14 ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ φόβος M. ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ φόβος. V121: φόβος τοῦ Θεοῦ 14 εἰσέλθ(ῃ) Cod. εἰσελθεῖ 14 ψυχὴν M. τὴν ψυχὴν 14 πείθει πάντων M. V121. V104: πάντων πείθει 15 λ(ή)θην Cod. λίθην 15 συγγενῶν (for συγγενῶν). M. V121; V104: συγγενῶν 16 κεφάλ(αι)ον Cod. κεφάλειον. M. ταπεινώσις κεφάλαιον τῶν ἀρετῶν, καὶ πλήρωμα

^a Cf. Rev. 2:10. ^b Acts 14:22. ^c Matt. 7:14. ^d Matt. 22:14. ^e Luke 12:32. ^f Cf. Prov. 1:7; 9:10; Psalm 110:10. Cf. Psalms 133:3; 35:2; Prov. 15:33.

18^v for relaxation and pleasure, but for | temptations and tribulation.²⁴ For *We must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God,*²⁵ and *Strait is the gate and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be which find it.*²⁶ Therefore you should pay attention to those who are excellent and good,²⁷ and adjust your own life after their example. Pay no attention to those who are indolent and contemptuous, even if they happen to be many. For he says, *many are called, but few chosen,*²⁸ and *it is a little flock to which it is the Father's good pleasure to give an inheritance.*²⁹ It is therefore a sin by no means light for one who has made profession of perfection to follow after those who are lukewarm and indolent. And in order to make yourself capable of attaining to perfection, you should avail yourself of the following progression.

19^r The first step towards virtue, and beginning of our salvation, and the safeguard of it, is the *fear of the Lord.*³⁰ For it is through this | that purification from vices and preservation of virtues and the way of perfection can be accomplished. For when fear of the Lord has gained an entrance into the soul, it persuades it to contempt all things of this world, and begets a forgetfulness of kinsfolk, indeed of all the world itself. Consequently, humility is gained and completeness of all virtues is attained. For humil-

²⁴ Cf. Rev. 2:10.

²⁵ Acts 14:22.

²⁶ Matt. 7:14.

²⁷ The Latin is distorted and the aim of this is transparent once monks were organized in 'orders'. The expression urging the novice to follow the example of only the righteous of monks, *Πρόσχες τοίνυν τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ καλοῖς* ('pay attention to those who are excellent and good') is rendered as, *Considera ergo te de paucis et electis effectum* ('Consider therefore that you belong to the few and elect', *Institutiones*, IV.38, PL.49.198B). The abbot is made to proclaim the novice a new member of an *élite*, at the very moment he teaches him humility.

²⁸ Matt. 22:14.

²⁹ Luke 12:32.

³⁰ Cf. Prov. 1:7; 9:10; Psalm 110:10.

καλῶν κατορθοῦται· καταφρονήσει γὰρ καὶ στερήσει πάντων τῶν <τοῦ κόσμου>
 πραγμάτων ἢ ταπεινώσιν προσγίνεται. Ἡ ταπεινώσις δὲ τούτοις τοῖς γνωρί-
 σμασιν δοκιμάζεται καὶ δεικνύται. Πρῶτον, εἰ νεκρωθέντα τις ἔχει ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ
 ἴδια θελήματα· δεύτερον, εἰ μὴ μόνον τῶν οἰκείων πράξεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐνθυ-
 μήσεων μὴδὲν <ἀπὸ> το(ῦ) ἰδίο(υ) κρύ(πτ)ει πατρ(ός)· τρίτον, εἰ μὴδὲν τῇ ἰδίᾳ 5
 19^v συν(ει)δήσει, ἀλλὰ πάντα | τῇ τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς διακρ(ί)σει πιστεύει, διψῶν ἀεὶ
 καὶ ἡδέως ἀκούων τῆς τούτου νοουθεσίας· τέταρτον, εἰ <ἐν> πᾶσιν ἀνεπαισχύν-
 τως δουλεύ(ε)ι τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς προστάγμασιν· πέμπτον, εἰ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸς οὐ
 τολμᾷ ὑβρ(ί)σαι τινά, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ ἄλλων ἐπαγομένους αὐτῷ ὕβρεις μετὰ
 χαρᾶς προσδέχ(ε)τ(αι)· ἕκτον, εἰ μὴδὲν ἐπιχειρήσ(η) καινότερον πράξαι, ὅπερ 10
 οὐχ ὁ κοινὸς κανὼν ἐπιτρέπει, οὐδὲ τῶν πατέρων τὰ παραδείγματα· ἑβδομον,
 εἰ πᾶσ(η) εὐτελείᾳ ἀρκοῦμενος καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς διδομένοις εὐχαριστῶν, ἀνά-
 ξιον ἑαυτὸν ἡγεῖται καὶ τούτων· ὄγδοον, εἰ ἑαυτὸν πάντων κατώτερον <καὶ> μὴ
 ὑπερέχοντά τινος ἐξ ἀλ(η)θ(ι)νῆς καρδίας ἡγεῖται· ἕνατον, εἰ γλώσσης κρατεῖ
 καὶ μὴ <ἐστιν> προπετ(ή)ς ἐν λόγοις καὶ τραχὺς ἐν φωνῇ· δέκατον, εἰ μὴ ἐστιν 15
 20^r εὐχερὴς καὶ πρόχειρος | ἐν γέλωτι.

1–2 πάντων τῶν <τοῦ κόσμου> πραγμάτων. A necessary addition *apud Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi* Τοῦ Φοβεροῦ. M. πάντων τῶν πραγμάτων 3 καὶ δεικνύται. ... τις ἔχει καὶ δεικνύται neither in Migne nor in V121, but present in V104: δεικνύται. Eἰ νεκρωθέντα τις ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχει 3 ἐν αὐτῷ Cod. εἶχεν ἑαυτῷ. M. εἶχεν ἑαυτῷ. V121: ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχει 4 δεύτερον M. δεύτερον δὲ 5 ἰδίο(υ) κρύ(πτ)ει πατρ(ός) Cod. and V121: μὴδὲν τὸν ἰδίων κρύψει πατέρα. *Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi* Τοῦ Φοβεροῦ: μὴδὲν τις ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου κρύπτει πατρός 5 κρύ(πτ)ει M. κρύπτει. V104: κρύψει 5 τῇ Cod. κρύψει. M. μὴ τῇ 6 συν(ει)δήσει Cod. συνηδήσει. M. V104: συνέσει 6 τῇ τοῦ ἰδίου M. πάντα τοῦ ἰδίου 6 πατρός M. V104: τοῦ πατρὸς 6 διακρ(ί)σει Cod. διακρήσει 6–7 διψῶν ἀεὶ καὶ ἡδέως M. διψῶν ἀεὶ καὶ ἐπιποθῶν, καὶ ἡδέως 8 δουλεύ(ε)ι Cod. δουλεύει M. δουλεύσει 9 ὑβρ(ί)σαι Cod. ὑβρήσαι 9 ἐπαγομένους αὐτῷ ὕβρεις V104: ἐπαγομένους θλίψεις 10 προσδέχ(ε)τ(αι) Cod. and V104, V121: προσδέχοιτο. M. ὑπὸ ἄλλων αὐτῷ ἐπαγομένους μετὰ χαρᾶς ὕβρεις ἔσται προσδεχόμενος 10 ἐπιχειρήσ(η) Cod. and V104: ἐπιχειρήσει. M. V121: ἐπιχειρήσει 10–11 ὅπερ οὐχ ... κανὼν ἐπιτρέπει M. ὅπερ ὁ κανὼν ὁ κοινὸς οὐκέτι προτρέπει 12 πᾶσ(η) Cod. πᾶσι 12 διδομένοις M. V104: δεδομένοις 12–13 ἀνάξιον ἑαυτὸν ἡγεῖται καὶ τούτων M. καὶ τούτων ἀνάξιον ἡγεῖται ἑαυτὸν 13 ἡγεῖται V104: ἡγῆται 13–15 εἰ ἑαυτὸν ... ἐν φωνῇ M. εἰ ἑαυτὸν πάντοτε κατώτερον πάντων, καὶ μὴ ἢ προπητής ἐν λόγοις. The second part of this clause contains the 'ninth' presupposition, which otherwise is missing altogether in Migne. Our codex fills the lacuna: ἕνατον, εἰ γλώσσης κρατ(ή) καὶ μὴ <ἢ> προπετ(ή)ς ἐν λόγοις καὶ τραχὺς ἐν φωνῇ. The Latin follows the Greek original. *Institutiones*, IV.39. PL.49.198C–199B: nono, si linguam cohibeat, vel non sit clamosus in voce 13 <καὶ> With V121 14 ἀλ(η)θ(ι)νῆς Cod. ἀλιθηνῆς 14 ἕνατον Cod. ἕνατον 15 <ἐστιν> Cod. εἴ. V121: εἴ. V104: κρατῇ καὶ μὴ ἢ 15 προπετ(ή)ς Cod. προπετεῖς 15–16 δέκατον, εἰ ... ἐν γέλωτι Migne's version is different and rather implausible: δέκατον, εἰ μὴ ἔστιν εὐχερὴς ἐν λόγοις, καὶ πρόχειρος ἐν γλώσσει

ity is acquired by means of contempt and deprivation of all the worldly things.

Moreover, humility is tried out and attested by these signs: First, if a man has all his personal desires mortified. Secondly, if he conceals none of his actions, as well as his thoughts, from his father. Thirdly, if he puts
19^v no trust in his own judgment, but he considers everything | through the discretion of his own father, always thirsting for and listening dearly to his admonition. Fourthly, if he carries out all the commands of the father in all cases, without feeling ashamed of this. Fifthly, if he not only hurts nobody else, but also receives any harm inflicted upon him by others joyfully. Sixthly, if he ventures no innovation, which is not allowed by the Common Rule or by the example of the fathers. Seventhly, if he is contented with the fewest goods possible, and is thankful for whatever is given to him, considering himself as being unworthy of even those things. Eighthly, if he considers himself from the bottom of his heart as inferior to all others, and as being superior to none. Ninthly, if he governs his tongue, and is not presumptuous in his words and harsh in the tone of
20^r his voice. Tenthly, if he is not prone to laughing or too ready | to do so. For

Τούτοις γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις τούτ(οις) σημείοις ἡ ταπεινώσις γνωρίζεται, ἥτις, ὅταν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ κατορθωθ(ῇ), ταχέως πρὸς τὸ ὕψος τῆς ἀγάπης ἀνάγει, ἐν ᾗ φόβος οὐκ ἔστιν κολάσεως^a καὶ δι' ἧς τὰ πάντα οὐκέτι μετὰ ἀνάγκης καὶ) κόπου φυλάττεται, ἀλλὰ πόθῳ διαπύρω καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τοῦ καλοῦ. Πρὸς ἡν-
τινα ἀρετὴν ἵνα ἰσχύσης εὐχερέστερον φθάσαι, ὑποδείγματα σοι πρὸς μ(ι)μησιν 5
ἔστωσαν ὀλίγοι τῶν συμμεν(ό)ντων καὶ εὐλάβειαν κεκτημένων ἀδελφοί, μὴ (οί)
πλείους καὶ ἀμελέστερόν τε καὶ ῥαθυμ(ό)τερον ζῶντες. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μιμεῖ-
σθαι καὶ ζηλοῦν τοὺς σπουδαίους μεγίστη (ὠ)φέλεια γίνεται τοῖς βουλομένοις
πρὸς τελει(ό)τητα φθάσαι. Εἰ οὖν θέλ(ει)ς δυνηθῆναι πᾶσιν τούτοις ἐξακολου-
θῆσαι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν πνευματικὸν κανόνα τοῦ κοινοβίου ἄχρ(ι) τέλους 10
διακαρτερῆσαι, ταῦτα ἃ εἶπεν ὁ Δαυὶδ ἀναγκαῖά σοι πρὸς παραφυλακὴν ἐν τῇ
20^v συνοδίᾳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἔστωσαν· Ἐγὼ δὲ ὥσει κ(ω)φός οὐκ ἤκο(υ)ον, καὶ ὥσει
ἄλλαλος οὐκ ἀν(οί)γων τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐγενόμην ὥσει ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἀκούων
καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ ἐλεγμούς.^b

Ὅσα τοίνυν βλέπεις ἀλλότρια οἰκοδομῆς καὶ ὠφελείας, ὡς τυφλὸς γενοῦ· 15
καὶ ὅσα ἀκούεις, ὡς κ(ω)φός καὶ ἄλλαλος καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ἐν τῷ στόματι ἐλεγμούς.
Καὶ μὴ μιμήσ(ῃ) τούτους, ὅσοι ἄπιστοι καὶ ἀνήκοοι καὶ προπετεῖς καὶ ὕβρισται

1 τούτ(οις) Cod. V104. M. V121: τούτων. Cf. *supra*, Cod. p. 8': τῶν ὁμοίων τούτοις. The expres-
sion ταῦτα τοίνυν καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὁμοία discussed *infra*, Cod. p. 93' 1–2 γνωρίζεται, ἥτις, ὅταν
ἐν ἀληθείᾳ M. γνωρίζεται. Ταῦτα, ὅταν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ 2 κατορθωθ(ῇ) Cod. κατορθωθεῖ. M. ὅταν ἐν
ἀληθείᾳ κατορθωθῇ. V121: ἥτις ἐν ἀληθείᾳ κατορθωθεῖ. V104: ἥτις ὅταν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ κατορθωθεῖ
3–4 (μετὰ ἀνάγκης καὶ) κόπου M. μετὰ ἀνάγκης καὶ κόπου 3–4 (μετὰ ἀνάγκης καὶ) With V121
4–5 ἡντινα M. V104. V121: ἡνπερ 5 μ(ι)μησιν Cod. μήμησιν 6 ὀλίγοι τῶν ... κεκτημένων
ἀδελφοί. This codex allows for emendation of a distorted text at this point, which in Migne
goes thus: οἱ λόγοι τῶν συμβαινόντων, καὶ εὐλάβειαν κεκτημένων ἀδελφῶν 6 συμμεν(ό)ντων
Cod. συμμενώντων 6 κεκτημένων M. κεκτημένων. V121: κεκτημένοι 7 ῥαθυμ(ό)τερον Cod.
ῥαθυμώτερον. M. οἱ πλείους καὶ ἀμελέστερόν τε καὶ ῥαθυμώτερον. V104: οἱ πλείους καὶ ἀμελέ-
στερόν καὶ ῥαθυμώτερον. V121: οἱ πλείους καὶ ῥαθυμώτερον 8 τοὺς σπουδαίους M. τοὺς ἁγίους
8 (ὠ)φέλεια Cod. ὀφέλεια 8 γίνεται M. V104. V121: προσγίνεται 9 τελει(ό)τητα Cod.
τελειώτητα 9 οὖν M. τοίνυν 9 θέλ(ει)ς Cod. θέλεις. M. V121: Εἰ τοίνυν θέλεις. V104: Εἰ τοίνυν
θέλῃς 10 ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν πνευματικὸν κανόνα M. ὑπὸ τούτων εἰς τὸν πνευματικὸν ἀγῶνα. V121:
ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντων τὸν πνευματικὸν κανόνα 10 τοῦτον τὸν πνευματικὸν κανόνα M. τούτων εἰς τὸν
πνευματικὸν ἀγῶνα 10 ἄχρ(ι) Cod. ἄχρη 11 πρὸς παραφυλακὴν M. πρὸς φυλακὴν. V104:
πρὸς πᾶσαν παραφυλακὴν 12 κ(ω)φός Cod. κοφός 12 ἤκο(υ)ον Cod. ἤκοον 13 ἀν(οί)γων
Cod. ἀνύγων 16 κ(ω)φός Cod. κοφός 17 μιμήσ(ῃ) Cod. μιμήσει 17–62.1 καὶ ὕβρισταὶ καὶ
συρφετοὶ M. καὶ συρφετοί, καὶ ὕβρισταί

^a Cf. 1 John 4:18. ^b Psalm 37:14–15. In Migne the quotation is wanting: Ἐγὼ δὲ ὥσει κωφός
οὐκ ἤκουον, καὶ ὥσει ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἀκούων καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ ἐλεγμούς.

by such signs and the like is humility recognised. And when this has been truly attained, then at once it leads on to the heights of *love*, in which there is no *fear of hell*,³¹ and through which everything is no longer observed with effort and because this is imposed by necessity, but because of earnest ardour and desire for goodness. And that you may the more easily arrive at this virtue, the examples which you should imitate should be those few brothers who live with us, not the majority of them who live recklessly and indolently.³² For anyone who wishes to attain to perfection takes immense advantage from imitating and simulating those who are excellent.³³ And if you wish to make yourself able to abide by these principles and endure the spiritual canon of the coenobium to the end, |
 20^v it is necessary for you to observe the following words of David, which will guard you while you are with the brethren: *I was like a deaf man and heard not and as one that is dumb who does not open his mouth; and I became as a man that hears not, and in whose mouth there are no reproofs.*³⁴

Whenever, therefore, you come upon things which are alien to edification and betterment, make yourself a blind man, and to those which you hear be as if you were deaf and dumb, and a man that no reproof is found in his mouth. Do not imitate those who are unfaithful, disobedient, presumptuous, abusive, scum; but overlook them all, as if you were a deaf

³¹ Cf. 1John 4:18.

³² Once again abbot Pinufrius, in fact Cassian, describes a state of monastic moral decay. The Latin text obscures this point behind the hackneyed Christian truism that only a few are perfect. Cf. Op. cit. IV.40.

³³ τοὺς σπουδαίους. Cf. the same word as *supra*, Cod. p. 18b: τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ καλοῖς.

³⁴ Psalm 37:15.

καὶ συρφετοὶ τυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς κ(ω)φὸς καὶ μὴ ἀκούων ταῦτα παραπέμ-
 που. Ἐάν σοί (τις) ἐλέγχους ἢ ὀνειδῇ ἢ ὕβρεις ἐπιπέμψ(η), ἀκίνητος ἔσ(ο) ὡς
 πεφ(ι)μωμένος καὶ ἄλαλος, αἰετὸν τὸν στίχον τοῦτον τοῦ ψαλμοῦ ἑαυτῷ ἐπιλέγων·
 21^τ *Εἰπα· Φυλάξω τὰς ὁδοὺς μου, τοῦ μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν με ἐν γλώσσ(η) μου. Ἐθέ|μην (τῷ)*
στόματί μου φυλακὴν, ἐν τῷ συστήναι τὸν ἁμαρτωλὸν ἐναντίον μου.^a

5

Ἔτι μὴν πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τέταρτον τοῦτο πρὸ πάντων μελέτα καὶ φύ-
 λασσε, ὅπερ καὶ τὰ ἀνωτέρω εἰρημένα τρία²⁴ κοσμήσαι δύναται. Τὸ(ν) μωρόν
 καὶ ἄφρονα ἑαυτόν, κατὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου ρητόν, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι ποιῆσαι
 ἵνα γένῃ σοφός,^b δηλονότι μὴδὲν διακρίνων ἢ διστάζων ἐν οἷς ἂν προσταχθ(ῇ)ς
 ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς ποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πάσης ἀπλότητος καὶ πίστεως τὴν ὑπα-
 10 κοὴν ποιῶν, ἐκείνο μόνον ἄγιον τῶν ἁγίων λογιζόμενος καὶ σοφὸν καὶ συμφέρον
 πιστεύων, τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς προσταχθέν σοι. Τοιαύτῃ γὰρ διαθέσει ἀσφα-
 λισάμενος τὴν σὴν καρδίαν, δυνήσ(η) ἕως τέλους ὑπομεῖναι τὸν χρηστὸν ζυγὸν
 21^ν τῆς ὑποταγῆς, καὶ οὐδὲν σε τ(ῶ)ν τοῦ διαβόλου | πειρατηρίων καὶ τεχνασμά-
 των δυνήσεται σαλεύσαι ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστ(ή)μης τοῦ κοινοβίου. Καὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν
 15 δὲ καὶ μακροθυμίαν τὴν σὴν μὴ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῆς προσδόκα κατορθοῦ-
 σθαι· οἷον ὅταν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς παροξύνῃ ἢ ἐξουθενούσῃ ἢ ἀτιμάζ(η), ὅπερ οὐδὲ
 τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς ἐστὶν δεῖγμα τοῦτο, οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ σῇ ἐξουσίᾳ κέῖται· ἀλλ' ὅταν
 λ(οι)δ(ο)ρούμενος ἢ ἀτιμαζόμενος ἢ ἐξουθενούμενος πράως ὑποφέρ(η)ς· τοῦτο
 γὰρ ἐν τῇ σῇ προαιρέσει κέῖται.

10

15

20

1 κ(ω)φὸς Cod. κοφός 2 ἐπιπέμψ(η) Cod. ἐπιπέμψει 2 ἔσ(ο) Cod. ἔσω 3 πεφ(ι)μωμένος
 Cod. πεφνημωμένος 3 αἰετὸν ... ἑαυτῷ ἐπιλέγων Cod. M. αἰετὸν τὸν στίχον ἐπιλέγων
 τοῦ ψαλμοῦ 3 τὸν στίχον ... ἑαυτῷ ἐπιλέγων M. τὸν στίχον ἐπιλέγων τοῦ ψαλμοῦ. V121:
 τὸν στίχον τοῦτον τοῦ ψαλμοῦ σαυτῷ ἐπιλέγων 4 γλώσσ(η) γλώσσει 4 (τῷ) Cod. τό
 6–7 φύλασσε M. φυλάσσω. V104: φύλαξον 7 καὶ τὰ ἀνωτέρω εἰρημένα M. καὶ ταῦτα τὰ
 ἀνωτέρω εἰρημένα 7 Τὸ(ν) Cod. το 8 τοῦ ἀποστόλου ρητόν M. V104, V121: τὸ ἀποστόλου
 παράγγελμα 8 ποιῆσαι Cod. ποιῆσαι. M. ποιῆσαι 9 δηλονότι M. δηλονότι. V121: τουτέστι
 9 προσταχθ(ῇ)ς Cod. προσταχθεῖς. V104: προσταχθῆς ποιῆσαι 10 ὑπὸ τοῦ ... καὶ πίστεως The
 expression ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς ποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πάσης ἀπλότητος καὶ πίστεως fills a lacuna
 in Migne, where the text goes thus: ἐν οἷς ἂν προσταχθῆς, ἀπλότητος καὶ πίστεως τὴν ὑπακοὴν
 ποιῶν 11 ποιῶν V104: πληρῶν 13 δυνήσ(η) Cod. δυνήσει 13 τὸν χρηστὸν ζυγὸν M. τὸν
 Χριστοῦ ζυγὸν 14 τ(ῶ)ν Cod. τὸν. V104: οὐδὲν τῶν 15 ἐπιστ(ή)μης Cod. ἐπιστήμη 15 τοῦ
 κοινοβίου M. τοῦ βίου. Once again, this Codex makes it possible to restore the real text of
 Cassian 15–16 Καὶ τὴν ... καὶ μακροθυμίαν M. Καὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν δὲ καὶ τὴν ταπεινώσιν καὶ
 τὴν μακροθυμίαν 17 ὅταν M. ἐάν 17 ἢ ἐξουθενούσῃ M. ἢ οὐκ ἐξουθενώσῃ 17 ἀτιμάζ(η)
 Cod. ἀτιμάζει. M. ἢ οὐκ ἀτιμάζει. V121: ἢ οὐκ ἐξουθενούσῃ ἢ οὐκ ἀτιμάζει 17 οὐδὲ M. V121: οὐτε
 18 οὐδὲ M. V104. οὐτε 18 ἐν τῇ σῇ ἐξουσίᾳ M. ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ 19 λ(οι)δ(ο)ρούμενος Cod.
 λυθωρούμενος 19 ὑποφέρ(η)ς Cod. ὑποφέρεις. M. V104. V121: φέρης

^a Psalm 38:2. Migne has also part of the ensuing verse, 38:3: ἐκωφώθην, καὶ ἐταπεινώθην.

^b Cf. 1 Cor. 3:18.

man. If one offers you censure, or shame or abuse, be immovable as if you were muzzled and mute, saying always to yourself the following verse of the psalm: *I said I will take heed to my ways that I offend not with my tongue.*

21^r *I set | a guard to my mouth when the sinner stood before me.*³⁵

In addition to all the aforesaid advice, and above all this, do study and observe the following fourth thing, which can adorn those three of which we have spoken above: that is, make yourself, according to the saying by the apostle, a *moron* and fool in this world that you may become *wise*,³⁶ which means, exercise no discrimination of your own or hesitate on any of those matters which you are commanded to do by your father; but always show obedience with all simplicity and faith, considering the ordinance given to you by your father as being the most holy of all things, and wise, and in your interests. For once you have secured your heart by means of this disposition, you will be able to endure the gentle yoke
21^v of obedience and none of the temptations | or cunning contrivances caused by the devil will be able to make you lose hold of the discipline of the coenobium. You should, therefore, seek to attain your patience and humility and forbearance not from the virtue of others, that is, when you are not irritated or not despised or not put to shame by anyone. For suffering this is neither a token of your virtue, nor does it lie within your power. By contrast, [it is a token of your virtue] when you suffer quietly whenever you are abused, or put to shame, or despised, since [enduring] this lies within your free choice.

³⁵ Psalm 38:2. Cassian describes a hardly tolerable awful situation which the novice will encounter, due to the behaviour of the vast majority of monks. This is a portrayal of a horrendous moral decay of the monastic ethos, which the Latin text eschews altogether. Cf. Op. cit. IV.41.

³⁶ Cf. 1 Cor. 3:18.

Ἵνα τοίνυν ταῦτα πάντα ἅπερ πλατύτερον εἰρήκαμεν συναθροίσαντες, τίποτε σύντομον εἰπόμεν πρὸς τ(ὸ) εὐκόλως τὴν σὴν διάνοιαν τούτων μνημονεύειν, ἄκουε πάλιν κατὰ τάξιν πῶς δυνήσ(η) ἐπιβῆναι τῆς τελει(ό)τητος.

22^τ Ἀρχὴ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐστὶν | σωτηρίας ὁ φόβος τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἐκ τούτου γεννᾶται ἀγαθὴ ὑπακοή· ἐκ ταύτης τίκεται ἡ ἀποταγή καὶ ἡ καταφρόνησις πάντων τῶν 5 τοῦ κόσμου πραγμάτων· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἡ ταπεινώσις.²⁵ ἐκ δὲ τῆς ταπεινώσεως γεννᾶται τῶν ἰδίων θελημάτων ἡ νέκρωσις· ἐκ δὲ τῆς νεκρώσεως τῶν θελημάτων αἱ τῶν ἡδονῶν ρίζαι μαραίνονται· ἐκ δὲ τούτου πάντα τὰ ἐλαττ(ώ)ματα τῆς 10 ψυχῆς ἀποβάλλονται· τῇ δὲ ἀποβολῇ τούτων, αἱ ἀρεταὶ καρπὸν ποιοῦσιν καὶ αὐξάνουσιν· τῇ δὲ αὐξήσει τῶν ἀρετῶν ἡ καθαρότης τῆς καρδίας προσγίνεται· τῇ δὲ καθαρ(ό)τητι τῆς καρδίας ἡ ἀποστολικὴ τελει(ό)της παραγίνεται· ἀμήν.

1 ταῦτα πάντα M. αὐτὰ πάντα 1 συναθροίσαντες Cod. συναθρύναντες 2 τ(ὸ) Cod. τῷ 3 πῶς M. πῶς. V121: ὅπως 3 δυνήσ(η) Cod. δυνήσει. M. πῶς κατὰ τάξιν δυνήσει 3 τελει(ό)τητος Cod. τελειώτητος 4 τῆς ἡμετέρας ... ὁ φόβος M. τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας ὁ φόβος ἐστὶ 4 ἐστὶν σωτηρίας ὁ φόβος M. σωτηρίας ὁ φόβος. V121: σωτηρίας ἐστὶν 5 ἐκ ταύτης M. ἐξ ἧς 5 ἀποταγή M. V121: ὑποταγή. *Constitutio Monasterri Prodromi* τοῦ Φοβεροῦ, ὑποταγή 5–6 καταφρόνησις πάντων τῶν τοῦ κόσμου M. ἡ καταφρόνησις τῶν τοῦ κόσμου 7 τῆς νεκρώσεως τῶν θελημάτων M. τῆς τῶν θελημάτων νεκρώσεως 8 τούτου M. τούτων 8 ἐλαττ(ώ)ματα Cod. ἐλαττόματα 9 αἱ ἀρεταὶ καρπὸν ποιοῦσιν M. αἱ ἀρεταὶ αὐξοῦσι 10 αὐξάνουσιν M. καρποφοροῦσι. But αὐξάνουσιν is in fact the verb used by Cassian, on account of the ensuing phrase: τῇ δὲ αὐξήσει τῶν ἀρετῶν. V104: αὐξάνονται. V121: αὐξάνουσι 11 καθαρ(ό)τητι Cod. καθαρώτητι. M. ταῖς δὲ καθαρότησι 11 ἡ ἀποστολικὴ τελει(ό)της παραγίνεται· ἀμήν Migne has a different closure: ἡ ἀποστολικὴ τελειότης ἐπακολουθεῖ χάριτι καὶ συνεργεῖα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. In both V104 and V121 there is no ἀμήν 11 τελει(ό)της Cod. τελειώτης

22^f And in order that we recapitulate and state in a concise form all these things which we have set forth in some length, so that your mind can memorise them easily, listen once again to how you can mount up to the heights of perfection in an orderly way. The beginning of our | salvation is fear of God. From this, kind obedience is born. From this, submission and contempt for all things of the world is born. From this, humility [is born]; and from humility, mortification of one's selfish desires is born. From mortification of one's selfish desires, the roots of pleasures are withered. From this, all the defects of the soul are cast out. By means of them being expelled, virtues produce fruits and grow. Through growth of virtues, cleanness of heart arrives. And through cleanness of heart, apostolic perfection accrues. Amen.

NOTES TO THE TEXT

1. The diction διατυπώσεως καὶ κανόνων appears for the first time in the Ecclesiastical History by Gelasius of Cyzicus (fl. c. 475), *HE*, 2.29.9; 2.31.10; 2.37.29. Later, it transpires in Theodore Studites as a recurrent motif. *Epistulae*, 25: τὰς κανονικὰς διατυπώσεις. 28: τοὺς κανόνας αὐτῆς καὶ διατυπώσεις. 30: ἱεράς καὶ κανονικὰς διατυπώσεις. *Parva Catechesis*, Catechesis 53: τῇ τοῦ καθοδηγοῦντος αὐτὸν διατυπώσει κανονίζεσθαι. Nikon of Montenegro (eleventh–twelfth cent.), the great admirer of Cassian, entertains the expression precisely at the point where he mentions Cassian himself. *Canonarium vel Typicon*, 1, p. 33. Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 5^v: Ταύταις δὲ ταῖς διατυπώσεσι καὶ διδασκαλίαις. *Op. cit.* p. 6^r: ὁ πρὸς ἀρετὴν τυπούμενος. *Op. cit.* p. 8^v: τὸ τοσοῦτον διετύπωσαν. *Op. cit.* p. 9^r: τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις κλίμασι παραδεδομένων διατυπώσεων. *OctoVit*, p. 22^v: τὸν περὶ διατυπώσεως κοινοβίων συντάξαντες λόγον. *ScetPatr*, p. 56^v: περὶ τε διατυπώσεως κοινοβίων. *ScetPatr*, p. 73^v: τῇ διδασκῇ καὶ διατυπώσει. *Op. cit.* p. 78^v: καὶ τῇ τοῦτου διδασκῇ τυποῦται καὶ κανονίζεται πῶς δεῖ ἀποκρίνεσθαι Θεῷ ... Τοῦτον βούλεται τῇ διατυπώσει καὶ διδασκῇ τοῦ γέροντος παιδαγωγεῖσθαι.

2. The participle εἴξας is Past tense of the verb εἴκω, meaning ‘concede’, ‘comply with’, ‘defer’, ‘yield’. Beyond some use in Ephesus and Chalcedon, the participle was abundantly entertained at the Local Council of Constantinople in 536, where Cassian was present. He presumably employed the form from his experience during the official discussions there. ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum anno 431*, 1,1,7, p. 68: εἴξας τοῖς θείοις καὶ βασιλικοῖς προστάγμασιν. *Concilium Universale Chalcedonense anno 451*, 2,1,2, p. 51. Cf. εἴξας. Cf. ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum anno 431*, 1,1,5, pp. 14; 22; 96; 119; 126; 155. *Concilium Universale Chalcedonense anno 451*, 2,1,2, pp. 14; 51; 158. ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, pp. 9; 10; 13; 14; 15; 108; 178; 223; 224; 227; 230

3. The expression (εἴ)ξας ἐγὼ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ κελεύσει is a telling token of Cassian’s Sabaite language employed by other Sabaite intellectuals, too, such as Antiochus of Palestine. *Epistula ad Eustathium*, lines 13–13: εἴξα προθύμως τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ κελεύσει. Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 121: ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Σάβας ὑπέσχετο μὲν εἴξει τῇ ἑαυτοῦ κελεύσει. During this exploration it will be evident that Cassian the Sabaite’s language transpires in religious hymns,

composition of which flourished at the Laura of Sabas, as well as at the Akoimetoι. Theodore Studites will emerge as a staunch follower of this language, and of Sabaite heritage in general. Cf. *Analecta Hymnica Graeca, Canones Novembris*, 7.15.6. Theodore Studites, *Sermones Catechesos Magnae*, Catechesis 48, p. 134. Otherwise, this form is absent from literature during the first nine centuries, only to appear at a couple of later instances.

4. Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 68^r: πολυαριθμήτων ἐτῶν. There is only one parallel to Cassian's expression πολυαριθμητος πληθὺς, which is a pleonasm, since πολυαριθμητος is a πληθὺς anyway. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *Quod Mari Similis Sit Haec Vita*, PG.64.22.51–52: καὶ σώζεται τὰ πολυαριθμητὰ πλήθη. In Latin, this illustrative expression was rendered as only 'an innumerable multitude of brothers'. *Institutiones*, II.10, PL.49.97B–98A: Cum igitur praedictas solemnitates, quas illi synaxes vocant, celebraturi conveniunt, tantum a cunctis silentium praebetur, ut cum in unum tam innumerosa fratrum multitudo conveniat.

5. The word for 'yawn' is χάσμη, not χάσμα which means 'gap'. V104 & V107 correctly copied from our codex. Cf. Hippocrates, *De Prisca Medicina*, 10: καὶ νωθοὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν γνώμην, χάσμης τε καὶ νυσταγμοῦ καὶ δίψης πλήρεις. Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, 2.9.81.5: νυσταγμοὶ καὶ διεκτάσεις καὶ χάσμαι δυσαρεστίαι ψυχῆς εἰσιν ἀβεβαίου. Porphyry, *De Abstinencia*, 1.28: ἢ χάσμης οἱ συνόντες τοῖς χασμωμένοις, οὕτως νυσταγμῶν ἐμπλησθῶμεν καὶ ὕπνου.

6. The term χαυνότης διανοίας could have been used only by a first-hand student of the Cappadocians. Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *Antirrheticus Adversus Apollinarium*, v. 3,1, p. 229: τὸ χαῦνον τῆς διανοίας. *De Oratione Dominica Orationes* v, p. 212: τὴν χαυνότητα τῆς διανοίας. Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa, *In Annuntiationem*, line 28: χαῦνη τῇ διανοίᾳ. Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae*, 135.1: τὸ κοῦφον τῆς διανοίας καὶ χαῦνον. *Homilia in Illud: Attende Tibi Ipsi*, p. 31: τὴν χαυνότητα τῆς διανοίας. Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, v. 2, p. 400: καὶ χαυνουμένων αἰετὴν διάνοιαν. John Chrysostom, *Ad Stelechium De Compunctione* (lib. 2), PG.47.421.51–53: καὶ τοῦ φόβου κατασειόντος τὴν διάνοιαν, δυνηθῆναι τὸ χαῦνον αὐτῆς καὶ διακεχυμένον ἐξελεῖν. *In Epistulam ad Hebraeos* (homiliae 1–34), PG.63.235.36–37: καὶ πᾶν χαῦνον καὶ διαλελυμένον ἐκβάλλει ἐκ τῆς διανοίας τῆς ἡμετέρας. Furthermore, Pseudo-Caesarius (= Cassian), *QR*, 65: ὁ δὲ κουφότερος ἤτοι χαυνότερος διανοίᾳ καὶ λόγῳ. It seems that both the Laura of Sabas and the monastery of the Akoimetoι were the places where Origen's catenae-fragments on the Psalms were written, along with most of Ephraem Syrus' translations and probably the *QetR* ascribed to either Theodoret or

Pseudo-Justin. Cf. Origen, *frPs*, Psalm 18:13–14: χαυνουμένης ἐπὶ τοῦτο τῆς διανοίας. Op. cit. Psalm 72:2: τῆς διανοίας κινήματα καὶ διανοήματα, ἅπερ ἐκχέονται καὶ χαυνοῦνται. Pseudo-Gregory Thaumaturgus, *In Annuntiationem Sanctae Virginis Mariae (homiliae 1–2)*, PG.10.1148.49: χαύνῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ. Ephraem Syrus, *Precationes*, p. 5: τῆς χαύνης μου διανοίας. Pseudo-Theodoret, *QetR*, p. 67: τρόποις ἐτέροις ἡδοντο, ἐξοριστικοῖς χαυνώσεως ἐκ τῆς διανοίας τῶν ἀδόντων.

This telling expression is virtually absent from the Latin. *Institutiones*, II.10, PL.49.98B: Illum vero qui constitutus in tempore mentis cum clamore supplicat, aut aliquid horum quae praediximus, e faucibus suis emit, aut praecipue oscitationibus praevenitur, dupliciter peccare pronuntiant.

7. ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς μοναστηρίοις. This suggests that both Castor and Cassian were living in the same region. Cf. *Institutiones*, IV.2, PL.49.152B–153A: Quorum tam longa perseverantia, et humilitas atque subjectio quemadmodum tam diuturna perduret, quae institutione formetur, per quam usque ad incurvam senectam in coenobio perseverent, opinor nos ante omnia debere perstringere. Tanta namque est, quantam neminem in monasteriis nostris ingressum ne anno quidem integro tenuisse meminimus.

8. It is Cassian himself who appointed the title of this section. Cf. Cod. p. 11': Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν περὶ ὑποταγ(ῆ)ς καὶ ταπεινώσεως εἴρηται ('and since this discourse has been entitled by us *On Obedience and Humility*'). Which is why later scribes used this title in their excerpts. Cf. Codex Metamorphosis 583, Meteora, p. 129^v (title): ἀββᾶ Κασσιανοῦ περὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης καὶ ὑποταγῆς.

9. ἐν τῇ τοῦ μοναστηρίου ἐπιστήμῃ. This is one more expression pointing to a sixth-century author. The 'science of monasticism' is characteristic of (indeed exclusive to) Justinian, *Novellae*, p. 618: καὶ δυνάμενον τὴν τῶν μοναχῶν ἐπιστήμην καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ μοναστηρίου κατάστασιν χρησίμως φυλάξαι. Cassian uses the similar expression τῆς ἐπιστήμης τοῦ κοινοβίου (Cod. p. 4^v), which was reproduced by the *Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi τοῦ Φοβεροῦ*, 8, pp. 19 and 24, p. 42. See Appendix I.

Cf. *Institutiones*, IV.7, PL.49. *Institutiones*, IV.7, PL.49.154A–155A: Igitur ambiens quis intra coenobii recipi disciplinam, non ante prorsus admittitur, ... [156A] Sciunt enim eum sub monasterii disciplina diuturnum esse non posse, sed ne humilitatis quidem, aut obedientiae apprehensurum esse virtutem.

10. This is a testimony to the full text of Cassian, which is missing in Migne, although this editor thought this point of his text to be complete and reading thus: 'Ὡς ἐκ ταύτης λοιπὸν τῆς ἀκριβείας μὴ εὐχερὲς εἶναι τῷ βουλομένῳ εισέρχεσθαι ὡς βούλεται ἢ ἀναχωρεῖν τῆς μονῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὴ ἐμμένοντα κατὰ πάντα τρόπον τῇ ἰδίᾳ ὁμολογίᾳ μετενδύεσθαι τοῦ μοναστηρίου. Wotke's text is almost identical with the one in our codex. Cf. *Institutiones*, IV.6. PL.49.159C–160A: Nullum etenim fas est cum illis quae accepit, abscedere, nec quemquam patiuntur illis adhuc indui, quem semel ab institutionis suae regula tepuisse perviderint. Unde etiam copia nulli penitus palam discedendi conceditur, nisi aut in morem servi fugacis captans densissimas tenebras nocte diffugiat; aut certe hoc ordine et professione iudicatus indignus, cum confusione et nota coram cunctis fratribus deposita veste monasterii, expellatur.

11. The expression τελειοτάτη ἀρετή comes from Chrysippus and it was only a handful of authors that used it. Chrysippus, *Fragmenta Logica et Physica*, Fr. 459: ἀρετὴν δὲ σπουδαίων τελειοτάτην. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Lysia*, 9: κρατίστην ἀπασῶν ἀρετὴν καὶ τελειοτάτην. Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 116–117: αὐρὰ τινὶ τελειοτάτης ἀρετῆς ἐπιπνευσθέντα. *De Specialibus Legibus* (lib. i–iv), 2.68: τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον ἐπιδοῦναι πρὸς ἀρετὴν τελειοτάτην. *De Aeternitate Mundi*, 75 (quoting Chrysippus): ἀρετὴν δὲ σπουδαίων τελειοτάτην. Iamblichus, *Protrepticus*, p. 114: καὶ τὴν τελειοτάτην ἀρετὴν γινώσκειν δικαιοσύνην, ἥς συμπληρωτικαὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ καὶ ἥς ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ὄφελος. Theodoret, *Quaestiones In Octateuchum*, p. 207: καὶ μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τῇ τελειοτάτῃ ἀρετῇ τοῦ νομοθέτου τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡ παροιμία. *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80.1117.42–44: 'Ὁ δὲ Δεσπότης Χριστὸς τὴν τελειοτάτην δεικνὺς ἀρετὴν, ἔφη. John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, v. 13,1, pp. 145–146: ὃ γὰρ φρόνησις πάρεστι, πάντα γνῶριμα τὰ πρακτέα· τελειοτάτῃ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀρετή. Therefore, of Christian authors, it was only Theodoret and Cassian that entertained both the idea and the expression, which does not transpire in the parallel Latin. *Institutiones*, IV.7, PL.49.161B: alii traditur seniori, qui decem junioribus praeest, quos sibi creditos ab abbate instituit pariter, et gubernat: secundum illud scilicet quod ordinatum in Exodo legimus per Moysen.

12. See the idiom discussed in *RCR*, ch. 3, p. 184.

13. Cassian referring to devil imposing wicked thoughts or acts has a predilection for the verb ἀναπεῖθαι, which transpires twice in Jer. 38:8. Cf. Cod. p. 33^v: εἰς τὸ ἐργόχειρον ἀναπεῖθαι. *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XXX: ἀλλὰ, καθὼς εἴρηται, ὀργὴν θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν διάβολον, τὸν ἀναπεῖθοντα ἀμαρτάνειν.

14. Cf. *Institutiones*, IV.10. PL.49.162A: Aliter quippe subtilissimus diabolus illudere vel dejicere juniorem non poterit, nisi cum eum, seu per arrogantiam, sive per verecundiam, ad cogitationum suarum velamen illexerit. Generale namque et evidens indicium diabolicae cogitationis esse pronuntiant si eam seniori confundamur aperire.

15. The Plural Genitive Καππαδόκων for Καππαδοκῶν is a minority pronunciation occurring in Hippolytus, Athenaeus, geographer Strabo, historian Josephus, in a translation of Ephraem Syrus (only once, whereas there is no alternative usage), and John Malalas. In Eusebius and John Chrysostom both alternatives transpire, probably out of editorial emendation.

16. The spelling κουκούλλια (with double lamda) of this codex is perfectly acceptable. Besides, it appears in authors significant to our exploration, such as Evagrius of Pontus, Cyril of Scythopolis, Maximus Confessor. Also, in Greek translations of Ephraem Syrus (many of which were produced in the Laura of St. Sabas), as well as in the Acts of several monasteries. It seems, therefore, that in the environment of St. Sabas monastery, where Codex 573 was written, this was the accepted spelling of the word.

17. The expression τὸ ἀκρότατον τῆς ἀρετῆς comes from Lucian of Samosata, *Vitarum Auctio*, 23, and it was Gregory of Nyssa who made the most of it. *De Instituto Christiano*, v. 8,1, p. 41; *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*, 1; *De Oratione Dominica Orationes* v, p. 290. We come upon casual usage by Basil of Caesarea, *Adversus Eunomium* (*libri* 5), PG.29.509.1, and Gregory of Nazianzus, *Apologetica* (*orat.* 2), PG.35.425.10. Likewise, Cyril of Alexandria, *Thesaurus De Sancta Consubstantiali Trinitate*, PG.75.173.39. Olympiodorus, the deacon of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Job*, p. 359. George Cedrenus, *Compendium Historiarum*, v. 2, p. 265. Michael Psellus, *Theologica*, Opusculum 59. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea (= Cassian), *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaiam*, 9.228: τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκρότατον τῆς ἀρετῆς τελείωσιν. Cassian once again follows Gregory of Nyssa, in like a manner that Theodore Studites followed Cassian himself. Cf. τὸ ἀκρότατον τῆς ἀρετῆς in Theodore Studites, *Μεγάλη Κατήχησις*, Catechesis 81, p. 566; Catechesis 97, p. 695; Catechesis 113, p. 837; *Sermones Catechesos Magnae*, Catechesis 11, p. 33; *Parva Catechesis*, Catechesis 20, line 57. Cf. *Institutiones*, IV.23. PL.49.183A: Et quoniam hic liber de institutione est ejus qui renuntiat huic mundo, per quam scilicet introductus ad humilitatem veram, et obedientiam perfectam, caeterarum quoque virtutum culmina possit ascendere.

18. The Latin has it Mucius, which was a known Roman name (among others, this was the name of a Roman general). Cf. *Institutiones*, IV.27, PL.49.186B: Nunc abbatis Mucii factum memoria dignum comprehendam. Migne has it Πατήρ Μούθιος. But Πατερμούθιος was the name of a Palestinian leading monk, to whom Origen had written a letter of consolation. Cf. Eusebius, *De Martyribus Palaestinae (recensio brevior)*, 13.3 & Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 118, p. 93a. About Paternuthius, a former bandit who was the one who introduced the monastic dress, see the anonymous *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, Vita 10 (biography of Paternuthius). Also, another Paternuthius is attested in the collection *Vita et Miracula Petri Atroatae*, Vita, 29. In the *Typicon Magnae Ecclesiae (Typicon Menaeum)*, there are feast days for different martyrs Paternuthii, which are 19 January, 17 April, 9 November. In the *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopoleos*, the foregoing martyr Paternuthius (feast day: 17 April) is granted a feast day on December 17. This is the martyr who died under the reign of Julian the Apostate. An unpublished codex of Meteora (Roussanos Monastery, Codex 3, thirteenth century) has a *Menologion* recording 9 July as Paternuthius' feast day and mentions that he lived during the times of Julian the Apostate. Another *Menologion* in a codex of the same cloister (Codex 12, fourteenth century) has some verses in his honour, which are recited on September 17: they advise that he died a martyr in a furnace along with a certain Elias. The same codex records his feast day on December 17. There are several existing hymns composed in his honour. Cf. Christophorus Mytinenaeus (eleventh cent.), *Calendaria Metrica*, Month July; lines 13 & 50. *Analecta Hymnica Graeca, Canones Julii*, 9.16. In Codex V121, the scribe notes the name on the left margin with a capital pi (Πατερμούθιος) once again, so as no doubt should remain about the precise orthography of this proper name.

19. Πινούφιος appears to be the name of a monk who was a spiritual son of Theodore Studites. *Epistulae*, 20. Furthermore, another unpublished *synaxarium* of the monastery of Roussanos, Meteora (Codex 12) mentions 'pious Pinuphius' (ὁσιος Πινούφιος) (feast day: 27 November), which transpires in the Latin rendering, too. Cf. *Collationes*, IV.30, PL.49.189A: Pynuphius. However, *Pinufrius* (Πινούφριος) is also a known character of the Greek *synaxaria* (feast day: 27 November), which relate the same story as the present one.

20. Cassian speaks in first person: 'I myself spent some time with this old man ... in my presence'. The Latin has it in Plural, suggesting the presence of Germanus along with Cassian, which though the Greek does not say.

Institutiones, IV.23, PL.49.193A. Also, op. cit. IV.32, PL.49.193A–B: Hunc igitur senem pro illa, quae nobis fuerat apud ipsum in monasterio nostro familiaritas, cum post haec in Aegypto studiosissime requisissemus exhortationem quam dedit fratri quem sub nostra praesentia in coenobio suo recipiebat, quia puto ex hac posse aliquid instructionis accedere, animus est opusculo huic intexere.

21. Cassian the Sabaite, *Const.*, p. 18^v: τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ καλοῖς. A simple phrase and yet an illuminating one, which reveals Cassian's Aristotelian erudition. This was used by Plato only casually at a certain point, and it was Aristotle who took it up from his master and entertained it abundantly. Plato, *Euthydemus*, 300e1: Τί γελᾷς, ὦ Κλεινία, ἐπὶ σπουδαίοις οὕτω πράγμασιν καὶ καλοῖς; Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, 1100b27: καὶ ἡ χρῆσις αὐτῶν καλὴ καὶ σπουδαία. 1148a23: αἱ μὲν εἰσι (τῶν) τῷ γένει καλῶν καὶ σπουδαίων. 1169a32–33: εἰκότως δὴ δοκεῖ σπουδαῖος εἶναι, ἀντὶ πάντων αἰρούμενος τὸ καλόν. 1176b8: τὰ γὰρ καλὰ καὶ σπουδαῖα πράττειν. *Magna Moralia*, 1.9.9: τὰ δὲ καλὰ καὶ σπουδαῖα κελεύει. 2.7.23: καὶ ἐὰν μὲν γε ἡδόμενος πράττῃ, σπουδαῖος ἔσται, ἂν δὲ λυπούμενος τὰ καλὰ πράττῃ, οὐ σπουδαῖος. *Politica*, 1332a24: καὶ τὰς χρήσεις ἀναγκαῖον σπουδαίας καὶ καλὰς εἶναι ταύτας ἀπλῶς. *Rhetorica*, 1364b8–11: καὶ ὧν αἱ ἐπιστήμαι καλλίους ἢ σπουδαιότεραι, καὶ τὰ πράγματα καλλίω καὶ σπουδαιότερα· ... καὶ τῶν σπουδαιότερων δὲ καὶ καλλιόνων αἱ ἐπιστήμαι ἀνάλογον διὰ τὸ αὐτό. 1367a18: καὶ αἱ τῶν φύσει σπουδαιότερων ἀρεταὶ καλλίους καὶ τὰ ἔργα. 1392a13: καὶ εἰ τὸ σπουδαῖον καὶ καλὸν γενέσθαι δυνατόν, καὶ ὅλως δυνατόν γενέσθαι. *Protrepticus*, Fr. 49: οὐκ ἀγαθὸς νομοθέτης οὐδὲ σπουδαῖος· οὐ γὰρ ἐνδέχεται μὴ καλοῦ μίμημα καλὸν εἶναι.

Although taken up by Philo and (to a lesser extent) by Plutarch, the formula did not enjoy much attention among eminent Aristotelian commentators, such as Alexander of Aphrodisias and John Philoponus. Christian authors paid no attention to the expression: neither Origen, nor Eusebius, nor the Cappadocians, nor Theodoret, nor Cyril were fascinated by this.

Therefore, we are faced with an instance of Cassian entertaining his personal readings. In fact, there is only a unique instance, which he probably came across, namely Palladius, who used this phraseology writing about the monks he met at Nitria of Egypt. *Historia Lausiaca (recensio G)*, Vita 7.1: Συντυχῶν οὖν καὶ συνδιατρίψας τοῖς περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μοναστηρίοις ἔτη τρία, καλλίστοις καὶ σπουδαιοτάτοις ἀνδράσιν ὡς δισχιλίους, ἀναχωρήσας ἐκεῖθεν ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῆς Νιτρίας. It was therefore Palladius who styled σπουδαίοις καὶ καλοῖς those monks who honoured their profession.

Otherwise, as if history wished to notify us about this work by Cassian being an original Greek one, we come upon a unique instance of his

posterity, that is, Theodore Studites. *Μεγάλη Κατήχησις*, Catechesis 75, p. 517: εἰ καλοὶ καὶ σπουδαῖοι εἶεν, καὶ χαρὰ καὶ ἀγωνία πρόσσεσι.

The Latin obscures the decayed situation of morality of the majority of monks that the Greek text explicates. *Institutiones*, IV.38, PL.49.198A–B: Quapropter secundum Scripturae sententiam egressus ad serviendum Domino, sta in timore Dei, et praepara animam tuam non ad requiem, non ad securitatem, non ad delicias, sed ad tentationes et angustias. *Per multas enim tribulationes oportet nos introire in regnum Dei*. Angusta namque est porta et arcta via quae ducit ad vitam, et pauci sunt qui inveniunt eam. Considera ergo te de paucis et electis effectum, et ne exemplo ac tepore multitudinis refrigescas: sed vive ut pauci, ut cum paucis inveniri merearis in regno Dei. *Multi enim sunt vocati, pauci vero electi; et pusillus est grex, cui complacuit patri haereditatem dare*. Itaque non leve noveris esse peccatum, perfectionem professum quempiam, ea quae sunt imperfecta sectari. Ad quem perfectionis statum his gradibus atque hoc ordine pervenitur.

22. The ensuing text is quoted in the *Constitutio Monasterri Prodrumi τοῦ Φοβεροῦ*, 6, pp. 16–19, following a portion (pp. 14–16) from Cassian's account on accedie. In the constitution of that monastery, the illustration of 'steps' was made the title of this section: Ἐτέρα κλίμαξ πνευματικῆς ἀναβάσεως. This depiction would have been the inspiration for John Climacus (525–606) to represent his own description of ascent to perfection by means of a 'ladder' (κλίμαξ). John had a profound admiration for Cassian and quoted this very same point respectfully, calling him 'the great Cassian'. John Climacus, *Scala Paradisi*, 4, col. 717: ὡς καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ Κασσιανῷ ἐν τῷ Περὶ διακρίσεως αὐτοῦ λόγῳ πεφιλοσόφηται κάλλιστά τε καὶ ὑψηλότετα.

23. An interesting and acceptable form, one of the kind found in the language of Codex 573. It occurs in Didymus, *comPs* 20–21, Cod. p. 17 (συνγένειαν) *comPs* 35–39, Cod. p. 240 (συνγένειαν); *Magica, Papyri Magicae*, Preisendanz: n. 7, line 914 (συνγένηται); n. 13, line 14 (συνγενικοῖς); n. 13, line 324 (συνγενέσθω) n. 13, line 405: (συνγενές); n. 37, line 4 (συνγένεια). Diogenes Oenoandensis, *Fragmenta*, Fr. 79 (συνγενικῶν); Fr. 117 (συνγενέσι). Also, in fragments attributed to ancient authors such as Acusilaus, Hermodorus, Chrysippus.

24. "In addition to all aforesaid advice, and above all this, do study and observe the following fourth thing, which can adorn those three of which we have spoken above". The 'three' virtues that abba Pinufius has just urged the novice to observe are the following: 1. He should make himself like a blind

man. 2. He should not imitate those who are unfaithful and disobedient. 3. He should make himself immovable, as if he were muzzled and mute. In addition (which is the 'fourth' advice), Pinufius urges the novice to make himself a fool to this world.

25. The expression ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἡ ταπείνωσις is missing in Migne, which is a serious lacuna in developing the sequence of virtues. Once again, our codex contributes to restoration of the text. John Climacus reproduced this point mentioning Cassian in admiration by name. The Latin translation accommodated Cassian's text to different institutional and doctrinal priorities. *Institutiones*, IV.43. PL.49.201B–202B: Principium nostrae salutis sapientiaeque secundum Scripturas timor Domini est. De timore Domini nascitur compunctio salutaris. De compunctione cordis procedit abrenuntiatio, id est, nuditas et contemptus omnium facultatum. De nuditate humilitas procreatur. De humilitate mortificatio voluntatum generatur. Mortificatione voluntatum exstirpantur atque marcescunt universa vitia. Expulsione vitiorum, virtutes fructificant atque succrescunt. Pullulatione virtutum puritas cordis acquiritur. Puritate cordis Apostolicae charitatis perfectio possidetur.

ON THE EIGHT CONSIDERATIONS OF EVIL

Πρώην τὸν περὶ διατυπώσεως κοινοβίων συντάξαντες λόγον, πάλιν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ταῖς ὑμετέραις εὐχαῖς θαρρήσαντες ἐπεχειρήσαμεν γράψαι περὶ τῶν ὀκτῶ τῆς κακίας λογισμῶν· γαστριμαργίας φημί καὶ πορν(ε)ίας, φιλαργυρίας καὶ ὀργῆς, λύπης καὶ ἀκηδίας, κενοδοξίας καὶ ὑπερ(η)φανίας.

5

[Περὶ γαστριμαργίας]

Προηγούμενως τοίνυν περὶ ἐγκρατείας ἡμῖν γαστρός λεχθήσεται, τῆς ἀντικειμένης τῇ γαστριμαργίᾳ, τοῦ τε τρόπου τῶν νηστειῶν καὶ τῆς ποσότητος τῶν βρωμάτων. Καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἂν ἐαυτῶν ἐροῦμεν, ἀλλ' ἅπερ εἰλήφαμεν παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν. Ἐκεῖνοι¹ τοίνυν οὐχ ἓνα κανόνα νηστείας, οὐδὲ ἓνα 10 τρόπον τῆς τῶν βρωμάτων μεταλήψεως, οὐδὲ τὸ αὐτὸ μέτρον | πᾶσιν παραδεδώκασιν, διὰ τὸ μὴ δὲ πάντας τὴν αὐτὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχειν, ἢ διὰ ἡλικίαν, ἢ δι' ἀσθένειαν, ἢ διὰ ἕξ(ι)ν ἀστειοτέρ(αν) σώματος.² Ἐνα δὲ πᾶσιν σκοπὸν παραδεδώκασιν, φεύγ(ει)ν τὴν πλησμονὴν καὶ ἀποστρέφεσθαι τὴν χορτασίαν τῆς γαστρός. Τὴν δὲ καθημερινὴν νηστείαν ἐδ(ο)κ(ί)μασαν ὡφελιμωτέραν εἶναι καὶ συμβαλλομένην πρὸς καθαρ(ό)τητα τῆς ἐν τρ(ι)σὶν ἢ τέσ(σ)αρσιν ἢ ἕως ἑβδομάδος 15

1 ΚΑΣΣΙΑΝΟΥ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ... Ἡ ΛΟΓΙΣΜΩΝ No title at this point in V104. The text carries on with a descriptive gloss on the same line of folio 230^v, with no new paragraph or period introduced: τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῶν ὀκτῶ λογισμῶν, γαστριμαργίας, φιλαργυρίας, ὀργῆς, πορνείας, ἀκηδίας, κενοδοξίας καὶ ὑπερηφανίας 2 Πρώην τὸν ... συντάξαντες λόγον M. Πρώην τὸν περὶ διατυπώσεως λόγον τῶν κοινοβίων συντάξαντες 4 φημί καὶ πορν(ε)ίας M. φημί, πορνείας 4 πορν(ε)ίας Cod. πορνείας 5 ὑπερ(η)φανίας Cod. ὑπεριφανίας 7 ἐγκρατείας ἡμῖν γαστρός λεχθήσεται M. ἐγκρατείας γαστρός ἡμῖν λεχθήσεται. V104: ἐγκρατείας λεχθήσεται 8 τῆς ποσότητος M. τῆς ποιότητος καὶ ποσότητος 9 εἰλήφαμεν M. παρὲλθοντες 10 πατέρων ἡμῶν M. ἡμῶν πατέρων 10 κανόνα νηστείας V104: νηστείας κανόνα 11-12 μέτρον πᾶσιν παραδεδώκασιν M. μέτρον πᾶσι μεταδίδοσι. V104: μέτρον παραδεδώκασι 12 μὴ δὲ V104: μὴ 13 ἕξ(ι)ν Cod. ἕξιν 13 ἀστειοτέρ(αν) Cod. ἀστειοτέρου. M. ἕξιν ἀστειοτέρου. V104: ἕξιν ἀστειοτέρων 13-14 Ἐνα δὲ πᾶσιν σκοπὸν παραδεδώκασιν M. Ἐνα δὲ σκοπὸν πᾶσι παραδεδώκασι 13-14 δὲ πᾶσιν σκοπὸν παραδεδώκασιν M. δὲ σκοπὸν πᾶσι παραδεδώκασι. V104: δὲ σκοπὸν παραδεδώκασιν 14 φεύγ(ει)ν Cod. φεύγην 15 ἐδ(ο)κ(ί)μασαν Cod. ἐδωκήμασαν 15-16 εἶναι καὶ συμβαλλομένην M. συμβαλλομένην εἶναι 16 καθαρ(ό)τητα Cod. καθαρῶτητα 16-80.1 καθαρ(ό)τητα τῆς ... ἑβδομάδος ἐλκομένης M. καθαρότητι πλέον τῆς ἐν τρισὶν ἢ τέταρσιν, ἢ καὶ ἕως ἑβδομάδος ἐλκομένης νηστείας. V104: ἑβδομάδος νηστείας παρελκομένης 16 τρ(ι)σὶν Cod. τρησίν 16 τέσ(σ)αρσιν Cod. τέσσαρσιν 16 ἢ ἕως M. ἢ καὶ ἕως

By Monk Cassian
On the Eight Considerations [of Evil]

Having previously written the discourse on the *Regulations of the Coenobia*, and having been encouraged by your blessing, we have now ventured to write again about the eight considerations of evil, namely, gluttony and fornication, covetousness and anger, dejection and accidie, vainglory and pride.

[*On Gluttony*]

First and foremost, therefore, we are going to treat the question of continence of the stomach, which is an adversary to gluttony; also [the question of] how to fast and that of the quantity³⁷ of food. What we are going to say are not of our own, but we have received them from our holy fathers. For they have enjoined neither one single rule of fasting, nor a uniform measure of eating |, on account of not all people having the same physical power, nor the same age, or by reason of one suffering from a disease, or another having a more firm body. However, they enjoined one single aim for everyone, which is to avoid [the stomach] being filled up and to detest satiety of the belly. As for everyday fasting, they tested it and found it to be more beneficial and more conducive to cleanness than a fast lasting

³⁷ M. 'quality and quantity' (τῆς ποιότητος καὶ ποσότητος). Latin: qualitate. Op. cit. V.3.

ἐλκομένης. Καὶ γάρ φασιν τ(ὸ)ν ἀμέτρως ἐπεκτεινόμενον τῇ νηστείᾳ ὑπὲρ μέ-
 τρον πολλάκις τῇ τρ(ο)φῇ κεχρ(ῆ)σθαι, ὡς ἐκ τούτου ποτέ μιν τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῆς
 ἀσιτίας ἀτονεῖν τὸ σῶμα καὶ πρὸς τὰς πνευματικὰς λειτουργίας ὀκνηρ(ό)τερον
 γίνεσθαι, ποτέ δε τῷ πλήθει τῶν τροφῶν καταβαρυνόμενον ἀκ(η)δίαν καὶ χαύ-
 23^v νωσιν ἐμποιεῖν τῇ ψυχῇ. Καὶ πάλιν, οὐ πᾶσιν ἀρμόδιον εἶναι δοκ(ι)μάσα(ι) τὴν 5
 τῶν λαχάνων μετάληψιν, οὐδὲ πᾶσ(ι)ν τὴν τῶν ὀσπρίων, οὐδὲ πάντας δύνα-
 σθαι τῇ τοῦ ξηροῦ ἄρτου κεχρῆσθαι τροφῇ (διηνεκῶς). Καὶ ἄλλον μὲν εἶπαν δύο
 λίτρας ἐσθίοντα ἄρτου ἀκμὴν πεινᾶν, ἄλλον δὲ ἐσθίοντα λίτραν ἢ ἕξ οὐγκίας
 χορτάζεσθαι. Πᾶσιν οὖν ἓνα ὅρον ἐγκρατείας παραδεδώκασιν, τὸ μὴ ἀπατᾶ-
 σθαι χορτασίᾳ κοιλίας, μηδὲ ἐξέλκεσθαι τῇ τοῦ λάρυγγος ἡδονῇ. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ 10
 διαφορὰ τῆς ποιότητος τῶν βρωμάτων (μόνον), ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ποσότης τοῦ πλή-
 θους τὰ πεπυρωμένα βέλῃ τῆς πορν(ε)ίας εἴωθεν ἀνάπτειν· οἷαις γὰρ δ(ή)ποτε
 τροφαῖς πληρουμένη γαστήρ, ἀσωτίας σπέρματα³ τίττει. Καὶ πάλιν, οὐ μόνον
 24^f κρ(αι)πάλη οἴνου τὴν διάνοιαν μεθύσκειν εἴωθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλησμονὴ ὕδατος καὶ 15
 πασῶν τροφῶν ὑπερβολὴ κεκαρωμένην καὶ νυστάζουσιν | ταύτην ἀποτελεῖ.
 Τοῖς Σοδομ(ι)ταῖς οὐκ οἴνου καὶ διαφόρων βρωμάτων κραιπάλῃ καταστροφῆς
 γέγονεν αἰτία, ἀλλὰ ἄρτου πλησμονή, κατὰ τὸν προφήτην.^a Ἡ ἀσθένεια τοῦ σώ-
 ματος πρὸς τὴν καθαρ(ό)τητα τῆς καρδίας οὐκ ἀντίκειται, ὅταν παρὰσχωμεν τῷ

1 τ(ὸ)ν Cod. τῶν 1 ἐπεκτεινόμενον M. ἐπεκτεινόμενον. V104: παρεκτεινόμενον 2 τρ(ο)φῇ
 Cod. τρυφῇ 2 κεχρ(ῆ)σθαι Cod. κεχεῖσθαι. M. τῇ τροφῇ κεχρησθαι. V104: κεχρησθαι τῇ
 τροφῇ 3 ἀσιτίας Cod. ἀσιτείας 3 ὀκνηρ(ό)τερον Cod. ὀκνηρώτερον 4 καταβαρυνόμενον
 M. βαρυνόμενον 4 ἀκ(η)δίαν Cod. ἀκιδίαν 5–6 ἀρμόδιον εἶναι ... λαχάνων μετάληψιν M.
 ἀρμόδιον εἶναι τὴν τῶν λαχάνων μετάληψιν 5 δοκ(ι)μάσα(ι) Cod. ἐδοκῆμασαν 6 πᾶσ(ι)ν
 Cod. πᾶσαν 7 τροφῇ (διηνεκῶς) With *Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi* τοῦ Φοβεροῦ, 5, p. 13.
 This document contains almost the entire chapter of Cassian's on gluttony, starting with
 'Εκεῖνοι τοίνυν ... M. V104: κεχρησθαι τροφῇ 7 Καὶ ἄλλον μὲν εἶπαν M. Καὶ πάλιν τὸν μὲν
 φησι 9 Πᾶσιν οὖν ... τὸ μὴ M. Πᾶσιν οὖν, ὡς εἴρηται, ἓνα σκοπὸν ἐγκρατείας παραδεδώ-
 κασι τὸ μὴ. V104: Πᾶσιν οὖν, ὡς εἴρηται, ἓνα ὅρον ἐγκρατείας παραδεδώκασι, μὴ 11 (μόνον)
 With V104. So in *Constitutio Monast.*, loc. cit. M. τῆς ποιότητος μόνον 11–12 τοῦ πλήθους
 M. τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βρωμάτων 12 πορν(ε)ίας Cod. πορνίας. M. τῆς ἀμαρτίας 12–13 οἷαις
 γὰρ δ(ή)ποτε τροφαῖς M. οἷας γὰρ δῆποτε τροφῆς 12 δ(ή)ποτε Cod. δίποτε 14 κρ(αι)πάλη
 Cod. κρεπάλη. M. κραιπάλη. V104: ἡ κραιπάλῃ 14 τὴν διάνοιαν μεθύσκειν εἴωθεν Cod. τὴν
 διάνοιαν μεθύσκειν εἴωθεν, missing in Migne. Cf. *Institutiones*, V.6. *De Spiritu Gastrimargiae*,
 PL.49.217A: Non enim sola crapula vini mentem inebriare consuevit, verum etiam cunc-
 tarum escarum nimietas vacillantem eam ac nutabundam reddit, omnique integritatis ac
 puritatis contemplatione dispoliat 15 ἀποτελεῖ M. ἀποτελοῦσι 16 Σοδομ(ι)ταῖς Cod.
 σοδομήταις 17–18 Ἡ ἀσθένεια ... οὐκ ἀντίκειται V104: Ἡ ἀσθένεια τοῦ σώματος οὐκ ἀντί-
 केῖται πρὸς τὴν καθαρότητα τῆς ψυχῆς 18 καθαρ(ό)τητα Cod. καθαρῶτητα 18–82.1 οὐκ
 ἀντίκειται, ... τῷ σώματι M. οὐκ ἀντίκειται. Ταῦτα οὖν παρασχόμενος τῷ σώματι

^a Cf. Ezekiel 16:49.

for three days, or four, or even one extended to one week. For they say that one who extends the period of fast excessively, he also subsequently consumes excessive quantities of food. As a result, at a certain time the body becomes feeble and slower to spiritual function because of excessive abstinence from food, whereas at another time, it causes accidie and indolence to the soul, since it has been burdened with a plenitude of food.

- 23^v Moreover, it does not suit everyone to try | eating vegetables [all the time], neither does it suit everyone to consume pulse [all the time], nor is it for anyone to consume bare bread continuously. And one has been related to be hungry even though he had consumed two litres of bread, whereas another to be satiated after having eaten one litre or even six ounces only. They [sc. the Fathers], therefore, have enjoined one rule of temperance to everyone, which is, neither to indulge to satiety of the belly, nor to be enticed by the pleasure of the larynx. For not only the different quality of food, but also a quantity in abundance happen to set fire to the fiery arrows of fornication, since no matter what the kind of food, once this feeds the belly up, it produces the seeds of concupiscence. For not only is drunkenness with wine wont to intoxicate the mind, but a plethora of
- 24^r water and excess of all kinds of food makes it lethargic and drowsy. | The cause of destruction of the Sodomites was not drunkenness through wine and intemperate consummation of food, but excessiveness of bread.³⁸ For weakness of the body is no hindrance to purity of heart, provided so much

³⁸ Cf. Ezekiel 16:49. The prophet however mentions not only excessive consumption of bread, but also of wine.

σώματι ἃ ἡ ἀσθένεια ἀπαιτεῖ, οὐχ ἅπερ ἡ ἡδονὴ θέλει. Ἡ τῶν βρωμάτων χρή-
 σις ὅσον ὑπουργήσαι πρὸς τὸ ζῆν παραλαμβάνεται, οὐχ ὅσον (δουλεύσαι) ταῖς
 ὁρμαῖς τῆς ἐπιθυμίας. Ἡ σύμμετρος καὶ μετὰ λόγου τῶν τροφῶν μετάληψις
 τῆς ὑγ(ε)ίας φροντίζει τοῦ σώματος, οὐ τὴν ἀγιωσύνην ἀφαιρεῖται. "Ὅρος ἐγ-
 κρατείας καὶ κανῶν παραδεδ(ο)μένος παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀκριβῆς οὗτος ἔστιν, 5
 24^v τὸν μεταλαμβάνοντά τινας τροφῆς ἔτι τῆς ὀρέξεως ἐγκειμένης | ταύτης ἀπέχε-
 σθαι καὶ μὴ ἀναμένειν τὸν κόρον. Καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος δὲ εἰπών, τῆς σαρκὸς πρόνοιαν
 μὴ ποιεῖσθ(ε) εἰς ἐπιθυμίας,^a οὐ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τῆς ζωῆς κυβέρνησιν⁴ ἐκώλυσεν,
 ἀλλὰ τὴν φιλήδονον ἐπιμέλειαν ἀπηγόρευσεν. Ἄλλως τε πρὸς καθαρ(ό)τητα
 ψυχῆς μόνῃ ἢ τῶν βρωμάτων ἀποχὴ οὐκ ἰσχύει, εἰ μὴ καὶ αἱ λ(οι)παὶ ἀρεταὶ 10
 συνδράμωσιν. Τοιγαροῦν ἡ ταπεινώσις διὰ τῆς ὑπακοῆς τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τῆς τοῦ
 σώματος καταπονήσεως μεγάλη ἡμῖν συμβάλλεται. Ἡ ἀποχὴ τῆς φιλαργυ-
 ρίας, οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ ἔχειν χρήματα ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐπιθυμεῖν κεκτ(ῆ)σθαι, πρὸς
 καθαρ(ό)τητα ψυχῆς ὁδηγεῖ. Ἡ τῆς ὀργῆς ἀποχὴ, τῆς λύπης, τῆς κενοδοξί-
 25^r ας, τῆς ὑπερ(η)φανείας, ταῦτα πάντα τὴν καθολικὴν τῆς ψυχῆς καθαρ(ό)τητα 15
 ἀπεργάζονται. | Τὴν δὲ διὰ σωφρ(ο)σύνης μερικὴν τῆς ψυχῆς καθαρ(ό)τητα
 ἐξαίρετως ἐγκράτεια καὶ νηστεία κατορθοῖ. Ἀδύνατον γάρ τὸν τὴν γαστέρα
 κεκορεσμένον πολεμήσαι κατὰ διάνοιαν τῷ πνεύματι τῆς πορν(ε)ίας. Τοιγαροῦν
 πρῶτος ἔστω ἡμῖν ἁγὼν τὸ κρατεῖν γαστρός καὶ δουλαγωγεῖν τὸ σῶμα, οὐ μόνον
 διὰ νηστείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἀγρυπνίας καὶ κόπου καὶ ἀναγνώσεως καὶ τοῦ συν- 20
 ἀγειν τὴν διάνοιαν εἰς τὸν φόβον τῆς γεέννης^b καὶ εἰς τὸν πόθον τῆς βασιλείας
 τῶν οὐρανῶν.

2 (δουλεύσαι) With V104, Migne, and *Const. Monast* 4 ὑγ(ε)ίας Cod. ὑγίασ 5 παρα-
 δεδ(ο)μένος Cod. παραδεδωμένος 5 παρὰ τῶν πατέρων M. ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων 5-7 οὐ-
 τὸς ἔστιν, ...τὸν κόρον M. οὗτός ἐστιν, τὸ ἔτι τῆς ὀρέξεως ἐγκειμένης, τῆς τροφῆς ἀπέχεσθαι τὸν
 ἐσθίοντα 5-6 ἔστιν, τὸν μεταλαμβάνοντά τινας τροφῆς V104: ἔστί, τὸν μεταλαμβάνοντα τροφῆς
 8 ποιεῖσθ(ε) Cod. ποιεῖσθαι 8 ἐπιθυμίας M. ἐπιθυμίαν, which is not correct 9 ἐπιμέλειαν
 So M. and *Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi* τοῦ Φοβεροῦ, but V104: ἐπιθυμίαν 9 τε M. τε
 καὶ 9 καθαρ(ό)τητα Cod. καθαρῶτητα 10 ψυχῆς M. τελείαν τῆς ψυχῆς 10 τῶν
 βρωμάτων ἀποχὴ M. V104: ἀποχὴ τῶν βρωμάτων 10 λ(οι)παὶ Cod. λυπαὶ 13 τὸ Cod.
 τοῦ 13 κεκτ(ῆ)σθαι Cod. κεκτηῖσθαι 13-14 πρὸς καθαρ(ό)τητα ... ὀργῆς ἀποχὴ M.
 κεκτηῖσθαι. Πρὸς καθαρῶτητα τὴν ψυχὴν ὁδηγεῖ τῆς ὀργῆς ἀποχὴ 14 καθαρ(ό)τητα Cod.
 καθαρῶτητα 14 τῆς ὀργῆς ἀποχὴ V104: τῆς ὀργῆς ἢ ἀποχὴ 15 ὑπερ(η)φανείας Cod.
 ὑπεριφανείας 15 καθαρ(ό)τητα Cod. καθαρῶτητα 16 ἀπεργάζονται M. ἀπεργάζεται
 16 σωφρ(ο)σύνης Cod. σωφρωςύνησ 16 καθαρ(ό)τητα Cod. καθαρῶτητα. V104: καθαρῶ-
 τητα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξαίρετως ἐγκράτεια κατορθοῖ 18 πορν(ε)ίας Cod. πορνίασ. Cf. Evagrius of
 Pontus, *De Malignis Cogitationibus* (sub nomine Nili Ancyran), PG.79.1201.1-3: Οὐκ ἔστι
 γὰρ ἔμπεσεῖν εἰς χεῖρας τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς πορνείας, μὴ ὑπὸ τῆς γαστριμαργίας καταπεσόντα
 19 ἔστω ἡμῖν V104: ἡμῖν ἔστω 20-21 συνάγειν τὴν διάνοιαν M. συνάγειν τὴν καρδίαν. V104:
 τοῦ συναγαγεῖν τὴν καρδίαν

^a Rom. 13:14. ^b Cf. Matt. 10:28; Luke 12:5.

food is taken as the bodily weakness requires, and not what pleasure asks for. Food is used as far as it is necessary with regard to the aim of serving to life, not to the impulses of lust. A moderate and reasonable partaking of food is care for the body which does not subtract holiness. There is a rule of temperance and a precept handed down by the Fathers, which
 24^v is sound: anyone who partakes of food should stop from eating | while he is still hungry, and should not wait until he feels satiated in order to do so. And the apostle who said ‘And take not care for the flesh in its lusts’,³⁹ did not exclude the control necessary for life, but proscribed the tendency to lust. In order to attain to a clean soul, abstinence from food alone is not sufficient, unless the other virtues of the mind are joined to it as well. Therefore, humility through the virtue of obedience and bodily exhaustion conduce very much to this purpose. Abstention from gluttony, which is not only not to possess money, but also not to long for acquiring it, leads to cleanness of the soul. Abstention from
 25^r anger, dejection, vainglory, pride—all these conduce to comprehensive cleanness of the soul. | As for a partial cleanness of the soul, this is accomplished par excellence by means of abstinence and fasting. For it is impossible for anyone who has his stomach satiated to be able to fight against the spirit of fornication in his mind.

Therefore, the first struggle for us should be to control the belly and subdue the body, not only by means of fasting, but also through vigil and toil and studying, and by concentrating our mind on the fear of the Gehenna⁴⁰ and the desire for the kingdom of heavens.

³⁹ Rom. 13:14.

⁴⁰ Cf. Matt. 10:28; Luke 12:5.

Περὶ πορν(ε)ίας

Δεύτερος ἡμῖν ἀγὼν ἐστὶν κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς πορν(ε)ίας καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας
τῆς σαρκός, ἥτις ἐπιθυμία ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἄρχεται παρενοχλεῖν τῷ ἀνθρώ-
πῳ. Μέγας οὐτ(ο)ς ὁ ἀγὼν καὶ χαλ(ε)πός, καὶ διπλὴν ἔχων τὴν πάλ(η)ν. Διότι
25^v τῶν ἄλλων ἐλαττ(ω)|μάτων ἐν ψυχῇ μόνῃ ἐχόντων τὴν μάχην οὐτ(ο)ς διπλοῦς 5
καθέστ(η)κεν, ἐν ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι συνιστάμενος· καὶ τούτου χάριν διπλὴν χρή
κατ' αὐτοῦ τὴν πάλ(η)ν ἀναδέξασθαι. Οὕτε γὰρ ἰκανὴ ὑπάρχει μόνῃ ἢ σωματι-
κῇ νηστείᾳ πρὸς κτήσιν τῆς τελείας σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀληθοῦς ἀγνείας, εἰ μὴ καὶ
καρδίας⁵ γένηται συντρ(ι)μμός καὶ εὐχὴ πρὸς Θεὸν ἐκτενής καὶ πυκνὴ τῶν γρα-
φῶν μελέτη, καὶ κάματος καὶ ἔργον χειρῶν, ἅπερ δύνανται τὰς ἀτάκτους τῆς 10
ψυχῆς ὁρμάς⁶ συστέλλειν καὶ ἐκ τῶν αἰσchrῶν φαντασιῶν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι αὐτήν.
Πρὸ γέ δε πάντων συμβάλλεται ταπείνωσις ψυχῆς, ἥς χωρ(ι)ς οὐδὲ πορν(ε)ίας
οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν δυνήσεται τις περιγενέσθαι.

Προηγούμενως τοίνυν χρὴ πάσῃ φυλακῇ τ(η)ρεῖν τὴν καρδίαν ἀπὸ ῥυπαρῶν
26^r λογι(σ)μῶν. Ἐκ γὰρ ταύτης προέρχονται, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου φωνήν,^a διαλογι- 15
σμοὶ πονηροί, φόνοι, μοιχε(ε)ῖαι, πορν(ε)ῖαι, καὶ τὰ λοιπά. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ νηστεία
οὐ μόνον πρὸς κακουχίαν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῖν προστέτακτ(αι), ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς
ν(ῆ)ψ(ι)ν τοῦ νοός, ἵνα μὴ, τῷ πλήθει τῶν βρωμάτων σκοτ(ω)θεῖς, ἀδυνατήσ(η)
πρὸς τὴν τῶν λογισμῶν παραφυλακὴν.⁷

1 πορν(ε)ίας Cod. πορνίασ 2 ἡμῖν ἀγὼν ἐστὶν M. ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἀγὼν. V104: ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἀγὼν
2 πορν(ε)ίας Cod. πορνίασ 4 οὐτ(ο)ς Cod. οὕτως. V104: οὗτος ἀγὼν 4 χαλ(ε)πός
Cod. χαλαιπός 4 πάλ(η)ν Cod. πάλιν 5 τῶν ἄλλων ... τὴν μάχην The expression τῶν
ἄλλων ἐλαττωμάτων ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ μόνῃ ἐχόντων τὴν μάχην is missing in Migne, but it is there
in V104 5 ἐλαττ(ω)μάτων Cod. ἐλαττωμάτων 5 οὐτ(ο)ς Cod. οὕτως 5 διπλοῦς ... From
this point onwards the text is quoted to the letter by Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta
Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 19 (On fornication). See RCR, Appendix I 6 καθέστ(η)κεν Cod.
καθέστηκεν 6 καθέστ(η)κεν, ἐν ... σώματι συνιστάμενος M. καθέστηκε, ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ
σώματι συνιστάμενος. V104: καθέστηκε, ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι καθιστάμενος 7 τὴν M. καὶ τὴν
7 πάλ(η)ν Cod. πάλιν 8 πρὸς κτήσιν ... εἰ μὴ V104: πρὸς κτήσιν τῆς τελείας σωφροσύνης
καὶ ἀληθοῦς ἀγνείας τοῦ σώματος ὑπάρχει τάξις, εἰ μὴ 9 συντρ(ι)μμός Cod. συντρημμός. The
expression καὶ καρδίας γένηται συντρημμός is missing in Migne 9–10 καὶ πυκνὴ τῶν γραφῶν
μελέτη M. καὶ κοινὴ τῶν θείων Γραφῶν μελέτη 10 κάματος καὶ ἔργον Cf. Codex p. 57^r: κάματος
ἔργου 10–11 τὰς ἀτάκτους τῆς ψυχῆς ὁρμάς M. τὰς ἀστάτους ὁρμάς τῆς ψυχῆς 12 Πρὸ
γε δὲ M. πρὸ δέ 12 χωρ(ι)ς Cod. χωρῆς 12 πορν(ε)ίας Cod. πορνίασ 14 τ(η)ρεῖν Cod.
τιρεῖν 14–15 ῥυπαρῶν λογισμῶν M. λογισμῶν ῥυπαρῶν 15 προέρχονται M. προεξέρχονται.
V104: προέρχονται 16 μοιχε(ε)ῖαι Cod. μοιχίαι 16 πορν(ε)ῖαι Cod. πορνίαι 16 λοιπά So M.
but V104: λοιπά πάθη 16 γὰρ καὶ ἡ νηστεία M. Καὶ γὰρ ἡ νηστεία 17 προστέτακτ(αι)
Cod. προστέτακτε 18 ν(ῆ)ψ(ι)ν Cod. νίψην 18 σκοτ(ω)θεῖς Cod. σκοτοθεῖς. M. σκοτισθεῖς
18 ἀδυνατήσ(η) Cod. ἀδυνατήσσει

^a Matt. 15:19.

On Fornication

25^v The second combat set before us is one against the spirit of fornication and the desire of the flesh, which starts to bother man from a very early age. This is a momentous and difficult struggle, which involves a twofold fight. For whereas the other defects | have their battleground in the soul alone, this fight is a double one taking place in both the body and soul. As a result, one has to undertake a double fight against this [vice].

For bodily fasting alone is not sufficient to attain perfect prudence and real chastity, unless there is contrition of heart and heavy study of scriptures and protracted prayer to God and shared study of the divine scriptures and toil and manual work. For all of them can confine the tumultuous impulses of the soul and cancel its profane visions. But above all, it is humility of the soul which conduces to this purpose, since, without this, it is impossible to overcome either fornication or the other passions.

26^r The first and foremost task is, therefore, to guard *the heart* attentively from filthy thoughts, | since it *is out of* this that *proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications*, and the rest.⁴¹ For fasting has been enjoined to us not only for the purpose of our body being maltreated, but also for the mind to be cleansed, so that your attentiveness to these thoughts is not weakened because of you having become blind by the abundance of food.

⁴¹ Matt. 15:19.

Χρὴ τοίνυν μὴ μόνον ἐν τῇ σωματικῇ νηστείᾳ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐγκράτειαν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ προσοχῇ τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ ἐν τῇ πνευματικῇ μελέτῃ, ὧν χωρὶς ἀδύνατον πρὸς τὸ ὕψος τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀγνείας καὶ καθαρότητος ἀνελθεῖν. Προσῆκει τοίνυν ἡμᾶς καθαρίζειν πρότερον, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου διδασκαλίαν, τὸ ἔνδον τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ τῆς παροψίδος,^a ἵνα γένηται (καὶ) τὸ ἔξω καθαρὸν.

5

26^v

Διὰ δὴ τοῦτο, εἰ ἔστιν ἡμῖν | σπουδὴ, κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον, νομίμως ἀθλήσαι καὶ στεφανωθῆναι,^b νικήσαντας τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα τῆς πορν(ε)ίας, μὴ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ δυνάμει ἢ ἀσκήσει θαρρῆσωμεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ βοηθείᾳ τοῦ δεσπότη Θεοῦ. Οὐ παύεται γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος πολεμούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τούτου, ἕως (ἂν) ἐν ἀληθείᾳ πιστεύσ(η) ὅτι οὐκ ἰδίᾳ σπουδῇ οὐδὲ ἰδίῳ καμάτῳ, ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ σκέπ(η) καὶ βοηθείᾳ ἀπαλλάττεται ταύτης τῆς νόσου καὶ εἰς τὸ ὕψος τῆς ἀγνείας ἀνέρχεται. Καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἐστὶν τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἔξω τοῦ σώματος γίνεται ὁ τοὺς (ἐ)ρεθισμοὺς τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς ταύτης καταπατήσας. Καὶ τούτου χάριν ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπον, ἢν' οὕτως εἴπω, τοῖς ἰδίοις πτεροῖς πρὸς τὸ ὑψηλὸν τοῦτο καὶ οὐράνιον βραβεῖον^c τῆς ἀγιωσύνης ἀναπτ(η)ναὶ καὶ μ(ι)μ(η)τὴν ἀγγέλων^d γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ | χάρις Θεοῦ τοῦτον ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ τοῦ βορβόρου ἀναγάγοι.^e Οὐδεμιᾶ γὰρ ἄλλη ἀρετὴ οἱ ἐν σαρκὶ ὄντες ἄνθρωποι τοῖς πνευματικοῖς ἀγγέλοις^f ἑξομοιοῦνται, ὥς τῇ τῆς σωφροσύνης· διὰ ταύτης γὰρ οἱ ἐν τῇ γῇ διάγοντες ἔχουσι κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς.^g

10

15

27^r

20

1–2 ἐγκράτειαν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι M. σπουδὴν ἐνδείκνυσθαι. V104: σπουδὴν δείκνυσθαι 4 διδασκαλίαν Cod. διδασκαλείαν. M. φωνήν 5 γένηται (καὶ) τὸ ἔξω M. γένηται καὶ τὸ ἐκτός 5 (καὶ) τὸ ἔξω V104: καὶ τὸ ἔξω 7 πορν(ε)ίας Cod. πορνίασ. M. ἔστιν σπουδὴ, and then, as Codex 573. But V104: ἔστιν ἡμῖν σπουδὴ, κατανικήσαντας τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα τῆς πορν(ε)ίας, μὴ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ δυνάμει 9 πνεύματος M. δαίμονος 10 (ἂν) With V104 10 πιστεύσ(η) Cod. πιστεύσει 10 σπουδῇ οὐδὲ ἰδίῳ καμάτῳ M. σπουδῇ ἢ καμάτῳ 11 σκέπ(η) Cod. σκέπει 11 σκέπ(η) καὶ βοηθείᾳ M. ῥοπή καὶ βοηθείᾳ 13 (ἐ)ρεθισμοὺς Cod. αἰρεθισμούς 14–15 ἢν' οὕτως ... καὶ οὐράνιον M. τοῖς πτεροῖς, ἢν' οὕτως εἴπω, πρὸς τὸ ὕψος τοῦτο καὶ οὐράνιον. The crucial word ἰδίοις (= man's own wings) is missing in Migne 16 ἀναπτ(η)ναὶ Cod. ἀναπτέιναι. Either the same or a later hand wrote a superscripted capital η, meaning to fix spelling 16 μ(ι)μ(η)τὴν Cod. μιμητὴν. M. μιμητὴν. V104: μιμητὴς 16–17 ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ τοῦ βορβόρου ἀναγάγοι M. ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ βορβόρου ἀναγάγοι. V104: ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ βορβόρου ἀναγάγη 17 γῆς M. τῆς γῆς 17 γὰρ ἄλλη ... σαρκὶ ὄντες Cod. οἱ σαρκὶ ὄντες. M. V104: γὰρ ἀρετὴ μᾶλλον οἱ σαρκὶ συνδεδεμένοι ἄνθρωποι. The expression σαρκὶ συνδεδεμένοι recurs in Cassian and is an influence by Evagrius. See RCR, pp. 179–180. Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 55^v: ὅμως σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι συνδεδεμένος. *ScetPatr*, p. 59^v: τῇ σαρκὶ ταύτῃ συνδεδεμένος. *SerenPrim*, p. 81^v: σαρκὶ συνδεδεμένον. Op. cit. pp. 81^v–82^r: μηδὲνα δύνασθαι σαρκὶ συνδεδεμένον τοῖς ὕδασι ἐπιφέρεισθαι 18–19 πνευματικοῖς ἀγγέλοις ... διὰ ταύτης M. οὐρανοῖς ἀγγέλοις συνομοιοῦνται ὥς τῇ σωφροσύνῃ. διὰ ταύτης γὰρ. V104: πνευματικοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἑξομοιοῦνται, ὥς σωφροσύνῃ. διὰ ταύτης ἔτι 18 ἑξομοιοῦνται M. συνομοιοῦνται 19 ἐν τῇ γῇ M. ἔτι ἐν τῇ γῇ 19–20 [ἔχουσι κατὰ ... ἐν οὐρανοῖς M. V104: ἔχουσι τὸ πολίτευμα κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον ἐν οὐρανοῖς

^aMatt. 23:25. ^bCf. 2Tim. 2:5. ^cCf. 2Peter 2:22. ^dPhil. 3:20.

It is therefore necessary to practise abstinence not only with regard to bodily fasting, but also to watchfulness of thoughts and to spiritual study. For without them it is impossible to ascend to the summit of real chastity and cleanliness. Hence, it is incumbent upon us to clean, according to the teaching of the Lord, that which is within *the cup of the platter*, so that *the outside*⁴² becomes clean.

26^v On account of this, therefore, if we | care to *strive* and to be *crowned*,⁴³ according to the apostle, after having conquered the filthy spirit of fornication, we should not rely on either our power or exertion, but on help from God the Lord. For man is ceaselessly attacked by this spirit, until he positively believes that he can get rid of this disease and attain to the summit of chastity, as a result not of his personal circumspection and toil, but of God's guardianship and help. As a matter of fact, this situation is beyond the terms of nature, and one, who has conquered arousals of the flesh and pleasures pertinent to it, has come to live, in a way, outside his own body. By reason of this, it is impossible for man, as it were, to fly up towards this elevated and heavenly prize of saintliness by means of his own wings, and become an emulator of the angels, unless | the grace of God lifts him up from the earth and *mud*.⁴⁴ For men, who are bound up with flesh, can become like angels by way of no virtue other than chastity. For it is through this that, although they still live on earth, their *citizenship* is in heaven,⁴⁵ according to the apostle.

27^f

⁴² Matt. 23:25.

⁴³ Cf. 2 Tim. 2:5.

⁴⁴ Cf. 2 Peter 2:22.

⁴⁵ Phil. 3:20.

- Δείγμα δὲ τοῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην τελείως κεκτ(ῆ)σθαι ἡμᾶς, τὸ μηδεμιᾶ εἰκόνι αἰσχροῦς φαντασίας ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις τὴν ψυχὴν προστρέχειν. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ λογίζεται ἀμαρτία ἢ τοιαύτη κίνησις, ὅμως τεκμήριον ὑπάρχει τοῦ νοσεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ μήπω τοῦ πάθους ἀπηλλάχθαι. Τοῦτου χάριν τὰς συμβαινούσας ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις αἰσχροῦς φαντασίας ἔλεγχον εἶναι τῆς προλαβούσης ῥαθυμίας 5 καὶ τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν ἀσθενείας πιστεῦειν ὀφείλομεν, τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἀποκρύφοις τῆς ψυχῆς κεκρυμμένην νόσον φανεροποιούσης¹¹ τῆς συμβαινούσης | ρεύσεως ἐν τῇ τοῦ ὕπνου ἀνέσει. Διὸ καὶ ὁ τῶν ψυχῶν ἰατρός ἐν τοῖς ἀποκρύφοις τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ φάρμακον ἐναπέθετο, ἔνθα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῆς νόσου ὑπάρχειν ἐγίνωσκεν, φάσκων· *Ὁ ἐμβλέψας γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτὴν ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτὴν 10 ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ,*^a οὐ τοσοῦτον τοὺς πορνικοὺς καὶ περιέργους ὀφθαλμοὺς διορθούμενος, ὅσον τὴν ἔνδον ἐνιδρυμένην ψυχὴν,¹² ἥτις τοῖς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ παρὰ Θε(οῦ) δοθεῖσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς κακῶς κέχρηται· τοῦτου χάριν καὶ ἡ σοφὴ παροιμία οὐ λέγει, Πάσῃ φυλακῇ τ(ῆ)ρει σοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἀλλὰ, *Πάσῃ φυλακῇ τ(ῆ)ρει σὴν καρδίαν,*^b ἐκεῖν(ῃ) μάλιστα ἐπιτιθεῖσα τὴν ἰατρειάν τῆς φυλακῆς, τῇ κεκρημένῃ 15 εἰς ὃ βούλεται το(ῖ)ς ὀφθαλμο(ῖ)ς.
- Τοιγαροῦν αὕτη ἔστω τῆς καθάρσεως ἡμῶν πρώτη φυλακὴ, ἵνα, ὅτε τῇ ἡμε- 27^v τέ|ρα διανοίᾳ μνήμη γέννηται γυναικῶν ἀναδοθεῖσα διὰ τῆς διαβολικῆς¹³ κακουρ- γίας, εἰ τύχοι μητρὸς ἢ ἀδελφῆς ἢ ἄλλων γυναικῶν εὐλαβῶν, ταχέως ταύτην ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας καρδίας ἐκβάλωμεν· ἵνα μὴ, ἐπὶ πολὺ διατριβόντων ἡμῶν ἐν αὐτῇ 28^r τῇ μνήμῃ, ὁ τῶν κακῶν ἀπατ(ε)ρῶν ἐκ τούτων τῶν προσώπων κατακυλ(ι)σ(ῃ) 20

1 κεκτ(ῆ)σθαι Cod. κεκτηῖσθαι. M. ταύτην κεκτῆσθαι 1 τὸ μηδεμιᾶ M. τὸ μηδὲ μιᾶς. V104: μηδεμίαν εἰκόνα 2 τὴν ψυχὴν M. τὴν ψυχὴν. V104: τῇ ψυχῇ 4 Τοῦτου M. V104: Καὶ τοῦτου 6 τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν ἀσθενείας M. τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν ἀσθενείας. V104: τὴν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀσθένειαν 6 ὀφείλομεν, τὴν ἐν M. ὀφείλομεν, ἐν 7 κεκρυμμένην M. ἀποκεκρυμμένην 7 συμβαινούσης ρεύσεως M. γινομένης ρύσεως. V104: κεκρυμμένης ρύσεως 8 ὁ τῶν ψυχῶν ἰατρός M. ὁ ἰατρός τῶν ψυχῶν. V104: ὁ ἰατρός τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν 8-9 ψυχῆς τὸ φάρμακον M. ψυχῆς τὸ φάρμακον. V104: ψυχῆς φάρμακον 9 ἐγίνωσκεν M. ἐγίνωσκε 10 γυναῖκα M. γυναῖκι, instead of the scriptural γυναῖκα appearing in this codex 11 αὐτοῦ V104: γυναῖκι πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι ἤδη 11 πορνικοὺς καὶ περιέργους M. πορνικοὺς καὶ περιέργους. V104: περιέργους καὶ πορνικοὺς 13 Θε(οῦ) Cod. Θεω (abbr. sacrum nomen). M. τοῖς παρὰ Θεοῦ δοθεῖσιν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ. V104: ἀγαθῷ δοθεῖσι παρὰ 14 τ(ῆ)ρει Cod. τῖρει 14 σοὺς M. τοὺς 14 τ(ῆ)ρει Cod. τῖρει 15 ἐκεῖν(ῃ) Cod. ἐκείναι 15 ἐπιτιθεῖσα Cod. ἐπιτιθεῖσα. M. ἐπιθεῖσα 15-16 κεκρημένη εἰς ... το(ῖ)ς ὀφθαλμο(ῖ)ς Cod. τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς. M. κεκρημένη τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς εἰς ὃ βούλεται 17 αὕτη M. αὕτῃ 18 γέννηται γυναικῶν M. V104: γυναικὸς γέννηται 18-19 κακουργίας M. V104: ἐνεργείας 19 ἄλλων γυναικῶν M. ἄλλων γυναικῶν. V104: ἄλλων τινῶν γυναικῶν 19 ταύτην M. V104: αὐτὴν 20 καρδίας V104: διανοίας 20-21 ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μνήμῃ M. ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ γνώμῃ. V104: ἐν τούτῳ 21 ἀπατ(ε)ρῶν Cod. ἀπαταιῶν 21 κατακυλ(ι)σ(ῃ) Cod. κατακυλύσῃ

^a Matt. 5:28. Cassian quotes by heart: MSS have it βλέπων. None of them has ἐμβλέψας.

^b Prov. 4:23.

A token of us having come to be in perfect possession of this virtue is when, during sleep, our soul goes after no image of profane vision. For although this impulse is not considered to be a sin, yet this is a token of the soul being sick and not yet having got rid of passion. With regard to this, we should believe that profane visions that occur to us during sleep are a sign of prevailing indolence and sickness within ourselves; for an ejaculation, which takes place | during relaxation of sleep, uncovers the disease which lurks within the concealed quarters of the soul. This is why the healer of souls, by saying, *That whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart*,⁴⁶ put a remedy into the concealed quarters of the soul, since he knew that it is there where the causes of the disease lie. His intention was not so much to rectify the lewd and covetous eyes, as to [heal] the soul that is firmly established within, which uses sinisterly the physical eyes that have been given by God to a good purpose. By reason of this, the wise proverb does not say, Keep thy eyes with all diligence, but, *Keep thy heart with all diligence*:⁴⁷ it placed the care for watchfulness on the component which is capable of using the eyes as it wills. Therefore, this should be our first concern while pursuing our own purification, so that, when a certain anamnesis of women obtains into our | minds, that stems from the devil's malice, which may be either our mother, or sister, or other devout women, we can banish this from our heart.

In this way, if we happened to adhere to the same anamnesis, the rogue of all vice could not use these persons to throw off our mind and cast it

⁴⁶ Matt. 5:28.

⁴⁷ Prov. 4:23.

καὶ κατακρημν(ί)σ(η) ἡμῶν τὴν διάνοιαν εἰς αἰσχροῦς καὶ ἐπιβλαβεῖς ἐνθυμή-
σεις, καθὼς καὶ ἡ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸς τὸν πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον δοθείσα ἐντολὴ
κελεύει, τ(η)ρεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ὄφους,^a τούτέστιν τῶν βλαβερῶν λογισμῶν
τὰς ἀρχάς, δι' ὧν ἔρπειν εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ψυχὴν ἐπιχειρεῖ· ἵνα μὴ τῇ τῆς κεφα-
λῆς παραδοχῇ, ἣτις ἐστὶν ἡ προσβολὴ τοῦ λογισμοῦ, τὸ λ(οι)πὸν τοῦ ὄφους 5
28^v λ(οι)πὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀθέμιτον | πρᾶξιν κατενέγκ(η) τὴν διάνοιαν. Ἄλλὰ προσήκει,
κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, εἰς τὰς πρῶτας ἀποκτενεῖν πάντας τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς τῆς
γῆς,^b τούτέστιν τῷ φωτὶ τῆς γνώσεως διακρίνειν καὶ ἐξολοθρεῖν τοὺς ἁμαρ-
τωλοὺς λογισμοὺς ἐκ τῆς γῆς, ἣτις ἐστὶν ἡ καρδιά^c ἡμῶν, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου 10
διδασκαλίαν,¹⁴ καὶ ὡς ἔτι νήπιοι εἰσιν υἱοὶ Βαβυλῶνος, οἱ πονηροὶ φημι λογισμοί,
τούτους ἐδαφίζειν καὶ συντρίβειν πρὸς τὴν πέτραν, ἣτις ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός.^d Ἐὰν
γὰρ διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας συγκαταθέσεως ἀνδρυνθῶσιν, οὐκ ἄνευ μεγάλου στεναγ-
μοῦ καὶ καμάτου νικηθῇσονται.

Πρὸς δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀπὸ τῆς θείας Γραφῆς, καλὸν ἐστὶν καὶ λόγον ἀγίων 15
πατέρων ἐπιμνησθῆναι. Εἴρηται τοῖνυν τῷ ἀγίῳ Βασιλεῖ ἐπισκόπῳ Κ(αι)σα-
ρείας, *Καὶ γυναῖκα οὐκ ἔγν(ω)ν καὶ παρθένος οὐκ εἰμι*.¹⁵ τοσοῦτον ἐγίνωσκεν μὴ ἐν
29^r τῇ σωματικῇ μόνον | ἀποχῇ τῆς γυναικὸς τὸ δῶρον τῆς παρθενίας κατορθοῦσθαι,
ὅσον ἐν τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγιωσύνῃ καὶ καθαρότητι, ἣτις φόβῳ Θεοῦ κατορθοῦσθαι
πέφυκεν. 20

1 κατακρημν(ί)σ(η) Cod. κατακρημνισει. M. κατακρημνίσῃ τὴν διάνοιαν 2 παρὰ τοῦ ...
ἄνθρωπον δοθείσα M. παρὰ Θεοῦ πρὸς τὸν πρῶτον δοθείσα 3 τ(η)ρεῖν Cod. τιρεῖν 3-4 τῶν
βλαβερῶν ... δι' ὧν M. τοῦ βλαβεροῦ λογισμοῦ τὴν ἀρχήν, δι' οὗπερ 4 ἐπιχειρεῖ Cod.
ἐπιχειρεῖ 5 λ(οι)πὸν Cod. λυπὸν 6 συγκατάθεσιν M. κατάθεσιν. V104: τούτέστιν τὴν
συγκατάθεσιν 6 κατ(α)δεξώμεθα Cod. κατεδεξώμεθα. M. παραδεξώμεθα 7 λ(οι)πὸν
Cod. λυπὸν 7 κατενέγκ(η) Cod. κατενέγκει 10 καρδιά ἡμῶν, κατὰ M. καρδία, κατὰ
11 διδασκαλίαν καὶ ... υἱοὶ Βαβυλῶνος M. φωνήν 11 υἱοὶ M. οἱ υἱοὶ 11 οἱ πονηροὶ φημι
λογισμοί M. ἡγουν οἱ πονηροὶ λογισμοί 12 Ἐὰν M. Ἐάν. V104: Εἰ 15 Γραφῆς καλὸν ἐστὶν
καὶ λόγον M. καλὸν καὶ λόγον. V104: Γραφῆς καὶ λόγον 16 ἐπιμνησθῆναι M. ἐπιμνησθῆναι δὴ,
to the detriment of Greek. V104: ἐπιμνησθῆναι δεῖ 16-17 Κ(αι)σαρείας Cod. κεσαρείας.
M. Βασιλεῖ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας. V104: Κ(αι)σαρείας Καππαδοκίας, *Καὶ*
γυναῖκα ἄγνω 17 ἔγν(ω)ν Cod. ἔγνω. M. ἄγνω 18 μόνον M. μόνῃ 19 ὅσον ἐν τῇ
Cod. ὅσον τῇ 19 ἣτις φόβῳ M. ἡ τῷ φόβῳ

^a Cf. Gen. 3:15. ^b Psalm 100:8. ^c Cf. Luke 8:15. ^d 1 Cor. 10:4.

headlong down to obscene and harmful conceptions. Which is consonant with the commandment enjoined by God, namely, to *bruise the head*⁴⁸ of the snake, that is, the arising of harmful thoughts, through which he seeks to crawl into our soul. [We should act in this way] lest, by means of allowing the head of the snake, that is the attack by a certain thought, we receive the rest of its body, namely, acquiescence to sensual indulgence, which subsequently will cast mind down to | the unlicensed action.

28^v

In contrast, it is befitting, according to what is written, *to destroy all the wicked of the earth early*,⁴⁹ which means, to discern by means of the light of knowledge and obliterate *the wicked* thoughts from *the earth*, which is our *heart*, according to the saying by the Lord,⁵⁰ and as long as the sons of Babylon are still babies; by which I mean any wicked thought, which we should dash to the ground and crush by means of *the stone*, which is *Christ*.⁵¹ For if they are allowed to grow strong by means of our own assent, they could be conquered only with a great deal of groaning and toil.

29^f

In addition to what is said in the divine Scripture, it is good to recall the teaching of the holy fathers. Thus, it has been said by Saint Basil, Bishop of Caesarea, *I have known no woman, and yet I am not a virgin either*; which suggests how deeply he was aware of the gift of virginity being accomplished not so much by means of bodily | abstention from women, as by means of saintliness and cleanliness of the soul, which is achieved

⁴⁸ Cf. Gen. 3:15.

⁴⁹ Psalm 100:8.

⁵⁰ Cf. Luke 8:15.

⁵¹ 1 Cor. 10:4.

Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο οἱ πατέρες, μὴ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς ἀγνείας τελείως κτήσασθαι, εἰ μὴ πρ(ό)τερον ἀληθ(ι)νὴν τὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ κτησώμεθα· οὔτε δὲ γνώσεως ἀληθοῦς καταξιωθῆναι, ἐφ' ὅσον ἐν τοῖς ἀποκρύφοις τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ πάθος τῆς πορν(ε)ίας ἐγκαθίσταται. Ἵνα δὲ (τὸ μέγα) τοῦ κατορθώματος τῆς σ(ω)φροσύνης καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου δεῖξ(ω)μεν, μᾶς αὐτοῦ ἐπιμνησθέντες λέξεως καταπαύσ(ο)μεν τὸν λόγον. *Εἰρήνην*, φησί, διώκετ(ε) καὶ τὸν ἀγιασμόν, οὐ χωρὶς οὐδεὶς ὄψεται τὸν Κύριον.^a Ὅτι γὰρ περὶ τοῦτου λέγει, δῆλον ἐξ ὧν ἐπήγαγεν, εἰπών· *Μηδεὶς τοίνυν πόρνος ἢ βέβηλος ὡς Ἡσαῦ*.^b Ὅσῳ τοίνυν οὐράνιον καὶ ἀγγελικὸν ὑπάρχει τὸ κατόρθωμα τῆς ἀγνείας, | τοσοῦτ(ω) βαρυτέραις (παρά) τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἐπιβουλαῖς πολεμεῖται.

29^v

5

10

Καὶ τοῦτου χάριν σπουδάζειν ὀφείλομεν οὐ μόνον ἐγκράτειαν σώματος ἀσκεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συντριβὴν καρδίας καὶ πυκνὰς προσευχὰς μετὰ στεναγμῶν, ὥστε τὴν κάμινον τῆς ἡμετέρας σαρκός, ἣν ὁ Βαβυλώνιος βασιλεὺς τοῖς τῆς ἐπιθυμίας (ἐ)ρεθισμοῖς ἀνάπτει καθ' ἐκάστην, τῇ δρόσῳ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἀποσβε(ν)νύειν).

15

Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, μέγιστον ἡμῖν ὄπλον πρὸς τὸν πολέμον τοῦτον καθέστ(η)κεν ἡ κατὰ Θεὸν ἀγρυπνία.¹⁶ Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἡ ἀγνεία καὶ ἡ παραφυλακὴ τῆς ἡμέρας τὴν νυκτερινὴν προπαρασκευάζουσιν ἀγιωσύνην, οὕτως ἡ νυκτερινὴ κατὰ Θεὸν ἀγρυπνία τὴν ἡμερινὴν τῇ ψυχῇ προοδοποιεῖ¹⁷ καθαρ(ό)τητα.¹⁸

1–2 ἀρετὴν τῆς ἀγνείας τελείως κτήσασθαι M. ἀρετὴν τῆς ἀγνείας τελείως κτήσασθαι. V104: ἀρετὴν τῆς ἀγνείας κτήσασθαι 2 πρ(ό)τερον Cod. πρότερον 2 ἀληθ(ι)νὴν Cod. ἀληθινὴν 2–3 ἀληθ(ι)νὴν τὴν ... καρδίᾳ κτησώμεθα M. ἀληθινὴν. ταπεινοφροσύνην ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ κτησώμεθα. V104: ἀληθινὴν τὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην κτησώμεθα 4 πορν(ε)ίας Cod. πορνίασ 4 (τὸ μέγα) With V104 5 σ(ω)φροσύνης Cod. σοφροσύνησ 5 δεῖξ(ω)μεν Cod. δειξομεν. M. Ἵνα δὲ τὸ μέγα τοῦτο κατόρθωμα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀποστόλου δεῖξωμεν 6 καταπαύσ(ο)μεν Cod. καταπαύσωμεν 6–7 διώκετ(ε) Cod. διώκεται 7 οὐ M. οὐ. V104: ἥσ 8 *Μηδεὶς* M. *Μὴ* τις, which is the accurate scriptural quotation. V104: *Μηδεὶς* 9 Ὅσῳ M. Ὅσον 9–10 ἀγνείας M. ἀγνοσύνης. V104: ἀγιωσύνης. However, ἀγνοσύνη is a nonexistent word. Only one instance appears in the ninth century, ascribed to a hymnographer called Clement, of the Studios monastery, which is probably a scribal error 10 τοσοῦτ(ω) Cod. τοσοῦτο 10 βαρυτέραις (παρά) τῶν ἀντιπάλων With Migne. Like the present Codex, V104 has it βαρυτέραις ἀντιπάλων 14 (ἐ)ρεθισμοῖς Cod. αἰρεθισμοῖς 14 ἀνάπτει καθ' ἐκάστην M. καθ' ἐκάστην ἀνάπτει 15 ἀποσβε(ν)νύειν Cod. ἀποσβέσωμεν. M. ἀποσβεσθῆναι. V104: ἀποσβέσωμεν. I emend to infinitive ἀποσβεन्नύειν (corresponding to the foregoing infinitive ἀσκεῖν) which is a later form, instead of the classical ἀποσβεन्नύναι, since Cassian uses the form ἀποσβεन्नύειν on p. 83^r, too 16 πολέμον M. πολέμιον 16–17 καθέστ(η)κεν Cod. καθέστηκεν. M. πολέμιον τοῦτον καθέστηκεν. V104: πολέμον καθέστηκεν 18 προπαρασκευάζουσιν M. παρασκευάζουσιν 18 ἀγιωσύνην M. ἀγιοσύνην 19 καθαρ(ό)τητα Cod. καθαρῶτητα

^aHeb. 12:14. ^bHeb. 12:16.

through fear of God. Furthermore, the fathers say that we are unable to attain the virtue of pureness completely, unless we have procured real humility into our heart. Likewise, it is not possible to be found worthy of real knowledge, so long as the passion of fornication is established in the secret quarters of the soul.

And in order to demonstrate the feat of chastity also using the words of the apostle, let us conclude our exposition by recalling just a phrase of his, which reads thus: *Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord.*⁵² That he refers to the present question becomes evident from what he said subsequently: *Lest there be no fornicator, or profane person, as Esau.*⁵³ Therefore, the more heavenly and angelic the feat of chastity is, | the more massive the plots are by which this is assaulted by the adversaries.

By reason of this, we should be concerned with pursuing not only chastity of the body, but also contrition of heart, and to engage in frequent prayers groaningly. In this way, we could quench the furnace of our flesh, which the Babylonian king inflames every day, by means of the dew of the presence of the Holy Spirit.

In addition to them, a momentous weapon for us to fight this war has been vigil⁵⁴ in God. For in the same way chastity and observance during the day prepare nightly saintliness, so, too, night-vigil in God prepares the pureness of the day for the soul.

⁵² Heb. 12:14.

⁵³ Heb. 12:16.

⁵⁴ Meaning 'night office' in monastic life.

30^r

Πε(ρι) φιλαργυρίας

30^v31^r

Τρίτος ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἀγὼν κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς φιλαργυρίας· ξένος οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ἔξωθεν τῆς φύσεως γνωριζόμενος, ἐξ ἀπιστίας τὴν ἀφορμὴν ἐν τῷ μοναχῷ εὐρίσκων. Καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν, θυμοῦ λέγω καὶ ἐπιθυμίας, οἱ (ἐ)ρεθισμοὶ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος δοκοῦσιν ἔχειν τὰς ἀφορμὰς καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ὡς ἔμφυτα καὶ ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἔχ(ο)ντα τὴν ἀρχήν· ὅθεν καὶ διὰ μακροῦ χρόνου νικῶνται. Ἡ δὲ τῆς φιλαργυρίας νόσος ἔξωθεν ἐρχομένη εὐχερέστερον ἢ ἐκκόπτεται, εἰ ἐπιμελείας τύχοι καὶ προσοχῆς, ἢ ἀμεληθεῖσα ὀλεθριωτέρα τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν καὶ δυσαπόβλητος¹⁹ γίνεται· *ρίζα γὰρ πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἐστὶν*^a κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον. Σκοπῶμεν δὲ οὕτως. Τοῦ σώματος αἱ φυσικαὶ κινήσεις οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς παισὶν θεωροῦνται, | ἐν οἷς οὕτω διάκρ(ι)σις καλοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ τυγχάνει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς βραχυτάτοις καὶ γαλουχομένοις ν(η)πίοις, (ἄ)τιν(α), μὴδὲ ἴχνος ἡδονῆς ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔχοντ(α), φυσικὴν ὅμως ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ σημαίνουσιν κ(ι)νησιν. Ὅμοίως καὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ τὸ κέντρον ἐν τοῖς ν(η)πίοις θεωρεῖται, ὅταν συγκινούμεν(α) (ταῦ)τ(α) πρὸς τοὺς λελυπ(η)κότας ὀρώμεν. Καὶ ταῦτα λέγω, οὐ τὴν φύσιν κακίζων ὡς ἀμαρτίας αἰτίαν, μὴ γένοιτο, ἀλλ' ἵνα δείξω ὅτι θυμὸς μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμία, εἰ καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ, παρὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ συνεζεύχθησαν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ. Ἄλλ' οὖν γε δοκεῖ πως ἐκ τῶν φυσικῶν τοῦ σώματος εἰς τὰ παρὰ φύσιν διὰ ῥαθυμίας ἐκπίπτειν. Καὶ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ σώματος κινήσεις πρὸς τεκνογονίαν καὶ τὴν ἐκ διαδοχῆς τοῦ γένους διαμονὴν οὐ πρὸς πορν(ε)ίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ἐδόθη· καὶ ἡ τοῦ θυμοῦ κινήσεις σωτηριωδῶς ἡμῖν ἐγκατέσπαρ(τ)αι, ὥστε)

2 ἡμῖν ἐστὶν M. ἐστὶν ἡμῖν 2–3 οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος M. οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος. V104: οὗτος πόλεμος
 3 ἀπιστίας Cod. ἀπιστείας 3–4 τὴν ἀφορμὴν ἐν τῷ μοναχῷ M. τῷ μοναχῷ τὴν ἀφορμὴν
 4 Καὶ γὰρ M. γὰρ καὶ 5 (ἐ)ρεθισμοὶ Cod. αἰρεθισμοὶ 6 ἔχ(ο)ντα Cod. ἔχωντα 7 ἐρχομένη
 M. V104: ἐπερχομένη 7–8 εὐχερέστερον ἢ ἐκκόπτεται M. εὐχερέστερον ἐκκόπτεσθαι δύναται
 8 προσοχῆς, ἢ ἀμεληθεῖσα M. προσοχῆς· ἀμεληθεῖσα δέ 9 δυσαπόβλητος M. συναπόβλητος,
 which is plain wrong in terms of meaning. See endnote 19 10 Σκοπῶμεν δὲ οὕτως
 M. Σκοπήσωμεν δὲ οὕτω 11 διάκρ(ι)σις Cod. διάκρησις 11 διάκρ(ι)σις καλοῦ M.
 διάγνωσις ἀγαθοῦ τε. V104: γνώσις ἀγαθοῦ τε 12 ν(η)πίοις Cod. νιπίοις 12 (ἄ)τιν(α)
 Cod. οὔτινες. M. ἄτινα. V104: οὔτινες. The same mistake occurs in both Cod. 573 and V104
 13 ἔχοντ(α) Cod. ἔχοντες. M. ἴχνος ἡδονῆς ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔχοντα. V104: μὴδὲ ἴχνος ἡδονῆς ἐν ἑαυτοῖς
 ἔχοντες 14 κ(ι)νησιν Cod. κήνησιν. M. μὴδὲ ἴχνος ἔχοντα σαρκικῆς ἡδονῆς, ὅμως ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ
 σημαίνουσι κίνησιν. The superiority and completeness of the present codex-text is evident
 14 ν(η)πίοις Cod. νιπίοις 14–15 ὅταν συγκινούμεν(α) (ταῦ)τ(α) πρὸς Cod. συγκινουμένου
 αὐτοῦ. M. συγκινούμενα ταῦτα πρὸς. V104: ὅταν συγκρινόμενα αὐτὰ πρὸς 15 λελυπ(η)κότας
 Cod. λελυπικότας 17 ἀγαθῷ Cod. ἀγαθῶν 17 τοῦ δημιουργοῦ M. τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ
 δημιουργοῦ 20 διαδοχῆς τοῦ γένους διαμονήν M. διαδοχὴν τοῦ γένους διαμονῆς 20 πορν(ε)ίαν
 Cod. πορνίαν 21 ὥστε) Cod. ἐγκατέσπαρτε. M. ἐγκατέσπαρται ὥστε θυμοῦσθαι. V104:
 ἐγκατέσπαρται, θυμοῦσθαι

^a1 Tim. 6:10.

30^r*On Covetousness*

The third combat set before us is one against the spirit of covetousness. This is an alien war, which is waged outside of our nature, since it comes upon a monk as a result of unfaithfulness. For indeed, with regard to other passions (I am referring to anger and desire), they appear to originate in excitations owing to the body, and in a way they exist by nature and occur with man since birth, which is why they are conquered over a long-time struggle. But the disease of covetousness, which comes upon us from without, is either cut out easily once countered with diligence and attention, or may become the most destructive of all passions and difficult to expel, if treated recklessly. For this *is the root of all kinds of evil*,⁵⁵ according to the apostle.

30^v

Let us therefore consider the problem as follows. Natural movements of the body can be observed not only in children, | by whom there is no distinction between good and evil, but also in the smallest babies which are still fed with milk: they do not have in themselves any [conscious] trace of delight, and [their reactions] only betoken a natural movement of the flesh. Likewise, one can discern the incentive of anger in babies, once they react angrily to those who disturb them.

And I am saying this not in order to blame nature, God forbid, but in order to show that anger and desire, although for a good purpose, have been planted conjointly within man by the Creator.

It seems, however, that somehow natural characteristics of the body devolve into ones against nature, because of indolence. For indeed the natural impulse of the body towards procuring children, so that there will be successors to maintain the human race, was established by the Creator not for the purpose of fornication. And the impulse of anger has been

⁵⁵ 1Tim. 6:10.

θυμούσθαι κατὰ τῆς κακίας, οὐ πρὸς τὸν ὁμόφυλον ἐκθηριοῦσθαι. Οὐ τοίνυν, εἰ κακῶς τ(α)ύτ(α)ις κεχρήμεθα, ἀμαρτωλὸς ἡ φύσις, ἢ τὸν πλάστην αἰτιασόμεθα, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὸν δεδωκότα σίδηρον πρὸς ἀναγκαίαν καὶ λυσιτελ(ῆ)ν χρεῖαν, εἰ ὁ δεξάμενος (πρὸς) φόνου ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦτ(ω) ἐχρήσατο.

Ταῦτα δὲ εἰρήκαμεν δεῖξαι βουλόμενοι ὅτι τὸ τῆς φιλαργυρίας πάθος οὐκ 5
ἐκ τῶν φυσικῶν κινήσεων ἔχει τὴν πρόφασιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ μόνης (τῆς) κακίστης καὶ διεφθαρμένης προαιρέσεως. Αὕτη γὰρ ἡ νόσος, ὅταν χλιαρὰν καὶ ἄπιστον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἀποταγῆς εὖρη ψυχὴν, δικαίας τινὰς καὶ τῷ δοκεῖν εὐλόγους αὐτῇ προφάσεις ὑποβάλλει πρὸς τὸ κατασχεῖν τί ποτε ὧν κέκτηται· ὑπογράφει 10
γὰρ τῷ μοναχῷ κατὰ διάνοιαν γῆρας μακρὸν καὶ ἀσθενεῖαν σώματος καὶ ὅτι 31^v αἱ διδόμεναι χρεῖαι ἐκ τοῦ κοινοβίου οὐχ ἱκαναὶ πρὸς παραμυθίαν, | οὐ λέγω ἀσθενοῦντι, ἀλλ' (οὐδὲ) ὑγιαίνοντι· καὶ ὅτι ἐνταῦθα οὐ γίνεται φροντὶς κατ' ἀξίαν τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ ἡμελημένη, καὶ ὥς, εἰ μὴ ἔχοι κεκρυμμένον χρυσίον, ἀθλίως ἀποθανεῖτ(αι). Τελευτ(αῖ)ον δὲ ὑποβάλλει μὴδὲ μένειν δύνασθαι 15
ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ διὰ τὴν βαρύτητα τῶν ἔργων καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκρίβειαν. Καὶ ὅτε ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐνθυμήσεσιν ἀποπλανήσ(η) τὴν διάνοιαν πρὸς τὸ καὶν ἐν δ(η)νάριον κατασχεῖν, τὸ τ(η)νικαῦτα πείθει αὐτὸν καὶ ἐργόχειρον λάθρα τοῦ ἀββᾶ μαθεῖν, ἐξ οὗ δυνήσεται τὸ περισπούδαστον αὐτῷ ἀργύριον αὐξῆσαι· καὶ λ(οι)πὸν ἐλπ(ί)σιν ἀδῆλοις ἀπατᾷ τὸν ἄθλιον, ὑποβάλλων αὐτῷ 20
(τὸ) ἐκ τοῦ ἐργοχείρου κέρδος καὶ τὴν ἐκ τούτου ἄνεσιν καὶ ἀμεριμνίαν. Καὶ

1 κακίας M. ἀμαρτίας 1 οὐ πρὸς τὸν ὁμόφυλον M. οὐ μὴν πρὸς τὸ ὁμόφυλον 2 τ(α)ύτ(α)ις Cod. τούτῃς. M. ταύταις 2 τ(α)ύτ(α)ις κεχρήμεθα M. ταύταις κεχρήμεθα. V104: τοῦτοις χρώμεθα 3-4 ἀναγκαίαν καὶ ... (πρὸς) φόνου M. πρὸς φόνων. M. ἀναγκαίαν καὶ λυσιτελῆ χρεῖαν, εἰ ὁ δεξάμενος πρὸς φόνων V104: ἀναγκαίας καὶ λυσιτελεῖς χρεῖας, ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος πρὸς φόνου 3 λυσιτελ(ῆ) Cod. λυσιτελεῖ 4 (πρὸς) φόνου ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦτ(ω) ἐχρήσατο M. πρὸς φόνων ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦτ(ω) ἐχρήσατο 4 τοῦτ(ω) Cod. τοῦτο 6 κινήσεων ἔχει τὴν πρόφασιν M. κινήσεων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχει 6 κακίστης M. κακίας 8 δικαίας M. δικαίας. V104: δίκας 8-9 τῷ δοκεῖν εὐλόγους αὐτῇ προφάσεις M. τὸ δοκεῖν εὐλόγους προφάσεις 8-9 αὐτῇ Cod. αὐτὴν 10 τῷ μοναχῷ κατὰ διάνοιαν M. κατὰ διάνοιαν τῷ μοναχῷ 11 οὐχ ἱκαναὶ M. οὐκ εἰσὶν ἱκαναὶ 12 ἀλλ' (οὐδὲ) ὑγιαίνοντι M. V104: ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὑγιαίνοντι 12 (οὐδὲ) Cod. ἀλλὰ 12 φροντὶς κατ' ἀξίαν M. κατ' ἀξίαν φροντὶς 13 ἔχοι M. ἔχει. V104: ἔχη ἀποκεκρυμμένον 13 κεκρυμμένον M. ἀποκεκρυμμένον 14 ἀθλίως Cod. ἀθλειῶς 14 ἀποθανεῖτ(αι) Cod. ἀποθανεῖτε. M. ἀθλίως ἀπολείται 14 Τελευτ(αῖ)ον Cod. τελευτέον 14 μὴδὲ μένειν δύνασθαι M. μὴ δύνασθαι μένειν 15 πατρὸς M. πατρός. V104: κοινοβίου 16 ἀποπλανήσ(η) Cod. ἀποπλανήσει 17 δ(η)νάριον Cod. δινάριον 17 τ(η)νικαῦτα Cod. τινικαῦτα 19 λ(οι)πὸν ἐλπ(ί)σιν Cod. λυπὸν ἐλπήσιν 20 (τὸ) ἐκ τοῦ M. τὸ ἐκ τοῦ. V104: τὸ τοῦ

31^r established within us to the purpose of our salvation, | so that we get angry against evil, not become like beasts to our kin.

Therefore, if we treat those impulses amiss, it is not nature which is a sinner, nor can we blame the creator for this, in the same way [that we cannot blame] one who handed over an iron-tool for a necessary and useful purpose, but this was used in order to commit a murder by the one who received it.

We have said all this in order to show that the passion of covetousness originates not in natural impulses, but only in wickedness and corrupt resolution. For once this disease finds a soul, which is at the beginning of having renounced the world, to be lukewarm and unfaithful, it prescribes certain apparently fair and reasonable pretence, in order to make [the monk] withhold some of those things which it once owned.

For it instills into the monk's mind the impression that he is going to live a prolonged old age, and that his body will be ill; also, that the necessary supplies afforded by the coenobium are not sufficient to satisfy
31^v his needs, | and I am referring not only to needs during illness, but also while one is in good health. He is also [makes him believe that] in this place the sick are treated not properly but carelessly, so, unless one has some gold in deposit, one is going to die amid miserable circumstances. Finally, [this disease] instills [into the monk's mind the impression] that he is unable to remain in the monastery for a long time, because of both the hardness of works [he has to do] and the austerity of his father.

And when this [disease] seduces his mind by thoughts of this kind, as far as present time is concerned, it persuades him (even for the sake of possessing just one denarius) to learn how to do a certain handicraft, out of which he will be able to increase his much-desired money. Following this, it deludes this miserable man through fuzzy hopes about the value of the profit out of this handicraft and the ensuing convenience and freedom from anxiety.

32^r ὅλ(ω)ς τῇ τοῦ κέρδους ἐνθυμήσει δεθείς, οὐδὲν τῶν ἐναντίων | σκοπεῖ, οὐκ ὀργῆς μανίαν, εἴποτε συμβαί(η) αὐτῷ ζημίᾳ περιπεσ(εῖ)ν, οὐ λύπης σκότος, εἰ ἀποτύχ(οι) τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ κέρδους, ἀλλὰ γίνεται, ὡς ἄλλοις ἢ γαστήρ θεός, οὕτω τούτῳ ὁ χρυσός.

Ὅθεν ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος τοῦτο γινώσκων, οὐ μόνον ρίζαν πάντων τῶν κακῶν,^a ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰδ(ω)λολατρείαν^b ταύτην ἐκάλεσεν. Θεωρήσωμεν τοίνυν πρὸς πόσῃ κακίᾳ ἡ νόσος αὕτη τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατασύρει, ὡς καὶ εἰς εἰδωλολατρείαν ἐμβάλλειν. Ἀποστήσας γὰρ ὁ φιλόργυρος τὸν νοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰδωλα ἀνθρώπων ἐγγεγλυμμένα τῷ χρυσῷ ἀγαπᾷ.

Τούτοις δὲ τοῖς λογισμοῖς ὁ μοναχὸς σκοτ(ω)θεὶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον αὖξων, οὐ-
δεμίαν ταπεινῶσιν οὐδὲ ὑπακοὴν ἔχειν δύναται, ἀλλ' ἀγανακτεῖ καὶ ἀναξιοπαθεῖ
καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ἔργον γογγύζει καὶ ἀντιλέγει· καὶ μηδεμίᾳς λ(οι)πὸν εὐλαβεῖ-
32^v ας παρ' αὐτῷ πεφυλαγμένης, ὥσπερ | ἵππος σκληρ(ό)τατος κατὰ κρημν(ῶ)ν
φέρεται,²⁰ οὔτε τῇ καθημερινῇ τροφῇ ἀρκούμενος· καὶ διαμαρτύρεται μὴ δύ-
νασθαι εἰς τέλος ταῦτα ὑπομένειν, καὶ Θεὸν οὐκ ἐκεῖ μόνον εἶναι λέγει, οὐδὲ
τὴν ἰδίαν σωτηρίαν ἐν ἐκείνῳ κατακεκλείσθαι τῷ τόπῳ, ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ τοῖς
ζητοῦσιν αὐτὸν εὐρίσκεσθαι· καὶ ὡς εἰ μὴ ἀποστ(ῆ) τοῦ μοναστηρίου ἐκείνου
ἀπόλ(υ)ται. Καὶ οὕτω τῆς διεφθαρμένης ταύτης γνώμης συνεργὸν ἔχων τὰ
πεφυλαγμένα ἀργύρια, ὥσπερ πτεροῖς τούτοις κουφισθεὶς καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν
ἀπὸ τοῦ μοναστηρίου μελετῶν, λ(οι)πὸν ὑπερηφάνως καὶ τραχέως πρὸς πάντα
τὰ παραγγέλματα ἀποκρίνεται καί, ὡς ξένον²¹ καὶ ἐξ(ω)τικὸν ἑαυτὸν ἡγούμενος,
εἴ τι ἐὰν ἴδ(ῃ) ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ δεόμενον διορθώσας ἀμελεῖ καὶ περιφρονεῖ καὶ

1 ὅλ(ω)ς Cod. ὅλος. The phrase Καὶ ὅλ(ω)ς ... ζημίᾳ περιπεσ(εῖ)ν is absent from V104 2 συμβαί(η) Cod. συμβαίνει 2 περιπεσ(εῖ)ν Cod. περιπεσών 2 οὐ λύπης σκότος M. οὐ λύπην, οὐ σκότος. V104: οὐ λύπης σκότῳ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος 3 ἀποτύχ(οι) Cod. ἀποτύχει 3 τοῦ κέρδους M. τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου κέρδους 6 εἰδ(ω)λολατρείαν Cod. εἰδωλολατρείαν 6 ἐκάλεσεν M. ἐκάλεσε 6-8 Θεωρήσωμεν τοίνυν ... εἰδωλολατρείαν ἐμβάλλειν. The phrase Θεωρήσωμεν τοίνυν ... εἰδωλολατρείαν ἐμβάλλειν is absent from V104 8 νοῦν ἀπὸ M. νοῦν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ 9 χρυσῷ M. V104: χρυσίῳ 10 σκοτ(ω)θεὶς Cod. σκοτοθεῖς 11 οὐδὲ M. V104: οὐδεμίαν 11 δύναται M. V104: λοιπὸν δύναται 12 λ(οι)πὸν Cod. λυπὸν 12-13 εὐλαβείας παρ' αὐτῷ πεφυλαγμένης M. V104: εὐλαβείας πεφυλαγμένης 13 σκληρ(ό)τατος Cod. σκληρώτατος 13 κρημν(ῶ)ν Cod. κρημνόν 14-15 μὴ δύνασθαι εἰς τέλος M. εἰς τέλος μὴ δύνασθαι 14-15 μὴ δύνασθαι ... ταῦτα ὑπομένειν M. εἰς τέλος μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν ὑπομένειν 17 ἀποστ(ῆ) Cod. ἀποστεῖ 18 ἀπόλ(υ)ται Cod. ἀπόλειται 18 τῆς διεφθαρμένης ταύτης γνώμης συνεργὸν M. τῆς διεφθαρμένης ταύτης συνεργόν 19 ἀργύρια V104: χρήματα 19 ὥσπερ πτεροῖς τούτοις κουφισθεὶς M. ὥσπερ τισὶ πτεροῖς κουφισθεὶς 19-20 ἔξοδον τὴν ἀπὸ V104: ἔξοδον ἀπὸ 20 λ(οι)πὸν Cod. λυπὸν 21 παραγγέλματα M. παρηγγελμένα 21 ἐξ(ω)τικὸν Cod. ἐξοτικόν 22 ἐὰν M. ἂν 22 ἴδ(ῃ) Cod. εἶδει 22-100.1 καὶ ψέγει ... μοναστηρίῳ γιν(ό)μενα Cod. γινώμενα. The phrase καὶ ψέγει πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ γινόμενα is missing from Migne

^a1 Tim. 6:10. ^bCf. Col. 3:5.

32^r Having been therefore bound up by the thought of profit, he is attentive to none of the adversary [evils related to gain of profit], | namely, neither to the rage of wrath, if it could come to pass that a loss occurred to him, nor to the darkness of dejection, if he fails to gain the profit he had hoped for; but to him gold becomes a god, in the same way stomach is [god] to others.

Therefore, the blessed apostle, being aware of this, styled this not only *the root of all kinds of evil*,⁵⁶ but also *idolatry*.⁵⁷ Let us then consider to how much of wickedness this disease pulls a man down, so as to make him fall into idolatry. For once a covetous man drives his own mind away from the love of God, he comes to love idols of men, which are carved in gold.

32^v Once a monk is blinded by such thoughts and gets worse, he can have no humility, neither can he display any obedience. Instead, he feels a violent irritation and self-pity; he grudges any work enjoined to him and controverts. Once therefore he has in himself no godly fear at all, he is driven to the abyss, like | a fierce horse: he is not satisfied with the daily food, and complains that it is not possible for him to endure this situation forever. He further argues that God is not present only in that place, nor is [monk's] personal salvation restricted to that location, but God can be found anywhere by those who seek him; therefore, if he does not leave the monastery, he will be ruined.

Having therefore his saved money as a decoy to this corrupt attitude, and feels as if he were flying in the air using this [money] as wings, while contemplating departure from the monastery. He consequently reacts insolently and harshly to all commands, since he considers himself a stranger and alien to this place; and if he notices anything in the monastery which needs to be repaired, he ignores and disdains it, and he

⁵⁶ 1 Tim. 6:10.

⁵⁷ Col. 3:5.

- 33^r ψέγει πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ γιν(ό)μενα. Ἐπειτα | προφάσεις ἀναζητεῖ δι' ὧν ὀργισθῆσεται, ἵνα μὴ δόξ(η) ἐλαφρῶς ἄνευ αἰτίας ἐξιέναι τοῦ κοινοβίου. Ἐάν δὲ καὶ ἄλλον δυνήθῃ ψιθυρισμοῖς καὶ ματαιολογίαις ἀπατήσας ἐκβάλλαι τοῦ κοινοβίου, οὐδὲ τοῦτο παραιτεῖτ(αι) ποιῆσαι, βουλόμενος ἔχειν τοῦ ἰδίου ἐλαττ(ώ)ματος (αὐ)τὸν συνεργόν. Οὕτως δὲ ἀναπτ(ό)μενος τῷ πυρὶ τῶν ἰδίων 5 χρημάτων, ὁ φιλάργυρος οὐδέποτε δυνήσεται ἡσυχάσαι ἐν μοναστηρίῳ ἢ ὑπὸ κανόνα ζῆσαι. Ὅταν δὲ τοῦτον ὁ δαίμων ὥσπερ λύκος ἐκ τῆς μάνδρας ἀφαρπάσῃ καὶ ἀφορ(ί)σας τοῦ ποιμνίου ἔτ(οι)μον πρὸς κατάβρωσιν λάβῃ, τὸ τῆνικαῦτα παρασκευάζει αὐτὸν τὰ ἔργα, ἅπερ ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ τεταγμέναις ὥραις ποιῶν (ὦ)λιγώνει, ταῦτα ἐν τῇ κέλλ(η) νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας μετὰ πολλῆς προθυμίας 10 ποιεῖν· καὶ οὕτε τῶν εὐχῶν τὰ ἔθῃ, οὕτε τῶν νηστειῶν τὸν τρόπον, οὕτε | τῶν ἀγρυπνιῶν τὸν κανόνα φυλάττειν ἐπιτρέπει· ἀλλὰ τῇ τῆς φιλαργυρίας μαρινά τοῦτον ἐνδήσας, τὴν πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ἔχειν εἰς τὸ ἐργόχειρον ἀναπείθει.
- 33^v Τῆς δὲ νόσου ταύτης τρεῖς εἰσιν τρόποι, οὓς ἐφ' ἴσης²² ἀπαγορεύουσιν αἱ θεαὶ Γραφαὶ καὶ αἱ διδασκαλίαι τῶν πατέρων. Εἰς μὲν, ὃν ἀνωτέρω ἐγράψαμεν, ὃς 15 παρασκευάζει τοὺς ἐλεεινοὺς, ἅπερ οὕτε ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἶχον, ταῦτα κτᾶσθαι καὶ συναθρο(ί)ζει(ν)· ἄλλος δέ, ὃς μεταμελεῖσθαι ποιεῖ τοὺς ἅπαξ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἀποταξαμένους, ὑποβάλλ(ω)ν αὐτοῖς ζητεῖν ταῦτα ἅπερ Θεῷ προσήνεγκαν· τρίτος δὲ ὅστις, εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπιστία καὶ χλιαρότητι μοναχὸν ἐνδήσας, οὐ συγχωρεῖ τούτῳ τελείως ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῶν τοῦ κόσμουπραγμάτων, φόβον πενίας 20 τοῦτον

1 Ἐπειτα M. Καὶ ἔπειτα 2 ὀργισθῆσεται M. ὀργισθῆσεται, ἢ λυπηθῆσεται 2 δόξ(η) Cod. δόξει. A superscript emends εἰ το η, without deleting εἰ. Perhaps by another hand, yet not a later one 2 ἐξιέναι Cod. ἐξιέναι 2 ἐξιέναι τοῦ κοινοβίου M. ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς [ἐκτός] τοῦ κοινοβίου. V104: ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς τοῦ κοινοβίου ἐπιστήμης 3-4 Ἐάν δὲ ... τοῦ κοινοβίου The phrase Ἐάν δὲ ... τοῦ κοινοβίου is absent from Migne, where there is a lacuna not realized by the editor, who introduced a new period with Οὐδὲ τοῦτο παραιτεῖται. V104: Ἐάν δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ψιθυρισμοῖς καὶ ματαιολογίαις ἀπατήσας ἐκβάλλαι δύναται τοῦ μοναστηρίου, and evidently the scribe is rather baffled at this point 3 ἐκβάλλαι Although technically incorrect, I maintain the infinitive-form ἐκβάλλαι, which in fact attests to Cassian being a sixth-century author. See RCR, p. 199 4 παραιτεῖτ(αι) Cod. παραιτεῖτε 5 ἐλαττ(ώ)ματος Cod. ἐλαττώματος. M. ἐλαττώματος συνεργόν 5 ἀναπτ(ό)μενος Cod. ἀναπτώμενος. At this point, Migne's text makes little sense: Οὕτως δὲ ἀναπτώμενος τῷ πυρὶ 6 δυνήσεται Cod. δύναται 8 ἀφορ(ί)σας Cod. ἀφορήσας 8 ἔτ(οι)μον Cod. ἔτυμον 8 πρὸς M. εἰς 9 αὐτὸν τὰ ἔργα M. αὐτὸν τὰ ἔργα 9 ἅπερ Cod. ἅπερ 10 (ὦ)λιγώνει Cod. ὀλιγώνει. M. ὥραις πάντως ὀλιγώνει 10 κέλλ(η) Cod. κέλλει 11 οὕτε τῶν εὐχῶν M. οὕτε εὐχῶν 12 φυλάττειν M. ἐκτελεῖν 13 σπουδὴν ἔχειν εἰς τὸ ἐργόχειρον M. σπουδὴν εἰς τὸ ἐργόχειρον ἔχειν. V104: ἔργον ἔχειν 14 εἰσιν M. εἰσι 15 ἐγράψαμεν M. V104: διεγράψαμεν 16 ἐλεεινοὺς The scribe wrote ἐλεηνοὺς and emended ἐλεεινοὺς in superscript, writing εἰ, without deleting the wrong η. M. ἀθλίους 16 οὕτε M. οὐδὲ 16 εἶχον M. ἔσχον 17 συναθρο(ί)ζει(ν) Cod. συναθροῖζει 17 ἄλλος δέ, ὃς M. ἄλλος ὃς 17 ποιεῖ V104: ποιεῖν 18 ὑποβάλλ(ω)ν Cod. ὑποβάλλον 18 ζητεῖν ταῦτα ἅπερ M. ζητεῖν ἅπερ 19 εἰς M. κατὰ 19 ἀπιστία καὶ χλιαρότητι M. ἀπιστίας χλιαρότητι 20 τούτῳ M. τοῦτον

is prone to criticising everything that takes place into the monastery.
 33^r Furthermore, | he seeks pretexts in order to get angry, so as not to appear that he abandons the monastery without good reason. And if he is able to get one more [monk] out of the monastery by deceiving him through whispers and idle talk, he will not fail to do so, too, since he wishes to have a companion to his own drawback. Being thus inflamed by the fire of his own money, a covetous person will never be able to live quietly in any monastery, or to live under any rule. Once the daemon, like a wolf, plucks him from the sheepfold, and has detached him from the flock, he has made him ready to be devoured. Hence he prompts him [sc. the monk] to work zealously day and night in his cell, in order to carry out [for his own profit] works [which are the same as those] he was indisposed to perform for the sake of the coenobium during the fixed [daily] hours. Besides, he [sc. the devil] does not allow him to observe either the rules concerning
 33^v prayers, nor the system of fasting, nor | the canon of night-offices. For once he has wrapped him up with the madness of covetousness, he persuades him to be exclusively mindful of his own handicraft only.

This disease appears in three different modes, which are all equally prohibited by the divine scriptures and by the teaching of the fathers. One mode is this, which we described above: by deceiving a wretched folk, it persuades them to obtain and hoard even goods they did not possess when they lived in the world. Another, is that which impels men who had once forsaken the world to change their mind, and demand back the money which they had brought in and consecrated to God. A third [mode of disease] is the one which wraps up the monk with the lukewarmness of unfaithfulness right from the beginning. This does not allow him to strip himself from all worldly goods, it instils in his mind fear of poverty and distrust to the

34^r ὑποβάλλων καὶ ἀπιστίαν τῆς Θεοῦ προνοίας καὶ παραβάτην | ἀποδεικνὺς τῶν οἰκειῶν ὑποσχέσεων, ὧν καθ(ω)μολόγησεν ἀποτασσ(ό)μενος τῷ κόσμῳ.

Τούτων δὴ τῶν τριῶν τρόπων τὰ παραδείγματα ἐν τῇ θείᾳ Γραφῇ, καθ' ἃ εἴρηται, κατακεκριμένα εὐρ(ή)καμεν. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Γιεζή χρήματα ἃ πρότερον οὐκ εἶχεν βουληθεὶς κτήσασθαι, ἀπέτυχεν τῆς προφητικῆς χάριτος, ἣν ὁ διδάσκαλος ἐν κληρονομίας τάξει καταλείψαι τούτῳ ἡβούλετο· καὶ ἀντὶ εὐλογίας λέπραν αἰωνίαν διὰ τῆς τοῦ προφήτου κατάρας ἐκκληρονόμησεν.^a Καὶ Ἰούδας βουληθεὶς λαβεῖν χρήματα, ἃ πρότερον ἀπέβαλεν τῷ Κυρίῳ ἀκολουθῶν, οὐ μόνον προδοσίᾳ ὀλισθήσας τοῦ χ(ο)ροῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐξέπεσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἐν σαρκὶ ζωὴν βιαίῳ θανάτῳ κατέλυσεν.^b Ἀνανίας καὶ Σάπφειρα διαφυλάξαντες τινὰ ἐξ ὧν ἐκέκηντο, ἀποστολικῷ στόματι θανάτῳ τιμωροῦνται.^c Μωϋσῆς δὲ 5 ὁ μέγας ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ μυστικῶς παραγγέλλει τοῖς ἐπαγγελομένοις ἀποτάσσεσθαι τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ φόβῳ (ἐξ) ἀπιστίας πάλιν ἀντεχομένοις τῶν γηγίνων πραγμάτων· *Εἴ τις ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος περίφοβος, καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ δειλός, οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται εἰς πόλεμον πορευέσθω καὶ ἀναλυέτω εἰς τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον, μήποτε σαλεύεσθαι 10 ποιήσ(η) τὰς καρδίας τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ.*^d Ἔστι ταύτης τῆς μαρτυρίας σαφέστερόν τι ἢ ἀσφαλέστερον; Οὐκ ἄρα διὰ τούτων μανθάνομεν οἱ ἀποτασσ(ό)μενοι τῷ κόσμῳ τελείως ἀποτάσσεσθαι καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκβαίνειν, (εἰ) μή,²³ διὰ τὸ βαλεῖν ἀρχὴν χαύνην καὶ διεφθαρμένην, ἀνατρέπειν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπὸ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς τελει(ό)τητος καὶ δειλίαν αὐτοῖς ἐμβάλλειν; 20

1 ἀποδεικνὺς M. ὑποδεικνὺς, which is wrong 2 καθ(ω)μολόγησεν ἀποτασσ(ό)μενος Cod. καθομολόγησεν ἀποτασσώμενος 3 δὴ M. δέ 4 κατακεκριμένα V104: κατακρινόμενα 4 εὐρ(ή)καμεν Cod. εὐρίκαμεν. M. εὐρίσκομεν. V104: εὐρήκαμεν 4 Γιεζή Cod. Γιεζή. But *ihf'a*, p. 37: Γιεζί 5–6 διδάσκαλος ἐν κληρονομίας M. διδάσκαλος κληρονομίας 6–7 λέπραν αἰωνίαν M. V104: αἰωνίαν λέπραν 8 λαβεῖν χρήματα M. χρήματα λαβεῖν 8 ἀπέβαλεν τῷ Κυρίῳ ἀκολουθῶν M. τῷ Χριστῷ ἀκολουθῶν ἀπέβαλεν 8 Κυρίῳ V104: Χριστῷ 9 χ(ο)ροῦ Cod. χωροῦ. M. εἰς προδοσίαν τοῦ Δεσπότης ὀλισθήσας, τοῦ χοροῦ. V104: πρὸς προδοσίαν τοῦ δεσπότης ὀλισθήσας, τοῦ χοροῦ 11 ἐξ ὧν ... θανάτῳ τιμωροῦνται M. ἐξ ὧν τῷ Θεῷ προσανέθεντο, ἀποστολικῷ στόματι θανάτῳ τιμωροῦνται 12 ἐπαγγελομένοις M. μέλλουσιν 12–13 ἀποτάσσεσθαι τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ φόβῳ V104: ἀποτάσσεσθαι καὶ φόβῳ 14 τῇ καρδίᾳ δειλός M. τῇ καρδίᾳ δειλός, V104: δειλός τῇ καρδίᾳ 15 ἀναλυέτω V104: ἀναπανέσθω 15 σαλεύεσθαι M. V104: πτοεῖσθαι 16 ποιήσ(η) Cod. ποιήσει. M. ποιήσει, which is an incorrect form to apply 16 Ἔστι ταύτης τῆς μαρτυρίας M. Ἔστι τῆς μαρτυρίας ταύτης 16–17 σαφέστερόν τι ἢ ἀσφαλέστερον; M. V104: ἀσφαλέστερόν τι ἢ σαφέστερον; 17 ἀποτασσ(ό)μενοι Cod. ἀποτασσώμενοι 18 (εἰ) Cod. ἦ. M. εἰ. V104: καὶ 19 τὸ M. τοῦ 19 βαλεῖν Cod. βάλλειν. M. εἰ μή διὰ τοῦ βαλεῖν. V104: καὶ μή διὰ τοῦ βάλλειν 19 τοὺς ἄλλους M. τοὺς ἄλλους. V104: καὶ ἄλλους 20 τελει(ό)τητος Cod. τελειώτητος 20 καὶ δειλίαν αὐτοῖς ἐμβάλλειν; The expression καὶ δειλίαν αὐτοῖς ἐμβάλλειν is missing from Migne. V104: τοῦτοις ἐμβάλλειν

^a Cf. Regnorum iv (Regum ii in textu Masoretico) 5:21–22. ^b Matt. 27:5. ^c Acts, 5. ^d A paraphrase of Deut. 20:8.

34^r providence of God, hence exposing him as a transgressor | of his own premises, which he pledged when he renounced the world.

We have found examples of those three modes [of disease] being reprehended in the Holy Scripture. For indeed once Gehazi wished to acquire money that he had never had before, he failed to obtain the gift of prophecy, which his master wished to bequeath to him on account of hereditary succession; hence, by the curse of the prophet [Elisha] he inherited leprosy. And once Judas wished to receive money, which he had formerly cast away when he followed Christ, and fell into betraying [the Lord], not only did he fall from the apostolic circle, but also destroyed his own life through a violent death. Ananias and Sapphira, keeping back a part of that which was formerly their own, were at the apostle's word punished with death. Besides, the great Moses enjoins mystically
 34^v in Deuteronomy | those who pledge to renounce the world and then (because of fear owing to unfaithfulness) relapse to laying claim to their worldly goods: *If any man is afraid and of a fearful heart let him not go forth to war: let him go back and return home, lest he make the hearts of his brethren fear as he himself is cowardly and frightened.*⁵⁸

Is there anything more plain than this testimony? Do we not learn from this that those who renounce the world should renounce it completely, and then go forth to war, lest the others are disconcerted in regard to the evangelical perfection and are induced to cowardice, just because one [pledged renunciation of the world] on weak and corrupt principles?

⁵⁸ A paraphrase of Deut. 20:8.

Ἐπειδὴ δέ τινες τὸ καλῶς εἰρημένον ἐν τῇ Γραφῇ, μακάριόν ἐστιν διδόναι
 35^τ μάλλον, ἢ λαμβάνειν,^α κακῶς ἐρμηνεύουσιν, βιαζόμενοι πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπάτην
 καὶ τῇ τῆς φιλαργυρίας ἐπιθυμίᾳ τὴν ἔννοιαν τοῦ ῥήτου παραλογιζόμενοι, καὶ
 τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου διδασκαλίαν τὴν λέγουσαν, εἰ θέλ(ει)ς τέλειος εἶναι, π(ώ)λησόν
 σου τὰ ὑπάρχ(ο)ντα καὶ δὸς πτωχοῖς καὶ ἔξ(ει)ς θησαυρόν ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ δεῦρ(ο)
 5 ἀκολουθ(ει) μοι,^β κρ(ι)νουσι τῆς ἀκτημοσύνης μακαριώτερον τὸ ἐξουσιάζειν τοῦ
 ἰδίου πλούτου καὶ ἐκ τῆς τούτου περιουσίας διδόναι τοῖς δεομένοις. Γινωσκέ-
 τωσαν οἱ τοιοῦτοι μὴ ἀποτετάχθαι τῷ βίῳ, μηδὲ ἐπιβεβηκέναι τῆς μοναχικῆς
 τελει(ό)τητος, ἐφ' ὅσον ἐπαισχύνονται τὴν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ ἔνδοξον μετὰ τοῦ
 ἀποστόλου ἀναλαβεῖν πτωχείαν,^γ καὶ τῇ τῶν χειρῶν ἐργασίᾳ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς
 10 δεομένοις ὑπηρετεῖν. Εἰ δὲ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἔργῳ πληρῶσαι τὴν μοναχικὴν ἐπαγ-
 γελίαν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου δοξασθῆναι, διασκορπ(ι)σαντες τὸν παλαιὸν
 35^ν πλοῦτον ἐν λιμῷ καὶ δίψει καὶ ψύχ(ει) | καὶ γυμνότητι,^δ τὸν καλὸν ἀγώνα^ε ἀγωνιζέ-
 σθωσαν. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὸ ἔχειν παλαιὸν πλοῦτον ἀναγκαι(ό)τερον πρὸς τελείωσιν
 ἐγίνωσκεν ὁ αὐτὸς ἀπόστολος, οὐκ ἂν κατεφρόνησεν τῆς πρώτης αὐτοῦ ἀξίας
 15 ἐπίσημον γὰρ λέγει ἑαυτὸν γεγονέναι καὶ πολίτην Ῥωμαίων.^ς Καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἱεροσο-
 λύμοις δέ, οἵτινες ἐπώλουν τὰς οἰκίας ἑαυτ(ῶ)ν καὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς, καὶ ἐτίθεσαν
 τὰς τούτων τιμὰς παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἀποστόλων, οὐκ ἂν τοῦτο ἔπραττον, εἰ

1 Ἐπειδὴ δέ τινες The portion Ἐπειδὴ δέ τινες ... down to the end of the section (Cod. p. 37^ν)
 was copied by the *Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi* τοῦ Φοβεροῦ, 24, pp. 40–42 1 εἰρημένον
 ἐν τῇ Γραφῇ M. V104: εἰρημένον τῇ Γραφῇ 1 ἐστιν διδόναι M. ἐστι διδόναι ἢ 1–2 διδόναι μάλλον,
 ἢ M. V104: διδόναι, ἢ 2 ἐρμηνεύουσιν M. ἐρμηνεύουσιν 3 τῇ τῆς φιλαργυρίας ἐπιθυμίᾳ M.
 V104: τὴν τῆς φιλαργυρίας ἐπιθυμίαν 4 διδασκαλίαν Cod. διδασκαλείαν 4 θέλ(ει)ς Cod.
 θέλησ. M. θέλεις. V104: θέλης 4 π(ώ)λησόν Cod. πόλησόν 5 ὑπάρχ(ο)ντα Cod. ὑπάρχοντα
 5 ἔξ(ει)ς Cod. ἔξησ 5 οὐρανοῖς M. οὐρανῷ 5 δεῦρ(ο) Cod. δεῦρω 6 ἀκολουθ(ει) Cod.
 ἀκολουθῇ 6 κρ(ι)νουσι Cod. καὶ κρήνουσι 8 μὴ ἀποτετάχθαι τῷ βίῳ M. V104: μήπω
 ἀποτετάχθαι τῷ κόσμῳ 8 ἐπιβεβηκέναι M. ἐπιβῆναι 9 τελει(ό)τητος Cod. τελειώτητος
 9–10 ἐπαισχύνονται τὴν ... τοῦ ἀποστόλου M. ἐπαισχύνονται τὴν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ ἔνδοξον μετὰ
 τοῦ ἀποστόλου. V104: ἐπαισχύνονται ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ ἐν δόξῃ τὴν τοῦ ἀποστόλου 10 τῇ τῶν
 χειρῶν ἐργασίᾳ M. τὴν τῶν χειρῶν ἐργασίαν 11 μοναχικὴν M. μοναδικήν 11–12 ἐπαγγελίαν
 Cod. ἐπαγγελεῖαν 12 διασκορπ(ι)σαντες Cod. διασκορπήσαντες 13 ψύχ(ει) Cod. ψύχη.
 In M. καὶ ψύχ(ει) is missing 13–14 τὸν καλὸν ἀγώνα ἀγωνιζέσθωσαν M. V104: μετὰ τοῦ
 Παύλου ἀγωνιζέσθωσαν τὸν καλὸν ἀγώνα 14 εἰ τὸ M. εἰ τὸ. V104: εἴ τι 14 ἀναγκαι(ό)τερον
 Cod. ἀναγκαιώτερον 14–15 πρὸς τελείωσιν ἐγίνωσκεν ὁ M. ἐγίνωσκεν πρὸς τελείωσιν ὁ. V104:
 ἐγίνωσκεν εἶναι ὁ 15 τῆς πρώτης αὐτοῦ M. τῆς πρώτης αὐτοῦ. V104: τῆς αὐτοῦ 16 γὰρ λέγει
 ... καὶ πολίτην So Migne. M. γὰρ λέγει ἑαυτὸν γεγονέναι καὶ πολίτην. V104: γὰρ ἑαυτὸν λέγει καὶ
 πολίτην 17 οἰκίας Cod. οἰκειᾶς 17 ἑαυτ(ῶ)ν Cod. ἑαυτὸν. M. V104: αὐτῶν 17–18 ἐτίθεσαν
 τὰς ... τοὺς πόδας M. ἐτίθεσαν παρὰ τοὺς πόδας

^α Acts, 20:25 ^β Matt. 19:21. ^γ Cf. 2 Cor. 8:9. ^δ 2 Cor. 11:27. ^ε Cf. 1 Tim. 6:12; 2 Tim. 4:7. ^ς Cf.
 Acts 16:37; 21:39; 22:26–29.

There are some people who furnish a bad interpretation on that which is well said in Scripture, namely, *It is more blessed to give than to receive*,⁵⁹ which they misconstrue so as to make it comply with their | delusion, and introduce an irrational meaning of the maxim out of their desire for covetousness, which they also do in regard to the Lord's teaching which says, *If thou wilt be perfect, go sell all that thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me*.⁶⁰ They presume that to hold sway over one's wealth and to give to those in need by keeping their riches is more blessed than poverty. Those people should know that so long as they are ashamed of assuming the glorious *poverty* of Christ⁶¹ along with the apostle, and of serving both themselves and those who are in need by means of their manual work, they have neither renounced the world, nor have they trodden the path of monastic perfection. If they wish to fulfil the monastic pledge in deed and to be glorified along with the apostle *in hunger and in thirst and in cold and nakedness*,⁶² after they have handed out their former wealth, | let them *fight the good fight*.⁶³

For if the same apostle considered possession of the former riches to be necessary towards perfection, he could have never despised his former social rank. For he says of himself that he had been a man of note, indeed a Roman citizen.⁶⁴ Likewise, the men in Jerusalem, who sold their own *houses and farms, and brought the price of them and laid it at the feet of the apostles*,⁶⁵ would have never done so, had they been informed

⁵⁹ Acts 20:25.

⁶⁰ Matt. 19:21.

⁶¹ Cf. 2 Cor. 8:9.

⁶² 2 Cor. 11:27.

⁶³ Cf. 1 Tim. 6:12; 2 Tim. 4:7.

⁶⁴ Cf. Acts 16:37; 21:39; 22:26–29.

⁶⁵ Cf. Acts 4:35–37; 5:2.

- κεκριμένον ἐγίνωσκ(ο)ν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων μακαριώτερον τ(ὸ) τοῖς ἰδίοις χρή-
μασι τρέφεσθαι καὶ μὴ καμάτῳ ἰδίῳ καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐθνῶν προσφορᾷ. Σαφέστερον
δὲ διδάσκει περὶ τούτων ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἐν οἷς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους γράφων τάδε λέ-
γει· *Νυνὶ δὲ πορεύομαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ διακονῆσαι τοῖς ἁγίοις. (Ἡ)ὕδoκx(α)ν γάρ*
36^r *Μακεδονία καὶ Ἀχαΐα κοινωνίαν ἵτινὰ ποιήσασθαι εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἁγίων* 5
τῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ. (Ἡ)ὕδoκxσαν γάρ καὶ ὀφειλέται αὐτῶν εἰσιν.^a Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ
δεσμοῖς καὶ φυλακαῖς^b πολλάκις καὶ τῷ σκυλμῷ τῆς ὀδ(οι)πορίας ὑποβληθεὶς
καὶ ἐμποδιζόμενος ἐκ τούτου, ὡς (ε)ἰώθει, ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶν προσπορίζειν ἑαυτῷ
τὰς χρεῖας, ταύτας εἰληφέναι διδάσκει παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Μακεδονί-
ας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντων, φάσκων· Καὶ γάρ τὸ ὑστέρημά μου προσανεπλήρωσαν 10
οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ἐλθόντες ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας.^c Καὶ Φιλιπ(η)σίοις δὲ γράφει· οἴδατε δὲ
καὶ ἡμεῖς Φιλιπ(η)σιοὶ ὅτι ἐξελθόντος μου ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας οὐδεμία μοι ἐκκλησία
ἐκοινωνήσεν χάριν δ(ό)σεως καὶ λ(ή)ψεως, εἰ μ(ῆ) ἡμεῖς μόνοι· ὅτι καὶ ἐν Θεσσαλο-
νίκη καὶ ἁπαξ καὶ δις ἐπέμψατέ μοι τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν.^d
36^v Ἔστωσαν τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν γνώμην τῶν φιλαργύρων καὶ οὗτοι μακαριώτεροι 15
τοῦ ἀποστόλου, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὑποστάσεων ἐχ(ο)ρήγησ(α)ν αὐτ(ῷ) τὰς χρεῖ-
ας. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν τις εἰς ἐσχάτην ἄνοιαν ἐλθὼν εἰπεῖν τολμήσ(α)ι τοῦτο. Εἰ τοίνυν

1 κεκριμένον M. κεκρυμμένον 1 ἐγίνωσκ(ο)ν Cod. ἐγίνωσκων 1 τ(ὸ) Cod. τῷ. M. μακαριώτερον εἶναι, τό 2 ἐθνῶν προσφορᾷ M. χοιρῶν ἐργασίᾳ 3 διδάσκει περὶ τούτων ὁ ἀπόστολος M. τούτου ὁ εἰρημένος ἀπόστολος. V104: τούτων ὁ εἰρημένος ἀπόστολος 3–4 ἐν οἷς ... δὲ πορεύομαι M. ἐν οἷς γράφει Ῥωμαίους τάδε. *Νυνὶ δὲ πορεύομαι.* V104: πρὸς Ῥωμαίους τάδε λέγει· *Νῦν πορεύομαι* 4 Ἱερουσαλὴμ M. Ἱεροσόλυμα 4 (Ἡ)ὕδoκx(α)ν Cod. Εὐδόκησεν 6 (Ἡ)ὕδoκxσαν Cod. Εὐδόκησαν. In Migne, *Ἡὐδόκησαν γάρ καὶ ὀφειλέται αὐτῶν εἰσιν* is absent 6–7 Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ δεσμοῖς M. Οὗτος δὲ δέσμιος. V104: Καὶ αὐτὸς δεσμοῖς 7 ὀδ(οι)πορίας Cod. ὀδοπορείας 8 (ε)ἰώθει Cod. ἰώθει 10 Καὶ γάρ M. Τὸ γάρ 10 προσανεπλήρωσαν V104: ἀνεπλήρωσαν 10–11 προσανεπλήρωσαν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ἐλθόντες M. ἀνεπλήρωσαν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἐλθόντες 11 Φιλιπ(η)σίοις Cod. φιλιππισίοις. V104: Καὶ Φιλιππησίοις ὅτι ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας ἐξελθόντος 11 δὲ γράφει Cod. δὲ γράφει· not in Migne 12 Φιλιπ(η)σιοὶ Cod. φιλιππίσιοι. The portion οἴδατε δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς Φιλιπ(η)σιοὶ of Phil. 4:15, not in Migne. The codex has not the phrase of Phil. 4:15, ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου 13 δ(ό)σεως Cod. δώσεως 13 λ(ή)ψεως Cod. λίψεως 13 μ(ῆ) Cod. μί 14 δις Cod. δέισ 16 ὅτι M. V104: ἐπειδὴ 16 ἐχ(ο)ρήγησ(α)ν Cod. ἐχωρήγησεν 16–17 ἐχ(ο)ρήγησ(α)ν αὐτ(ῷ) τὰς χρεῖας M. ἐχορήγει αὐτοῖς ταῖς χρεῖαις 16 αὐτ(ῷ) Cod. αὐτοῖς. The codex-writing is a mishearing by the scribe. Cassian intends the following: it might be argued that since the Philippians supplied Paul with food and all the necessary accomodation, they might be regarded as 'more blessed' than he was, on account of the saying in Acts 20:25. This is absurd, Cassian argues. The correct reading of the portion exists in the *Constitutio Monasterii Prodrumi τοῦ Φοβεροῦ*, 24, p. 41 17 τολμήσ(α)ι M. τολμήσῃ. Cod. τολμήσοι

^a Rom. 15:25–27. In Migne the portion 15:27 is missing. ^b Cf. Heb. 11:36 ^c 2 Cor. 11:9. ^d Phil. 4:15–16.

that the apostles had resolved that it is more blessed for them to feed themselves by means of their own riches and not by their own toil and by the contributions of the Gentiles.

The apostle teaches about these things more clearly through those words which he writes to the Romans: *But now I go to Jerusalem to minister to the saints. For it has pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia to make a certain contribution | for the poor saints who are at Jerusalem: it has pleased* 36^r *them indeed, and their debtors they are.*⁶⁶ And the Apostle himself, who was put into prison many times, and was hampered by the difficulties of travelling, and was not able to provide with his hands for the supply of his food, as he generally did, declares that he received that which supplied his wants from the brethren who came from Macedonia. *For that which was lacking to me, he says, the brethren who came from Macedonia supplied.*⁶⁷ And to the Philippians he writes: *For you Philippians know also that in the beginning of the gospel, when I came from Macedonia, no church communicated with me in the matter of giving and receiving, except you only; because even in Thessalonica once and again you sent to supply my* 36^v *needs.*⁶⁸ Therefore, according to the conception of the covetous people, | these men should be more blessed than the apostle himself, because they ministered to him of their own property. But no one could fall into such utter foolishness as to venture to assert this.

⁶⁶ Rom. 15:25–27.

⁶⁷ 2 Cor. 11:9.

⁶⁸ Phil. 4:15–16.

βουλ(ό)μεθα τῷ ἀποστολικῷ καὶ εὐαγγελικῷ προστάγματι καὶ πάσῃ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων θεμελιωθεῖσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκολουθῆσαι, μὴ ταῖς ἡμετέραις ὑπονοίαις πειθώμεθα, μηδὲ τὰ καλῶς εἰρημένα κακῶς νοώμεν· ἀλλ' ἀπορρίψαντες τὴν χλιαρὰν καὶ ἄπιστον γνώμην, ἀναλάβωμεν τὴν ἀκριβείαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου. Οὕτω γὰρ δυνησ(ό)μεθα καὶ τοῖς τῶν πατέρων ἴχνεσιν ἀκολου- 5
θῆσαι καὶ τῆς ἐπιστήμης τοῦ κοιν(ο)βίου μηδέποτε ἀποστήναι καὶ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἀποτάσσασθαι τῷ κόσμῳ.

37^r Καλὸν δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα καὶ λόγο(υ) ἀγίων πατέρων μνησθῆναι. Φέρ(ε)ται τοί-
νυν τοῦ ἀγίου Βασιλείου ἐπισκόπου Κ(αι)σαρείας λόγος | πρὸς τινὰ συγκλ(η)τι-
κὸν χλιαρῶς ἀποταξάμενον καὶ παρα(κατα)σχ(ό)ντα τινὰ τῶν ἰδίων χρημάτων 10
ὅτι, καὶ τὸν συγκλ(η)τικ(όν) ἀπώλεσας, καὶ μοναχ(όν) οὐκ ἐποίησας.

Χρεῖα τοίνυν πάσῃ σπουδῇ ἐκκόπτειν ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς τὴν ρίζαν πάν-
των τῶν κακῶν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ φιλαργυρία,^a ἀσφαλῶς γινώσκ(ο)ντες ὅτι μενούσης
τῆς ρίζης εὐχερῶς οἱ κλάδοι φύονται. Τὴν δὲ ἀρετὴν ταύτην κατορθῶσαι δύσ-
κολον μὴ ἐν κοινοβίῳ διάγοντας· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀναγκαίων 15

1 βουλ(ό)μεθα Cod. βουλόμεθα. M. βουλόμεθα 1 βουλ(ό)μεθα τῷ ἀποστολικῷ καὶ
εὐαγγελικῷ M. βουλόμεθα τῷ εὐαγγελικῷ καὶ ἀποστολικῷ. V104: βουλόμεθα τῷ εὐαγγελικῷ
2 ἐκκλησίᾳ Cod. ἡ ἐκκλησία 3 ὑπονοίαις M. ὑπονοίαις. *Constitutio Monasterii Prodrōmi*
τοῦ Φοβεροῦ, ἐπινοίαις. But Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 82': ἡ τούτου ὑπόνοια ἡ
ὁ ὀρισμός. Op. cit.83a: εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα σοφοὶ ταῖς ὑπονοίαις παρὰ πάντων νομιζώμεθα. Cf.
Institutiones, VII.18, PL.49.312A: non nostris definitionibus acquiescamus 5 δυνησ(ό)μεθα
Cod. δυνησώμεθα 5 τῶν πατέρων M. τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων 5-6 ἀκολουθῆσαι V104:
ἐπακολουθῆσαι 6 κοιν(ο)βίου Cod. κοινωβίου. Latin, *Institutiones*, VII.18, PL.49.312A: et ita
monasterii disciplinam institutionemque pariter expetamus, ut in veritate renuntiemus
huic mundo. Cf. *supra*, p. 4': τῇ τοῦ μοναστηρίου ὑποταγῇ καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ 7 τῷ κόσμῳ
M. V104: τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ 8 δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα M. δὲ ἐνταῦθα 8 λόγο(υ) Cod. λόγον
8 λόγο(υ) ἀγίων πατέρων μνησθῆναι M. λόγου ἁγίων πατέρων ἐπιμνησθῆναι. V104: λόγων ἁγίων
πατέρων ἐπιμνησθῆναι 8 Φέρ(ε)ται Cod. Φέροι. A superscripted ε (perhaps by the
same scribe) bespeaks alertness to correct spelling 9 τοῦ ἀγίου Βασιλείου ἐπισκόπου
Κ(αι)σαρείας M. τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας 9 Κ(αι)σαρείας Cod. κεσαρείας
9-10 συγκλ(η)τικὸν Cod. συγκλιτικόν. M. Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας πρὸς τινὰ συγκλητικὸν
χλιαρῶς ἀποταξάμενον. V104: Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας πρὸς τινὰ συγκλητικὸν ἀποταξάμενον
10 παρα(κατα)σχ(ό)ντα Cod. παρασχόντα. *Constitutio Monasterii Prodrōmi* τοῦ Φοβεροῦ,
p. 42, M. V104: παρακατασχόντα 10-11 χρημάτων ὅτι καὶ M. χρημάτων, ῥῆμα τοιοῦτον. V104:
χρημάτων ῥῆμα τοιοῦτον εἰπεῖν καὶ 11 συγκλ(η)τικ(όν) Cod. συγκλιτικὸν 11 μοναχ(όν)
Cod. μοναχῷ 12 Χρεῖα M. Χρῆ. *Constitutio Monasterii Prodrōmi* τοῦ Φοβεροῦ, p. 42, Χρεῖα
12 τὴν ρίζαν M. τὴν ρίζαν, καὶ ἀρχήν 13 γινώσκ(ο)ντες Cod. γινώσκωντες. M. γινώσκοντας.
Constitutio Monasterii Prodrōmi τοῦ Φοβεροῦ, γινώσκουσιν 14 τῆς ρίζης εὐχερῶς οἱ κλάδοι M.
τῆς ρίζης, οἱ κλάδοι 14-15 ἀρετὴν ταύτην κατορθῶσαι δύσκολον μὴ M. ἀρετὴν κατορθῶσαι. εἰ
μὴ 15 διάγοντας V104: ὑπάρχοντας

^a1 Tim. 6:10.

If therefore we wish to abide by both the evangelival and apostolic precept, and to follow completely that church which was established by the apostles, we should neither acquiesce in our own prescriptions, nor interpret erroneously what has been well said. In contrast, we should discard the lukewarm and unfaithful resolution and take on the exact sense of the Gospel. For this is how we shall be able to follow the footsteps of the Fathers, not to dissent from the discipline of the coenobium and to renounce this world in truth.

37^r It is good at this point to recall a maxim by the holy fathers. There is a current saying of Saint Basil, Bishop of Caesarea, | addressed to a certain senator,⁶⁹ who had renounced the world only lukewarmly, and he had kept back for himself some of his property, which goes thus: *You have both lost the senator and not made a monk.*

It is therefore necessary to eradicate *the root of all kinds of evil*, which is *covetousness*,⁷⁰ from our soul. For we should know for sure that once the root remains uncut, branches grow easily. Furthermore, it is hard to attain this virtue unless one lived in a coenobium, into which we remain indifferent even to those needs which are elementary.

⁶⁹ The Latin mistakes the designation συγκαλητικὸν ('senator') for a proper name, making this Syncletius.

⁷⁰ 1 Tim. 6:10.

37^v χρεϊῶν ἀμεριμνοῦμεν. Τὴν κατὰ κρ(ι)σιν τοίνυν Ἀνανίου καὶ Σαπφείρας πρὸ
ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχοντες, φρίξωμεν καταλιμπάνειν ἑαυτοῖς τί ποτε τῆς παλαιᾶς περι-
ουσίας. Ὁμοίως, τοῦ Γιεζὶ φοβηθέντες τὸ παράδειγμα, τοῦ διὰ τὴν φιλαργυρίαν
αἰωνίᾳ λέπρᾳ παραδοθέντ(ο)ς, φυλαξώμεθα μὴ συναθροίζειν | ἑαυτοῖς χρήματα
ἅπερ οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἶχομεν. Ἐτι μὴν, τοῦ Ἰούδα λογιζόμενοι τὴν δι' ἀγχόνης
τελευτήν, φοβηθώμεν ἀναλαμβάνειν τί ποτε ὦν ἀποτασσ(ό)μενοι κατεφρονή-
σαμεν.

Ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τούτοις, πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχ(ω)μεν ἀεὶ τοῦ θανάτου τὸ ἄδηλον,
μὴ ποτε ἐν ὥρᾳ ἧ οὐ προσδοκῶμεν ἔλθῃ ὁ Κύριος καὶ εὖρῃ ἐσπιλ(ω)μένον τὸ
ἡμέτερον συνειδὸς καὶ ἐρεῖ ἡμῖν ὅπερ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ἐρ(ρ)έθη τῷ πλουσίῳ
ἐκείνῳ· ἄφρ(ο)ν, ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ αἴρουσιν τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἀπὸ σοῦ· ἃ δὲ ἡτοίμασας
τίνι ἔσται;^a

1 ἀμεριμνοῦμεν M. περιφρονοῦμεν 1 κατὰ κρ(ι)σιν Cod. κατάκρησιν. M. κατάκρησιν τοίνυν
1 Σαπφείρας M. & *Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi* τοῦ Φοβεροῦ: Σαπφείρης. But the codex-
spelling was far more widespread 2 καταλιμπάνειν Cod. καταλειμπάνειν 3 Γιεζὶ *Supra*,
p. 34^v: Γιεζή. M. Γιεζή. *Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi* τοῦ Φοβεροῦ: Γιεζί 4 παραδοθέντ(ο)ς
Cod. παραδοθέντες 4 φυλαξώμεθα μὴ συναθροίζειν M. φυλαξώμεθα συναθροίζειν 4 ἑαυτοῖς
χρήματα M. ἑαυτοῖς τοῦ βίου τὰ χρήματα. *Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi* τοῦ Φοβεροῦ, μὴ
συναθροίζειν χρήματα ἑαυτοῖς 5 Ἐτι μὴν M. Ἐτι γε μὴν 5 τοῦ Ἰούδα ... δι' ἀγχόνης M.
& *Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi* τοῦ Φοβεροῦ: τὴν τοῦ Ἰούδα λογιζόμενοι τὴν δι' ἀγχόνης
6 φοβηθώμεν ἀναλαμβάνειν τί M. φοβηθώμεν τι 6 τί ποτε ὦν M. τί ποτε ἀπὸ πάντων ὦν
6 ἀποτασσ(ό)μενοι Cod. ἀποτασσώμενοι 8 ἔχ(ω)μεν Cod. ἔχοντες, but a verb is needed, on
which the ensuing sentences (μὴ ποτε ... etc) are dependent. "Let us always keep our eyes
open to the fact that the time of death is unknown, lest the Lord come at a time when we do
not expect him ... etc.". M. V104: ἔχοντες 8 τοῦ θανάτου τὸ ἄδηλον M. τὸ τοῦ θανάτου ἄδηλον
9–10 εὖρῃ ἐσπιλ(ω)μένον τὸ ἡμέτερον συνειδὸς M. εὐρήσῃ τὸ ἡμέτερον συνειδὸς τῇ φιλαργυρίᾳ
ἐσπιλωμένον 9 ἐσπιλ(ω)μένον Cod. ἐσπιλομένον 10 ἐρ(ρ)έθη Cod. ἐρέθη 11 ἄφρ(ο)ν Cod.
ἄφρων. M. V104: ἄφρον 11 αἴρουσιν Cod. αἰροῦσιν. The scriptural text actually has it either
ἀπαιτοῦσιν or αἰτοῦσιν. M. V104: τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἀπαιτοῦσιν ἀπὸ σοῦ

^a Luke 12:20.

37^v Bearing then in mind the sentence imposed on Ananias and Sapphira, let us dread keeping back anything of our former property. Likewise, let us also fear the example of Gehazi, who for the sin of covetousness was chastised with the punishment of perpetual leprosy. Let us beware of hoarding | for ourselves money, indeed money that we did not even have when we lived in the world. Moreover, considering also the death of Judas by hanging, let us fear getting back any of that wealth which once we despised renouncing the world.

Above all, let us always keep our eyes open to the fact that the time of death is unknown, lest the Lord come at a time when we do not expect him and find our conscience defiled and say to us that which was said to the rich man in the Gospel: *You fool, this night your soul shall be required of you: then whose shall those things be which you have prepared?*⁷¹

⁷¹ Luke 12:20.

38^r

Πε(ρι) ὀργῆς

38^v

Τέταρτος ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἀγὼν κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ὀργῆς, ὅπως σὺν Θεῷ τὸν
 τούτου θανατηφόρον ἰὸν ἐκ βάθους τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς ἐκκόψ(ω)μεν. Τούτου
 γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ καρδίᾳ ἀποκαθημένου καὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς διανοίας ταῖς
 σκοτ(ε)ῖναις ταραχαῖς ἐκτυφλοῦντος, οὔτε διακρ(ι)σιν τῶν συμφερόντων κτή- 5
 σασθαι δυνάμεθα, οὔτε πνευματικῆς γνώσεως εὑρεῖν κατὰληψιν, οὔτε βουλευ-
 ματος ἀγαθοῦ κατασχεῖν τελει(ό)τητα, οὔτε τῆς ὄντως ζωῆς γενέσθαι μέτοχοι,
 οὔτε τῆς θεωρίας τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀληθ(ι)νοῦ φωτὸς²⁴ δεκτικὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς
 γενήσεται. Ἐταράχθη, γὰρ φησιν, ἀπὸ θυμοῦ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς μου.^a Οὔτε θείας σοφίας
 μέτοχοι γενησόμεθα, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα σοφοὶ ταῖς ὑπονοίαις παρὰ πάντων νομι- 10
 ζόμεθα, ἐπειδὴ γέγραπτ(αι), θυμὸς | ἐν κόλπῳ ἀφρόνων αὐλίζεται.^b Ἄλλ' οὔτε
 τὰς σωτηριώδ(ει)ς τῆς διακρ(ι)σεως βουλὰς κτήσασθαι δυνάμεθα· γέγραπτ(αι)
 γὰρ ὅτι ὀργὴ καὶ φρον(ι)μοὺς ἀπόλλυσιν.^c Οὔτε τὰς τῆς δικαι(ο)σύνης κυβερνή-
 σεις ν(η)φαλίῳ καρδίᾳ ἐπέχειν ἰσχύς(ο)μεν· γέγραπτ(αι) γὰρ ὅτι ὀργὴ ἀνδρός
 δικαι(ο)σύνην Θεοῦ οὐ κατεργάζεται.^d Οὔτε δὲ τὴν παρὰ πάντων ἐπαινουμέ- 15
 νην κοσμι(ό)τητα καὶ εὐσχημοσύνην κτήσασθαι δυνάμεθα, ἐπειδὴ γέγραπτ(αι),
 ἀνὴρ θυ(μ)ώδης οὐκ εὐσχήμων.^e

3 ἐκ βάθους M. ἐκ τοῦ βάθους 3 ἐκκόψ(ω)μεν M. ἐκκόψομεν 4 ἀποκαθημένου Cod. ἐναποκειμένου. See parallel text in Antiochus of Palestine, RCR, Appendix I 4–5 ταῖς σκοτ(ε)ῖναις ταραχαῖς ἐκτυφλοῦντος M. ἐκτυφλοῦντος ταῖς σκοτειναῖς ταραχαῖς 5 σκοτ(ε)ῖναις Cod. σκοτιναῖς 5 διακρ(ι)σιν Cod. διάκρησιν 6 εὑρεῖν κατὰληψιν M. εὑρεῖν κατὰληψιν. V104: κατὰληψιν εὑρεῖν 7 τελει(ό)τητα Cod. τελειώτητα. The expression οὔτε βουλευματος ἀγαθοῦ κατασχεῖν τελει(ό)τητα is missing in Migne. So is in Latin 8 ἀληθ(ι)νοῦ Cod. ἀληθινοῦ 9 γενήσεται V104: γενέσθαι 9 Οὔτε M. V104: οὔτε δέ 10–11 καὶ τὰ ... πάντων νομιζόμεθα M. καὶ μάλιστα σοφοὶ ταῖς ἐπινοίαις λογιζόμεθα. V104: λεγόμεθα 11 γέγραπτ(αι) Cod. γέγραπτε. M. γέγραπται ὅτι 11 γέγραπτ(αι), θυμὸς M. γέγραπται ὅτι θυμὸς 11 αὐλίζεται M. αὐλισθήσεται. The LXX-verb is ἀναπαύσεται 11–12 Ἄλλ' οὔτε ... κτήσασθαι δυνάμεθα M. οὐδὲ τὰς σωτηριώδεις ἀκτίνας τῆς διακρίσεως κτήσασθαι δυνάμεθα, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα φρόνιμοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νομιζόμεθα. V104: Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τὰς σωτηριώδεις τῆς διακρ(ι)σεως βουλὰς κτήσασθαι δυνάμεθα εἰ καὶ φρόνιμοι παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νομιζόμεθα 12 σωτηριώδ(ει)ς Cod. σωτηριώδους 12 διακρ(ι)σεως Cod. διακρήσεως 12 γέγραπτ(αι) Cod. γέγραπτε 13 φρον(ι)μοὺς Cod. φρονήμους 13 δικαι(ο)σύνης Cod. δικαιοσύνης 14 ν(η)φαλίῳ Cod. νιφαλίῳ. M. νηφαλιά, which is incorrect, since the feminine of the adjective νηφάλιος is νηφάλιος, too 14 ἰσχύς(ο)μεν Cod. ἰσχύσωμεν. M. τὰς δικαιοσύνης κυβερνήσεις νηφαλιά καρδίᾳ ἐπέχειν ἰσχύομεν 14 γέγραπτ(αι) Cod. γέγραπτε 14 ὀργὴ ἀνδρός M. ἀνδρὸς ὀργή 15 δικαι(ο)σύνην Cod. δικαιοσύνην 15–16 παρὰ πάντων ἐπαινουμένην M. ἐπαινουμένην παρὰ πάντων 16 κοσμι(ό)τητα Cod. κοσμιώτητα 16 γέγραπτ(αι) Cod. γέγραπτε 17 θυ(μ)ώδης Cod. θυδώδης

^a Psalm 6:9. ^b Eccl. 7:9. ^c Prov. 15:1. ^d James 1:20. ^e Prov. 11:25 (LXX).

38^r*On Anger*38^v

The third combat set before us is one against the spirit of anger, so as to eradicate this lethal poison from the inmost depths of our soul, also by God's help. For as long as this remains in our heart and blinds the eye of the mind with its dark disturbances, we can neither acquire right judgment of what is in our interests, nor gain insight into spiritual knowledge; nor can we attain to the perfection of a righteous consideration; nor can our mind become receptive to contemplation of the divine and true light, since he says, *my eye is disturbed by reason of anger*.⁷² Nor can we become partakers of wisdom, even though we are universally held to be very wise on account of our ideas,⁷³ since it is written, | *anger rests in the bosom of fools*.⁷⁴

Furthermore, we cannot attain the saving resolutions of discretion, since it is written, *anger destroys even the prudent*.⁷⁵ Nor will we be able to retain administration of justice within a serene heart, since it is written, *the wrath of man works not the righteousness of God*.⁷⁶ Nor can we accomplish that propriety and gracefulness which is commended by everybody, since it is written, *a passionate man is not graceful*.⁷⁷

⁷² Psalm 6:9.

⁷³ Greek: σοφοὶ ταῖς ὑπονοίαις. Cf. *supra*, Cod. p. 36b: μὴ ταῖς ἡμετέραις ὑπονοίαις πειθώμεθα. Also, *Ad Leontium Hegumenum Contributio Sereni Abbatis Prima*, p. 82a: ἐπιφέρεισθαι, καὶ ἡ τούτου ὑπόνοια ἢ ὁ ὀρισμὸς ἀληθὴς ὑποληφθῆσεται. Latin, op. cit. VIII.1: tamesti sapientes omnium pronuntiari opinione videamur.

⁷⁴ Eccl. 7:9.

⁷⁵ Prov. 15:1.

⁷⁶ James 1:20.

⁷⁷ Prov. 11:25 (LXX).

Ὁ τοίνυν βουλόμενος πρὸς τελείωσιν ἔλθειν καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν τὸν πνευματικὸν
 ἀγῶνα νομίμως ἀγων(ι)σασθαι, ἀπὸ παντὸς ἐλαττ(ώ)ματος ὀργῆς τε καὶ θυμοῦ
 ἀλλότριος ἔστω καὶ ἀκούετω τί αὐτῷ τὸ σκεῦος τῆς ἐκλογῆς^a Παῦλος παραγγέλλει·
 39^τ *πάσα φησὶν πικρία καὶ ὀργή καὶ θυμός καὶ κραυγὴ (καὶ βλασφημία) ἀρθήτω* 5
ἀφ' ὑμῶν σὺν πάσῃ κακίᾳ.^b Ὅταν δὲ εἴπ(η) *πάσαν, οὐδεμίαν πρόφασιν* θυμοῦ
 ὡς ἀναγκαίαν ἢ ὡς εὐλογον ἡμῖν καταλέλ(οι)πεν. Ὁ τοίνυν πλημμελοῦντα τὸν
 ἀδελφὸν βουλόμενος διορθοῦσθαι ἢ ἐπιτιμίαν τούτῳ παρασχεῖν, σπουδαζέτω
 ἑαυτὸν ἀτάραχον φυλάττειν, μὴ ποτε, ἄλλον θεραπεύσαι βουλόμενος, ἑαυτῷ
 τὴν νόσον ἐπισπάσθαι, καὶ ῥηθήσεται αὐτῷ τὸ εὐαγγελικὸν ἐκεῖν(ο) λόγιον·
ἰατρὲ, θεράπευσον σεαυτόν^c καὶ *πάλιν· τί βλέπεις τὸ κάρφος ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ* 10
ἀδελφοῦ σου, τὴν δὲ δοκὸν τὴν ἐν τῷ σῷ ὀφθαλμῷ οὐ κατανοεῖς;^d ἢ ποῖα τρόπῳ θεά-
 σθαι (ἵνα) τὸ κάρφος ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἐκβαλεῖν, ὅστις τὴν δοκὸν
 τοῦ θυμοῦ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ὀφθαλμῷ ἔχει ἐπικαλύπτουσιν;
 Ἐξ οἷας γὰρ δῆποτε αἰτίας ἢ τῆς ὀργῆς κίνησις ὑπερζέσασα τυφλοὶ τοὺς
 ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς διανοίας καὶ οὐκ ἐξ αὐτὴν θεάσασθαι τὸν ἥλιον τῆς δικαιο(σ)σύ- 15
 νης.^e | Ὡςπερ γὰρ ὁ ἐπιθείς τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς χρυσὰ πέταλα ἢ μολ(ύβ)δ(ι)να
 39^ν ἐφ' ἴσης ἐκώλυσε τὴν (ὁ)ρατικὴν δύναμιν καὶ οὐδαμῶς διαφορὰν τυφλότητος
 ἢ τοῦ χρυσοῦ τιμι(ό)της ἐποίησεν, οὕτως ἐξ οἷας δῆποτε αἰτίας εὐλόγου δῆθεν
 ἢ ἀλόγου, τῆς ὀργῆς ἀναφθείσης, ἢ (ὁ)ρατικὴ δύναμις τῆς ψυχῆς σκοτίζεται.

1 πνευματικὸν M. πνευματικόν. V104: καλόν 2 ἀγων(ι)σασθαι Cod. ἀγωνήσασθαι 2 ἐλατ-
 τ(ώ)ματος Cod. ἐλαττόματος 3-4 ἀκούετω τί... Παῦλος παραγγέλλει M. τί αὐτὸ τὸ σκεῦος τῆς
 ἐκλογῆς Παῦλος παραγγέλλει. V104: ἀκούετω τοῦ σκεύους τῆς ἐκλογῆς Παύλου παραγγέλοντος
 3-4 ἐκλογῆς Παῦλος παραγγέλλει M. ἐκλογῆς παραγγέλλει λέγων 4 καὶ ὀργή καὶ θυμός Both
 the codex and Migne have it καὶ ὀργή, καὶ θυμός, instead of the textual καὶ θυμός, καὶ ὀργή
 4 (καὶ βλασφημία) The missing term appears in V104 5 εἴπ(η) Cod. εἶπει 6 ὡς V104:
 ἢ ὡς 6 καταλέλ(οι)πεν Cod. καταλέλυπεν 7 διορθοῦσθαι M. διορθώσασθαι. V104: Ὁ
 τοίνυν βουλόμενος πλημμελοῦντα τινὰ ἀδελφὸν διορθοῦσθαι 7 ἐπιτιμίαν τούτῳ παρασχεῖν M.
 ἐπιτιμίαν παρέχειν 9 ἐκεῖν(ο) Cod. ἐκεῖνω 9 λόγιον ἐκεῖν(ο). In Migne and V104 λόγιον is
 missing 11-12 ἢ ποῖα... ἐκβαλεῖν, ὅστις M. ἢ ποῖα τρόπῳ ἐρεῖς τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου· Ἄφες ἐκβάλω
 τὸ κάρφος ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου, ὅστις 12 ἐκβαλεῖν Cod. ἐκβαλλεῖν 13 ἔχει ἐπικαλύπτουσιν;
 M. ἔχεις, ἐπικαλύπτουσιν αὐτόν; V104: ἔχει ἐπικαλύπτουσιν αὐτόν 15 διανοίας M. V104:
 ψυχῆς 15 αὐτὴν M. αὐτόν 15-16 δικαιο(σ)σύνης Cod. δικαιοσύνησ. So on Cod. p. 40^τ
 16 πέταλα M. μέταλλα 16 μολ(ύβ)δ(ι)να Cod. μολίδυνα. The spelling μολίβδινα is slightly
 less frequent than μολύβδινα 17 ἴσης M. ἐπίσης. Once again, V104 has it ἐφ' ἴσης, which
 suggests Codex 573 being its main source 17 (ὁ)ρατικὴν Cod. ὠρατικὴν 17-18 διαφορὰν
 τυφλότητος... τιμι(ό)της ἐποίησεν M. διαφορὰν ἐποίησε τῆς τυφλότητος ἢ τοῦ χρυσοῦ μετάλλου
 τιμιότης 18 τιμι(ό)της Cod. τιμιώτης 18-19 αἰτίας εὐλόγου... ψυχῆς σκοτίζεται M. αἰτίας
 ἢ τῆς ὀργῆς κίνησις ἐξαφείσα τὴν ὀρατικὴν δύναμιν τῆς ψυχῆς σκοτίζει 19 (ὁ)ρατικὴ Cod.
 ὠρατικὴ

^a Acts. 9:15. ^b Eph. 4:31. ^c Luke 4:23. ^d Matt. 7:3-4; Luke 6:41-42. Following this point,
 Migne has simply the scriptural quotation verbatim. ^e Malachi 3:20.

And so anyone aiming at perfection and desiring to strive lawfully in his spiritual combat, should be alien to all defect of anger and wrath, and should listen to the instruction which the *chosen vessel*⁷⁸ gives him. *Let all anger*, says he, *and wrath, and clamour, and evil speaking, be taken away from among you, with all malice.*⁷⁹ When he says, *all* [anger], he allows us
 39^f no | pretext for anger, which one might argue to be either necessary or reasonable. Therefore, he who wants to correct an erring brother, or to impose a penalty on him, should care to keep himself unruffled, lest he bring disease upon himself at a time when he purports to heal another one and that saying of the Gospel would be said to him, *Physician, first heal yourself*;⁸⁰ and likewise, *And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?*⁸¹ Or, how is it possible for him to see, so as to cast out *the mote* out of the *brother's eye*, who has *the beam* of anger covering his own eye?

For no matter what the cause for wrath to emerge, once this boils over, it blinds the eyes of the mind and does not allow it to see *the sun of righteousness*.⁸² | It is as though one had placed on one's eyelids gold plates, or lead: they equally hinder the ability to see, and the value of the metal makes no difference to one's blindness. By the same token, no matter what the cause or wrath and whether this is allegedly rational or irrational, once it is ignited, the ability of the soul to see is abacinated.
 39^v

⁷⁸ Cf. Acts. 9:15.

⁷⁹ Eph. 4:31.

⁸⁰ Luke 4:23.

⁸¹ Matt. 7:3–4; Luke 6:41–42.

⁸² Cf. Malachi 3:20.

Τότε οὖν μόνον κατὰ φύσιν κεκρήμεθα τῷ θυμῷ, ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς ἐμπαθεῖς καὶ φιλ(η)δόνους λογισμοὺς τοῦτον κιν(ώ)μεν. Οὕτως ἡμᾶς καὶ ὁ προφήτης Δαυῖδ διδάσκει φάσκων· ὀργίξῃσθ(ε), καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετ(ε)^a· τουτέστιν, κατὰ τῶν ἰδίων παθῶν τὴν ὀργὴν κινήτε καὶ κατὰ τῶν αἰσchrῶν λογισμῶν, καὶ μὴ διὰ το(ῦ) (ἐκ)τελεῖν τὰ ὑποβαλλόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἁμαρτάνετ(ε). Καὶ ταύτην σαφῶς 5
 40^r τὴν ἔννοιαν δηλοῖ τὸ ἐπαγόμενον· ἃ λέγετ(ε) ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις | ὑμῶν, φησιν, ἐπὶ ταῖς κοίταις (ὑ)μῶν κατανύγητε^b· τουτέστιν, ὅταν ἔλθωσιν ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν οἱ πονηροὶ λογισμοί, ἐκβάλλοντες τούτους διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὀργῆς, μετὰ τὴν τούτων ἐκβολήν, ὥσαν ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς εὐρισκόμενοι, τὸ τ(η)νικαῦτα κατανύσσεσθ(ε) πρὸς μετάν(οι)αν. Συμφων(εῖ) δὲ τούτῳ καὶ 10
 ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος χρησάμενος τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τοῦ ῥητοῦ τούτου καὶ προσθεῖς· ὁ ἥλιος μὴ ἐπιδυέτω ἐπὶ τῷ παροργισμῷ ὑμῶν· μηδὲ δίδοτε τόπ(ο)ν τῷ διαβόλῳ^c· τουτέστιν, μὴ παρασκευάσ(η)τε τὸν ἥλιον τῆς δικαι(ο)σύνης^d Χριστόν, διὰ τοῦ παροργίζειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ συγκαταθέσει τῶν φαύλων λογισμῶν, ἐπιδύναι ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν· ἵνα μὴ τῇ ἀναχωρήσει αὐτοῦ εὐρῇ ἐν ὑμῖν τόπον ὁ διάβολος. 15
 40^v Περὶ τούτου τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγει· | τοῖς δὲ φοβουμένοις τὸ ὄνομά μου ἀνατελεῖ ἥλιος δικαι(ο)σύνης καὶ ἴασις ἐν ταῖς πτέρυξιν αὐτοῦ.^e Εἰ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸ γράμμα ἐκλάβωμεν τὸ ῥητόν, οὐδὲ μέχρι δύσεως ἡλίου

1 Τότε οὖν μόνον M. Τότε μόνον 2 φιλ(η)δόνους Cod. φιλιδόνους 2 κιν(ώ)μεν Cod. κινούμεν. M. κινήσωμεν. V104: κινῶμεν 2 Οὕτως ἡμᾶς M. Οὕτω γὰρ ἡμᾶς 3 διδάσκει φάσκων M. ἐκδιδάσκει φάσκων. V104: διδάσκει λέγων 3 ὀργίξῃσθ(ε) Cod. ὀργίξεσθαι 3 ἁμαρτάνετ(ε) Cod. ἁμαρτάνεται 4 αἰσchrῶν M. πονηρῶν 5 το(ῦ) Cod. τό 5 (ἐκ)τελεῖν Cod. ὑποτελεῖν. M. πράττειν. V104: ἀποτελεῖν (copied from Cod. 573: ὑποτελεῖν, while endeavouring some improvement) 5 ἁμαρτάνετ(ε) Cod. ἁμαρτάνεται 6 λέγετ(ε) Cod. λέγεται. M. λέγετε, φησιν. V104: λέγετε γὰρ φησιν 7 (ὑ)μῶν Cod. ἡμῶν 7–8 ὅταν ἔλθωσιν ... οἱ πονηροὶ M. ἀνέλθωσιν ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν οἱ πονηροὶ 9 ἐκβολήν M. ἀποβολήν 9 ὥσαν ἐν ... ψυχῆς εὐρισκόμενοι Cod. ὥσανεῖ ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ εὐρισκόμενοι 10 τ(η)νικαῦτα Cod. τινικαῦτα 10 κατανύσσεσθ(ε) Cod. κατανύσσεσθαι. M. κατανύγητε 10 μετάν(οι)αν Cod. μετάνυσαν 10 Συμφων(εῖ) Cod. συμφωνῇ 10 τούτῳ M. τούτοις 11 τοῦ ῥητοῦ τούτου V104: τούτου τοῦ ῥητοῦ 12 μηδὲ M. μὴ 12 τόπ(ο)ν Cod. τόπων 13 παρασκευάσ(η)τε Cod. παρασκευάσετε 13 δικαι(ο)σύνης Cod. δικαιωσύνησ and *supra*, Cod. p. 39^r 14 παροργίζειν αὐτὸν M. παροργίζοντες αὐτόν 14 ἐν τῇ ... φαύλων λογισμῶν M. ἐν τῇ τῶν φαύλων λογισμῶν συγκαταθέσει 14–15 ἐπιδύναι ταῖς καρδίαις M. ἐπιδύναι τὰς καρδίας, which is incorrect. The superior quality of Greek in Codex 573 is once again plain 17 ὄνομά μου V104: ὄνομά αὐτοῦ 17 δικαι(ο)σύνης Cod. δικαιωσύνησ 17 ἴασις M. ἱασις ἔσται, which is not LXX

^a Psalm 4:5, quoted also in Eph. 4:26. ^b Psalm 4:5. ^c Eph. 4:26–27. ^d Cf. Malachi 3:20.

^e Malachi 3:20.

The only case in which we use anger in a natural way is when we direct this against passionate and lustful considerations. This is what prophet David teaches us by saying, *Be wroth and sin not*;⁸³ which means, direct your wrath against your own passions and obscene considerations, and do not sin by way of not perpetrating what they incite you to do. This is the sense denoted by what follows that point: for he says, *those things*
 40^r *which are said to your heart | do consider in compunction upon your bed*.⁸⁴ Which means, once wicked thoughts cross your heart, you should expel them by means of your anger against them; and after you have expelled them, you should at that very moment groad yourself to penitence, as if you were on *bed*, by means of the peacefulness of your soul. The blessed Paul agrees with all this account by using the testimony of this saying, and adding the following: *Let not the sun go down upon your wrath, neither give place to the devil*.⁸⁵ Which means, do not cause the *sun of righteousness*, namely Christ, to go down into your hearts, by provoking him to anger due to your assent to wicked considerations. For once he [sc. Christ] has
 40^v not departed, devil will find no place in you. God also speaks through the prophet about this *sun*, saying this: *| But to those that fear my name the sun of righteousness shall arise with healing in his wings*.⁸⁶ And if we construe this saying⁸⁷ literally, it turns out to suggest that not even until the sunset

⁸³ Psalm 4:5, quoted also in Eph. 4:26.

⁸⁴ Psalm 4:26.

⁸⁵ Eph. 4:26.

⁸⁶ Malachi 3:20.

⁸⁷ That is, the foregoing Eph. 4:26–27.

συγκεχώρηται ἡμῖν φυλάσσειν τὴν ὀργήν. Τί οὖν περὶ τούτων ἐροῦμεν, οἵτινες τῇ ἀγριότητι καὶ τῇ μανίᾳ τῆς ἐμπαθοῦς διαθέσεως, οὐ μόνον ἄχρ(ι) δύσεως τούτου τοῦ ἡλίου διατηρ(οῦ)σι τὴν ὀργήν, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ πλ(εῖ)στας ἡμέρας ἐπεκτείνοντες αὐτὴν καὶ παρασιωπῶσιν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, οὐκέτι μὲν διὰ τῶν ῥημάτων ἐκφέροντες αὐτήν, τῇ δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους σιωπῇ τὸν τῆς μνησικακίας ἰὸν εἰς ὄλεθρον ἑαυτ(ῶ)ν αὐξάνοντες, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι δεῖ μὴ μόνον ἀπὸ τῆς κατ' ἐνέργειαν²⁵ ὀργῆς ἀπέχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ διάνοιαν, ἵνα μὴ, τῷ σκότει τῆς μνησικακίας ὁ νοὺς ἀμαυρωθεῖς, ἐκπέσ(η) τοῦ φωτός | τῆς γνώσεως καὶ τῆς διακρίσεως, καὶ στερ(η)θῇ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐνοικήσεως. Διὰ γὰρ τούτου(ς) καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐν εὐαγγελίοις κελεύει ἀφεῖναι τὸ δῶρον ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ διαλ(λ)άττεσθαι τῷ ἀδελφῷ^a ἐπεὶ μὴ δυνατόν τοῦτο εὐπρόσδεκτον γίνεσθαι θυμοῦ καὶ μνησικακίας ἐναποκειμένων ἡμῖν. Καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος δὲ λέγων ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθαι^b καὶ ἐν παντί τόπῳ ἐπαίρειν ὁσίας χειρᾶς, χωρὶς ὀργῆς καὶ διαλογισμῶν^c τοῦτο ἡμᾶς ἐκδιδάσκει. Περιλείπεται τοίνυν ἡ μηδέποτε προσεύχεσθαι, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ὑπευθύνους εἶναι τῷ ἀποστολικῷ παραγγέλματι, ἢ σπουδάζοντας φυλάττειν τὸ προστεταγμένον, χωρὶς ὀργῆς καὶ μνησικακίας τοῦτο ποιεῖν.

Καὶ ἐπειδὴ πολλάκις λυπηθέντων ἀδελφῶν ἢ ταραχθέντων περιφρονοῦμεν λέγοντες οὐκ ἐξ ἡμετέρας αἰτίας τούτους λελυπηθῆναι, ὁ τῶν ψυχῶν ἱατρός τὰς προφάσεις τῆς ὀργῆς ριζόθεν ἀπὸ καρδίας | ἀνασπάσαι βουλόμενος, οὐ μόνον εἰ τύχοιμεν ἡμεῖς λελυπημένοι κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ προστάσσει ἀφίεναι τὸ δῶρον^d

1 συγκεχώρηται ἡμῖν φυλάσσειν M. V104: συγχωρεῖται ἡμῖν φυλάττειν 1 φυλάσσειν M. φυλάττειν 1 περὶ τούτων ἐροῦμεν M. ἐροῦμεν περὶ τούτων 2 καὶ τῇ μανίᾳ M. καὶ μανία 2 ἄχρ(ι) Cod. ἄχρη. M. μέχρι 3 διατηρ(οῦ)σι Cod. διατηρῶσιν. M. διατηροῦσι 3 ἀλλὰ M. ἀλλὰ καὶ 3-4 ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ ... καὶ παρασιωπῶσιν M. καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστας ἡμέρας παρατείνουσιν αὐτὴν παρασιωπῶντες 3 πλ(εῖ)στας Cod. πλήστας 3-4 ἐπεκτείνοντες M. παρατείνουσιν. V104: αὐτὴν σιωπῇ τὸν τῆς μνησικακίας (καὶ παρασιωπῶσιν ... ἀλλήλους σιωπῇ is missing) 6 ἑαυτ(ῶ)ν Cod. ἑαυτόν 6 ἑαυτ(ῶ)ν αὐξάνοντες M. αὐτῶν ἐξάπτοντες 6 ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι δεῖ μὴ Cod. δὴ μὴ. M. ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι μὴ. V104: ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι δεῖ οὐ 6-7 ὅτι δεῖ) ... ὀργῆς ἀπέχεσθαι M. ὅτι μὴ μόνον ἐκ τῆς κατ' ἐνέργειαν ἀμαρτίας ἀπέχεσθαι δεῖ 6 ἀπὸ M. ἐκ 7 διάνοιαν Cod. διάνυσαν 8 ἐκπέσ(η) Cod. ἐκπέσει 9 στερ(η)θῇ Cod. στεριθῇ. V104: τῆς διακρίσεως. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ὁ Κύριος 9 ἐνοικήσεως M. οἰκήσεως 10 τούτου(ς) Cod. τούτου. M. τοῦτο 11 διαλ(λ)άττεσθαι M. διαλάττεσθαι 11-12 δυνατόν τοῦτο εὐπρόσδεκτον γίνεσθαι Cod. δυνατόν εὐπρόσδεκτον γενέσθαι. V104: δυνατόν εὐπρόσδεκτον τοῦτο γενέσθαι 13 προσεύχεσθαι καὶ ἐν παντί τόπῳ ἐπαίρειν V104: προσεύχεσθε καὶ ἐν παντί τόπῳ ἐπαίροντες 14 διαλογισμῶν M. διὰ λογισμῶν, but the scriptural text has it διαλογισμοῦ 14 ἐκδιδάσκει M. διδάσκει 15 ὑπευθύνους M. ὑποδίκους 15-16 παραγγέλματι, ἢ σπουδάζοντας V104: παραγγέλματι, σπουδάζοντας 16 τὸ προστεταγμένον M. τὰ προστάγματα 17 τοῦτο ποιεῖν not in V104 21 ἀφίεναι M. ἀφίεναι. V104: ἀφήναι

^a Cf. Matt. 5:23-24. ^b 1 Thess. 5:17. ^c 1 Tim. 2:8. ^d Cf. Matt. 5:23-24.

are we allowed to persist in our wrath. Therefore, what could we possibly say about those who retain their wrath not only until this sun goes down, but prolong this for many days? They do not speak to each other, and although they no longer express this [wrath] through words, in fact by their reciprocal silence they increase the poison of resentment within them to their own destruction. They ignore that one has to refrain not only from wrath expressed in deed, but also from that which exists in mind alone. Otherwise, the mind will be blinded by the darkness of bearing a
 41^r grudge, it will fall from the light | of knowledge and discretion, and it will be deprived of the dwelling of the Holy Spirit.⁸⁸ This is why the Lord in the gospels enjoins to *leave the gift at the altar*, and to *be reconciled to one's brother*,⁸⁹ since it is impossible for this gift to be welcome by God once wrath and grudging are still in us. And when the apostle bids [us] *To pray without ceasing*,⁹⁰ and to *lift up holy hands in every place, without wrath and disputing*,⁹¹ this is what he actually teaches us to do. It remains then either that we never pray at all and become guilty in regard to this apostolic charge; or else, we should care to observe what has been enjoined, doing so without wrath or any resentment at all.

And because we often despise the brethren who are grieved and embarrassed, and we say that they were not hurt by any fault of ours, the healer of souls, wishing utterly to eradicate all pretexts of anger from our hearts,
 41^v | enjoins us to *leave the gift* and to *be reconciled to him*⁹² not only in case

⁸⁸ Once again Cassian depicts a decay in the ethos of monks of his time. The Greek text does so in strong terms, the Latin once again obscures the frustration implied through this section. Cf. Latin, op. cit. VIII.11–12. Moreover, the meaningful distinction κατ' ἐνέργειαν / κατὰ διάνοιαν (note 25, pp. 161–162) made by Cassian is absent from the Latin, even though this technical vocabulary reveals a Greek theological and philosophical tradition, of which Cassian is a constructive part.

⁸⁹ Matt. 5:23–24.

⁹⁰ 1 Thess. 5:17.

⁹¹ 1 Tim. 2:8.

⁹² Matt. 5:23–24.

καὶ δια(λ)λάττεσθαι τούτω· ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς λελύπητ(αι) καθ' ἡμῶν δικαίως ἢ ἀδίκως, τοῦτον διὰ τῆς ἀπολογίας θεραπεύειν καὶ τότε τὸ δῶρον προσφέρειν. Ἀλλὰ τί ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῖς εὐαγγελικοῖς καὶ ἀποστολικοῖς παραγγέλμασιν ἐνδια-
 τρίβ(ο)μεν, ἐξὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ νόμου τοῦτο μαθεῖν, ὃς καὶ συγκατάβασιν
 τῆς ἀκριβείας ἔχειν δοκῶν, τάδε φησίν· μὴ μισήσ(η)ς τὸν ἀδελφόν σου ἐν τῇ καρ-
 δία σου^a καὶ πάλιν· ὁδοὶ μνησικάκων εἰς θάνατον.^b Καὶ ἐνταῦθα οὐ μόνον τὴν κατ'
 ἐνέργειαν κωλύει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κατὰ διάν(οι)αν κολάζει.

5

Διὸ προσήκει, τοῖς θείοις νόμοις ἀκολουθοῦντας, πάσῃ δυνάμει ἀγωνίζεσθαι
 42^r κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἔνδον ἐν ἡμῖν ἀποκειμένης |
 νόσου· καὶ μὴ, κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν θυμὸν κινοῦντας, ἐρημίαν καὶ μόν(ω)σιν 10
 μεταδιώκειν, ὡς ἐκεῖ δὴθεν μηδενὸς ὄντ(ο)ς τοῦ κινοῦντος ἡμᾶς πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ
 ὡς εὐκόλως ἐν τῇ μον(ώ)σει ἢ ἀρετῇ τῆς μακροθυμίας κατορθωθήσεται. Ἀπὸ
 γὰρ τῆς ὑπερ(η)φανίας καὶ τοῦ μὴ θέλειν ἑαυτοὺς μέμφεσθαι καὶ ἐπιγράφειν
 τῇ ἰδί(α) ῥ(α)θ(υ)μῷ τὰς αἰτίας τῆς ταραχῆς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀναχώρησιν
 ἐπιθυμοῦμεν.

15

Ἔως ὅτε δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀσθενείας τὰς αἰτίας ἄλλοις ἐπιγράφ(ο)μεν, ἀδύ-
 νατον ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὴν τελείωσιν τῆς μακροθυμίας φθάσαι. Τὸ κεφάλαιον τοίνυν
 τῆς ἡμετέρας διορθώσεως τε καὶ εἰρήνης οὐκ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πλησίον μακροθυμίας
 τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς γινομένης κατορθοῦται, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας πρὸς τὸν πλη-
 42^v σίον ἀνεξικακίας. Ὅταν δὲ τὸν τῆς μακροθυμίας φεύγοντες | ἀγῶνα τὴν ἔρημον 20

1 δια(λ)λάττεσθαι Cod. διαλάττεσθαι 1 ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ M. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ 1 λελύπητ(αι)
 Cod. λελύπητε 2 τὸ δῶρον προσφέρειν M. προσφέρειν τὸ δῶρον 3 πολὺ Cod. πολλὺ
 3-4 ἐνδιατρίβ(ο)μεν Cod. ἐνδιατρίβωμεν. M. ἐνδιατρίβομεν 4 τοῦτο μαθεῖν M. μαθεῖν τοῦτο
 5 δοκῶν M. δοκῶν. V104: δοκεῖ 5 μισήσ(η)ς Cod. μισήσις 5-6 καρδία The term 'heart'
 suggests either a reading of the Hebrew text, or Cassian having in mind the sole author who
 had applied the scriptural portion in this way, namely, Cyril of Alexandria, *De Adoratione*,
 PG.68.524.19 6-7 Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ... διάν(οι)αν κολάζει M. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὴν κατ'
 ἐνέργειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κατὰ διάνοιαν ὀργὴν κωλύει καὶ κολάζει. V104: ἐνέργειαν κωλύει, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τοῖς θείοις νόμοις (τὴν κατὰ διάνοιαν κολάζει. Διὸ προσήκει, is missing) 7 διάν(οι)αν
 Cod. διάνυαν 10 μόν(ω)σιν Cod. μόνοσιν 11 μεταδιώκειν, ὡς ἐκεῖ δὴθεν μηδενός M.
 καὶ μηδενός. V104: διώκειν, ὡς ἐκεῖ μηδενός 11 ὄντ(ο)ς Cod. ὄντωσ 11 κινοῦντος Cod.
 κεινοῦντος 11 πρὸς M. εἰς 11-12 ὀργὴν καὶ ὡς εὐκόλως M. ὀργὴν, εὐκόλως. V104: ὀργὴν
 καὶ εὐκόλως 12 μον(ώ)σει Cod. μονόσει 13 ὑπερ(η)φανίας Cod. ὑπεριφανίας. M. γὰρ τῆς
 ὑπερηφανίας. V104: γὰρ ὑπερηφανίας 13 ἑαυτοὺς μέμφεσθαι M. μέμφεσθαι ἑαυτοὺς 14 τῇ
 ἰδί(α) ῥ(α)θ(υ)μῷ Cod. τῇ ἰδιοθυμῷ 14-15 τὰς αἰτίας ... ἀναχώρησιν ἐπιθυμοῦμεν M. τὰς
 αἰτίας τῆς ὀργῆς, τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀλλοτριῶσιν ἐπιποθοῦμεν 16 ὅτε M. V104: ὅτε τοίνυν
 (V104, τίνυν, which is how the scribe invariably spells it throughout) 16 ἐπιγράφ(ο)μεν
 Cod. ἐπιγράφωμεν 17 Τὸ κεφάλαιον M. Τὸ γὰρ κεφάλαιον 18 διορθώσεως τε καὶ εἰρήνης οὐκ
 M. διορθώσεως, οὐκ 18 τοῦ M. τῶν 19-20 πλησίον ἀνεξικακίας M. πλησίον μακροθυμίας
 καὶ ἀνεξικακίας 20 φεύγοντες ἀγῶνα M. ἀγῶνα φεύγοντες

^a Lev. 19:17. LXX: ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ σου. ^b Prov. 12:28.

we happen to have been wronged by a brother; but also, that in case he has anything against us, whether justly or unjustly, we should cure him through our apology and offer *the gift* subsequently. But why should we avail ourselves so much of evangelical and apostolic instructions, once it is possible to learn this also from the old Law? For although this is thought to be somewhat loose [in respect of this question], it says this: *You shall not hate your brother in your heart*;⁹³ again, *The ways of those who remember injuries lead to death*.⁹⁴ At this point, it castigates not only wrongs done in action, but also those done in mind.⁹⁵

42^f It therefore befits us to follow the divine laws, to struggle with all our power against the spirit of wrath and the disease which is established in us. | Our anger should be directed not against human beings. For this could result in pursuit of reclusion and loneliness, on the pretext that since no one could induce us to wrath, the virtue of forbearance could be easily accomplished in solitude. But in reality we pursue segregation from the brethren because of pride and unwillingness both to regard ourselves as the only one to be blamed and to impute the cause of our distress only to our personal indolence.

42^v As long as we lay the blame for our weakness on others, it is impossible for us to attain the perfection of forbearance. Therefore, the feat of our own correction and peace is accomplished as a result not of the longanimity granted to us by the others, but of our own forbearance to our neighbour. For once we seek the desert and seclusion, thus evading the struggle for forbearance, | all of our unhealed passions which we shall

⁹³ Lev. 19:17–18.

⁹⁴ Prov. 12:28.

⁹⁵ The Latin Patrology at this point somehow translates the important Greek distinction κατ' ἐνέργειαν / κατὰ διάνοιαν. Op. cit. VIII.14: in opere / in arcanis cogitationibus. At the same point, a question mark is set in parentheses following the portion used by Cassian, namely, Prov. 12:28. The editor did not recognise this as a LXX-rendering from the Proverbs, and wonders whether this is also from Leviticus, as the foregoing one.

μεταδιώκωμεν καὶ τὴν μόν(ω)σιν, ὅσα δ' ἂν τῶν ἡμετέρων παθῶν ἀθεράπευτα
 ἐκείσε ἀπενέγκωμεν, ἐπικεκρυμμένα τυγχάνουσιν. Καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἐρ(η)μία καὶ ἡ
 ἀναχώρησις τοῖς μήπω παθῶν ἀπηλλαγμένοις οὐ μόνον φυλάττειν ἐπίσταται
 τὰ ἐλαττώματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπικαλύπτειν ταῦτα οἶδεν. Καὶ οὐδὲ ἐπ(αι)σθάνεσθαι
 αὐτοὺς λ(οι)πὸν συγχωρεῖ ποῖω πάθει ἡττώνται· τούναντίον δέ, φαντασίαν ἀρε- 5
 τῆς αὐτοῖς ὑποβάλλει καὶ κατ(ω)ρθωκέναι αὐτοὺς πείθει τὴν τε μακροθυμίαν
 καὶ τὴν ταπεινώσιν, ἕως μὴ πάρεστιν ὁ τούτους ἐρεθίζων καὶ δοκιμάζων· ὅταν
 δὲ συμβῇ πρόφασις τούτους συγκινοῦσα καὶ γυμνάζουσα, εὐθέως τὰ ἐναποκεί-
 μενα πάθη καὶ τὰ πρὶν λανθάνοντα, ὥσπερ ἵπποι ἀχαλίν(ω)τοι, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων
 ἀφετηρίων ἐκπηδήσαντα καὶ τῇ μακρᾷ ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ σχολῇ τραφέντα, σφοδρό- 10
 43^τ τερον καὶ ἀγριώτερον πρὸς ὄλεθρον κατασύρουσιν | τὸν ἴδιον ἐπιβάτην. Πλέον
 γὰρ ἀγριοῦνται τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν πάθη ἀργοῦντα τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γυμνασίας· καὶ
 αὐτὴν τὴν σκιάν τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ μακροθυμίας, ἣν εἰκονικ(ῶ)ς ἐδοκοῦμεν ἔχειν
 ἀναμειγμένοι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, τῇ ἀμελείᾳ τῆς ἀγυμνασίας καὶ τῆς μον(ώ)σεως
 ἀπόλλυμεν. Ὡςπερ γὰρ τὰ ἰοβόλα τῶν θηρίων ἐν ἐρημίᾳ ἡσυχάζοντα τότε τὴν 15
 ἰδίαν μανίαν ἐπιδείκνυνται, ὅταν λάβ(ω)νταί τινος (προσεγγίζοντος), οὕτω καὶ
 οἱ ἐμπαθεῖς ἄνθρωποι οὐκ ἀρετῆς διαθέσει, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῆς ἐρημίας ἀνάγκ(η) ἡσυ-
 χάζοντες, τότε τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς ἰδὸν ἐξ(ε)μοῦσιν,²⁶ ὅταν δράζωνται τοῦ προσεγ-
 γίζοντος καὶ ἐρεθίζοντος. Καὶ τούτου χάριν τοῖς τελείωσιν πρα(ό)τητος ἐπιζη-
 20 τοῦσι σπουδῇ πᾶσα εἶναι ὀφείλει μὴ μόνον πρὸς ἀνθρώπους μὴ ὀργίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ
 μὴδὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄψυχα πράγματα.

1 μεταδιώκωμεν M. καταδιώκωμεν 1 μόν(ω)σιν Cod. μόνοσιν 1 ὅσα δ' ἂν τῶν V104: ὅσα τῶν
 2 ἐκείσε ἀπενέγκωμεν M. ἐκείσε ἐπενέγκωμεν. V104: ἐκεῖ ἀπενέγκωμεν 2 ἀπενέγκωμεν, ἐπι-
 κεκρυμμένα τυγχάνουσιν M. V104: ἐπικεκρυμμένα, οὐκ ἐξείλημμένα, τυγχάνουσι 2 ἐρ(η)μία
 Cod. ἐριμία. M. ἡ ἔρημος 4 ἐπ(αι)σθάνεσθαι Cod. ἐπεσθάνεσθαι 5 αὐτοὺς λ(οι)πὸν συγχωρεῖ
 Cod. αὐτοὺς συγχωρεῖ 5 λ(οι)πὸν Cod. λυπὸν 5 ποῖω M. ποίω. V104: οἶω 6 κατ(ω)ρθωκέναι
 Cod. κατορθωκέναι M. φαντασίαις αὐτοὺς ὑποβάλλει κατωρθωκέναι 8 τούτους συγκινοῦσα
 M. τούτους κινούσα. V104: τούτοις συγκινοῦσα 9 τὰ M. τό 9 ἀχαλίν(ω)τοι Cod. ἀχαλίνστοι
 10 ἐκπηδήσαντα καὶ ... σχολῇ τραφέντα M. V104: ἐκπηδήσαντες, τραφέντες, Codex 573 refers
 to 'passions' themselves, M. and V104 refer to 'horses' 12 ἀγριοῦνται τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν M. ἀγρι-
 οῦται ἐν ἡμῖν τὰ 12 ἐκ Cod. ἐξ 13 εἰκονικ(ῶ)ς Cod. εἰκονικός 13–14 ἐδοκοῦμεν ἔχειν
 ἀναμειγμένοι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς M. δοκοῦμεν ἔχειν. ἀναμειγμένην τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. V104: ἐδοκοῦμεν
 ἀναμειγμένοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔχειν 14 μον(ώ)σεως Cod. μονόσεως 15 ἀπόλλυμεν V104:
 ἀπολύομεν 15 ἐν ἐρημίᾳ ἡσυχάζοντα M. ἐν ἐρημίᾳ, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις κοιταῖς ἡσυχάζοντα
 16 μανίαν Cod. μανείαν 16 ἐπιδείκνυνται Cod. ἐπεπιδείκνυνται 16 λάβ(ω)νταί Cod.
 λάβονται 16 λάβ(ω)νταί τινος (προσεγγίζοντος) M. λάβωνται τινὸς προσεγγίζοντος. V104:
 ἄρξωνται τοῦ ἐρεθίζοντος καὶ προσεγγίζοντος 17 ἀνάγκ(η) Cod. ἀνάγκη 18 ἐξ(ε)μοῦσιν
 Cod. ἐξαιμοῦσιν 19 πρα(ό)τητος Cod. πρᾶωτητος 20 σπουδῇ πᾶσα ... μὴ μόνον M. σπουδῇ
 πάσῃ ὀφείλει μὴ μόνον. V104: πᾶσα τούτοις ὀφείλει εἶναι οὐ μόνον 21 μὴδὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄψυχα M.
 πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα, μὴδὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄψυχα. V104: πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα μὴδὲ τὰ ἄψυχα

carry thither together with ourselves, will continue to lurk at that place. For indeed to those who have not got rid of passions, not only does seclusion and retreat maintain their defects, but it also conceals them. What is more, it does not allow [hermits] to realize which passion they are defeated by. In contrast, as long as there is no one around who might arouse or put them to the test, it deludes them by imposing the fancy that they are righteous and they have accomplished forbearance and humility. However, once something moving or disciplining them comes to pass, then at once the passions which previously were lying hidden, just like unbridled horses diligently fed up during too long a time of quietness and idleness, dash forth the more vehemently and fiercely, to the destruction
 43^r of | their rider. For the passions inherent in us get fiercer once they are not tried out through the practice of living among men. Even that mere shadow of patience and forbearance which, when mixing with our brethren, we seemed fancifully to possess, we lose altogether through the carelessness of want of training and of seclusion. But the case is like all kinds of poisonous beasts: while they remain in solitude are quiet, they display the ferocity of their nature once they notice someone drawing near. Likewise, passionate men who remain quiet not by reason of their virtue, but because of this being imposed upon them by solitude itself, hurl the poison of their soul once they lay hold of anyone who comes closer and excites them. On account of this, it is incumbent upon those who seek the perfection of mildness not only not to wax wroth at humans, but also not to do so at inanimate objects.

43^v Μέμνημ(αι) γὰρ ἐγώ, ἡνίκα ἐν ἐρήμῳ διέτριβον, κατὰ καλάμου τὸν θυμὸν
κινήσας, <τῆς> παχύτητος τούτου ἢ λεπτότητος | ἀπαρεσκόμενος· καὶ κατὰ ξύ-
λου πάλιν, ὅταν τοῦτο κόψαι θελήσας μὴ ταχέως ἡδυνήθην· καὶ πάλιν, κατὰ λί-
θου πυροβόλου, ὅταν, σπουδάζοντός μου ἐκβάλλαι τὸ πῦρ μὴ ταχέως ὁ σπ(ι)νθήρ
ἐξεπῆδησεν, οὕτω τῆς ὀργῆς ἐπιταθείσης, ὡς καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀναισθήτων πρα-
γμάτων ταύτην ἐκφέρειν. 5

Εἰ τοίνυν ἐπιθυμοῦμεν τυχεῖν τοῦ μακαρισμοῦ^a τοῦ Κυρίου, οὐ μόνον τὴν κατ'
ἐνέργειαν ὀργήν, καθ' ἧ εἴρηται, ὀφείλομεν κ(ω)λύσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κατὰ διὰ-
νοιαν. Οὕτε γὰρ τοσοῦτον (ὦ)φελει τὸ κρατεῖν τοῦ στόματος ἐν κ(αι)ρῷ θυμοῦ
καὶ μὴ ἐκφέρειν ῥήμα μανιώδες, ὅσον τὸ καθαρίζειν τὴν καρδίαν ἀπὸ μνησικακί-
ας καὶ μὴ ἀναστρέφειν τῇ διανοίᾳ πονηροὺς κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ λογισμούς. Τὰς
ρίζας γὰρ τῶν ἁμαρτ(η)μάτων ἐκκόπτεσθαι παραγγέλλει ἡ εὐαγγελικὴ διδα-
σκαλία, ἥπερ τοὺς καρπούς. Τῆς ρίζης γὰρ τοῦ θυμοῦ | ἐκκοπ(ε)ίσης ἀπὸ τῆς
44^r καρδίας, οὔτε μίσος οὔτε φθόνος εἰς ἔργον προαχθήσεται. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ μισ(ῶ)ν τὸν
ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἀνθρωποκτόν(ο)ς ἐστίν,^b φονεύων αὐτὸν τῇ διαθέσει τοῦ μίσους
κατὰ διάνοιαν. Οὐδίνος τὸ αἷμα, οὐ διὰ ξίφους χυθέν, ἀνθρωποὶ (οὐ) βλέπου-
σιν, ἀλλὰ τῇ διαθέσει τοῦ μίσους ἀν(αι)ρεθὲν²⁷ ὁ Θεὸς ἐφορᾷ· ὅς οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ
πράξεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ λογισμῶν καὶ προαιρέσεων ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ ἢ στεφάνους^c ἢ
τιμωρίας ἀποδίδωσιν, καθὼς αὐτὸς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου φησίν· Ἐγὼ ἔρχομαι συνα-
γαγεῖν τὰ ἔργα καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις αὐτῶν.^d Καὶ πάλιν ὁ ἀπόστολος 20

1 Μέμνημ(αι) Cod. μέμνημε 1 ἐν V104: ἐν τῇ 2 κινήσας Cod. κινήσαντος 2 <τῆς> With M 2 ἀπαρεσκόμενος M. ἀπαρεσάσης μοι 3 τοῦτο κόψαι θελήσας μὴ M. κόψαι τοῦτο θελήσας, μὴ. V104: κόψαι τοῦτο, μὴ 3 ἡδυνήθην Cod. ἐδυνήθην 4 πυροβόλου M. πυρεκβόλου 4 ἐκβάλλαι Cod. ἐκβάλλειν. So *supra*, p. 33^r. M. ἐκβάλλειν 4 σπ(ι)νθήρ Cod. σπηνθήρ 5 ὡς καὶ κατὰ M. ὡς κατὰ 5 ἀναισθήτων M. ἀναισθήτων καὶ ἀψύχων 7–14 Εἰ τοίνυν ... ἔργον προαχθήσεται The portion Εἰ τοίνυν ... προαχθήσεται was copied in effect verbatim by Antioch of Palestine, the monk and later abbot of the Laura of St. Sabas, in his *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 53, PG.89.1596–1597 7 ἐπιθυμοῦμεν τυχεῖν τοῦ M. ἐπιποθοῦμεν τυχεῖν τοῦ. V104: ἐπιθυμοῦμεν τοῦ 7 Κυρίου Cod. Χριστοῦ 8 κ(ω)λύσαι Cod. κολύσαι. M. ὀφείλομεν ὀργὴν κωλύσαι, καθὰ εἴρηται 9 (ὦ)φελει Cod. ὀφελει 9 τὸ Cod. τοῦ 9–10 στόματος ἐν ... μὴ ἐκφέρειν M. στόματος, καὶ μὴ ἐκφέρειν 9 κ(αι)ρῷ Cod. κερῷ 11 μὴ ἀναστρέφειν ... ἀδελφοῦ λογισμούς M. μὴ ἀνατρέφειν πονηροὺς λογισμούς 11 διανοίᾳ V104: καρδίᾳ 11–13 Τὰς ρίζας ... τοὺς καρπούς This portion is missing in Migne 12 ἁμαρτ(η)μάτων Cod. ἁμαρτιμάτων 12 ἐκκόπτεσθαι M. ἐκκόπτειν 13 ἐκκοπ(ε)ίσης Cod. ἐκκοπήσης 14 μισ(ῶ)ν Cod. μισόν 15 ἀνθρωποκτόν(ο)ς Cod. ἀνθρωποκτόνως. V104: ἀνθρωποκτόνος εἴρηται 15 φονεύων Cod. φωνεύων 16–18 χυθέν, ἀνθρωποὶ ... ὑπὲρ λογισμῶν V104: χυθέν ὁ Θεὸς ἐφορᾷ ἀναιρεθὲν ὅς οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ πράξεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ λογισμῶν 17 ἀν(αι)ρεθὲν Cod. ἀνερθεθὲν. M. μίσους. Ἀναιρεθὲντος 17 Θεὸς ἐφορᾷ· ὅς οὐ μόνον M. Θεὸς ἄρα οὐ μόνον 18 καὶ προαιρέσεων M. καὶ ὑπὲρ προαιρέσεων 18 ἐκάστῳ ἢ στεφάνους M. ἐκάστῳ στεφάνους 19 ἀποδίδωσιν M. ἀποδιδούς 20 λόγους M. λογισμούς

^a Cf. Matt. 5:5. ^b 1 John 3:15. ^c Cf. 2 Tim. 4:8. ^d Isaiah 66:18 paraphrased. The Codex-portion is closer to the Hebrew.

43^v For I myself recollect that when I was living in the desert,⁹⁶ I waxed
 wroth at my pen because it was too large or too small; | so felt I at a piece
 of wood when I wished to cut it and was unable to do so at once; likewise
 felt I against a flint, when I was hurrying to produce fire but the spark
 of it was not effected quickly. So much was my wrath aggravated, that I
 expressed this against insensate and inanimate things.

Therefore, according to what we have said, if we desire to acquire the
 Lord's blessing,⁹⁷ we ought to block not only that wrath which is mani-
 fested in action, but also that one which exists in mind alone.⁹⁸ For to con-
 trol our mouth and not pronounce any ferocious word at the time when
 we are furious is not as beneficial as to clear our heart from remembrance
 of injuries and not allow bitter thoughts against our brother to recur in
 our mind. For the teaching of the Gospel enjoins us to destroy the roots
 44^r of sins rather than their fruits. For once the root of anger | is cut off from
 one's heart, neither hatred nor ill-will can develop to action. For indeed
whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer,⁹⁹ killing him in his mind¹⁰⁰ by
 means of his bitter feeling of hatred. Since this blood of his was not shed
 with a weapon, people cannot see it. Yet God oversees the fact that he was
 killed by the feeling of hatred and renders to each man either *crowns*¹⁰¹ or
 penalties, for the result of not only his actions but also of his thoughts and
 resolutions, which he himself says through the prophet: *I come in order to*
gather their works and words and thoughts.¹⁰² And again the apostle says,

⁹⁶ The Latin makes Cassian speak in first person Plural: op. cit. VIII.18: *Meminimus enim in solitudine commorantibus nobis*. The Greek text however is clear: *Μέμνημαι γὰρ ἐγὼ ἡνίκα ἐν ἐρήμῳ διέτριβον*. Cassian speaks of himself only and no notion of him being 'in solitude' with another person (allegedly, Germanus) is implied.

⁹⁷ Cf. Matt. 5:5.

⁹⁸ Once again, the Latin text has no inkling of the meaningful distinction *κατ' ἐργεῖαν/κατὰ διάνοιαν* (s. *supra*). Cf. Op. cit. VIII.19: *non solum e nostris actibus haec aputanda est, sed etiam de internis animae radicitus exstirpanda*.

⁹⁹ 1 John 3:15.

¹⁰⁰ The notion of *κατὰ διάνοιαν*, a favourite of Cassian, is extinguished once again. Cf. Latin, op. cit. VIII.19: *in eo scilicet quod eum corde cupiat interire, cuius cruorem propria manu, vel telo apud homines minime fudisse cognoscitur*.

¹⁰¹ Cf. 2 Tim. 4:8.

¹⁰² Cf. Isaiah 66:18.

λέγει· μεταξύ ἀλλήλων τῶν λογισμῶν κατηγορούντων ἢ καὶ ἀπολογουμένων ἐν
 ἡμέρᾳ, ἣ κρίνει ὁ Θεὸς τὰ κρυπτὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.^a Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν
 διδάσκων ἡμᾶς ὅτι δεῖ πᾶσαν ὀργὴν ἀποτίθεσθαι, ἐν εὐαγγελίοις φησὶν· ὁ ὀργι-
 44^v ζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρ(ί)σει.^b | Οὕτω γὰρ τὰ ἀκριβῆ τῶν
 ἀντιγράφων περιέχει· τὸ γὰρ εἰκῇ ἐκ προσθήκης ὕστερον προσετέθη παρὰ τῶν
 5 μὴ βουλομένων τελείως ἐκκόπτειν τὴν ὀργήν. "Οτι γὰρ τὸ εἰκῇ ἐκ προσθήκης
 ἐτέθη, δηλὸν ἐκ τοῦ προκειμένου βουλήματος τῆς γραφῆς.²⁸ Ὁ γὰρ σκοπὸς
 τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν ρίζαν καὶ τὸν σπ(ι)νθῆρα τῆς ὀργῆς ἀποκόπτειν πᾶσι τρόποις
 ἡμᾶς βούλεται καὶ μ(η)δεμίαν πρόφασιν ὀργῆς ἐν ἑαυτοῖς διαφυλάττειν, ἵνα μὴ
 εὐλόγως δῆθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν κινούμενοι, ὕστερον τῇ μανίᾳ τοῦ ἀλόγου θυμοῦ περι-
 10 πέσωμεν.

Τῆς δὲ νόσου ταύτης ἡ τελεία ἰατρεία αὕτη ἐστίν, ἵνα πιστεύσωμεν ὅτι οὔτε
 ἐπὶ δικαίοις οὔτε ἐπὶ ἀδίκτοις ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν κινεῖν τὸν θυμόν. Τοῦ γὰρ πνεύματος
 τῆς ὀργῆς τὴν διάνοιαν σκοτίσαντος, οὔτε διακρίσεως φῶς, οὔτε ὀρθοῦ βουλεύ-
 45^r ματος βεβαίωσις, οὔτε δικαι(ο)σύνης | κυβέρνησις ἐν ἡμῖν εὐρεθῆσεται, οὔτε δὲ
 15 ναὸν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος^c τὴν ἡμετέραν ψυχὴν γενέσθαι δυνατόν, τοῦ πνεύμα-
 τος ὀργῆς κατακυριεύοντος ἡμῶν.

Τέλος δὲ πάντων, χρὴ τὸ ἄδηλον τοῦ θανάτου καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμᾶς πρὸ ὀφθαλ-
 μῶν ἔχ(ο)ντας, φυλάττειν ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ ὀργῆς καὶ εἰδέναι ὅτι οὔτε σωφροσύνης,
 οὔτε ἀποταγῆς πάσης τῆς ὕλης, οὔτε τῶν νηστειῶν τε καὶ ἀγρυπνιῶν (ὁ)φελος,
 20 εἰ ὑπὸ ὀργῆς καὶ μίσους κατεχόμενοι ἔνοχοι εὐρεθώμεν τῇ κρίσει.

2 ἡ M. ὅτε 2-3 δεσπότης ἡμῶν διδάσκων M. δεσπότης, διδάσκων 3 ἐν εὐαγγελίοις φησὶν M.
 φησὶν ἐν τοῖς Εὐαγγελίοις. V104: φησὶν ἐν εὐαγγελίοις 3 ὁ M. ὅτι πᾶς ὁ 4 κρ(ί)σει Cod. κρήσει.
 M. "Οτι πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος 4 Οὕτω Cod. Οὕτως 4-5 Οὕτω γὰρ ... τῶν ἀντιγράφων M. Οὕτω
 γὰρ τῶν ἀντιγράφων τὰ ἀκριβῆ 5-7 ἐκ προσθήκης ... ἐτέθη, δηλὸν V104: ἐκ προσθήκης ὕστερον
 ἐτέθη παρὰ τῶν μὴ βουλομένων τελείως ἐκκόπτειν τὴν ὀργήν· ὅτι γὰρ ἐκ προσθήκης τὸ εἰκῇ
 ἐτέθη, δηλὸν. This is a fuller account criticizing not only the version of the scriptural text,
 but also those who interpolated this 5 προσθήκης ὕστερον προσετέθη M. προσθήκης ἐτέθη
 8 σπ(ι)νθῆρα Cod. σπηνθῆρα 9 μ(η)δεμίαν Cod. μιδεμίαν. M. μήτε μίαν 9 ἑαυτοῖς M. αὐτοῖς
 10 ἀρχὴν M. ὀργήν 12 ταύτης ἡ τελεία M. ταύτης τελεία 14 τὴν διάνοιαν σκοτίσαντος
 M. σκοτίσαντος τὴν διάνοιαν 15 δικαι(ο)σύνης Cod. δικαιοσύνησ. M. βουλεύματος, οὔτε
 δικαιοσύνης 15-16 οὔτε δὲ ναὸν M. οὔτε ναὸν 17 ὀργῆς κατακυριεύοντος ἡμῶν M.
 ὀργῆς κυριεύοντος (not ἡμῶν) 18 καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμᾶς πρὸ M. V104: καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν
 πρὸ 19 ἔχ(ο)ντας Cod. ἔχωντας 19 ἀπὸ ὀργῆς M. ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς 19-20 εἰδέναι ὅτι ... τῆς
 ὕλης M. εἰδέναι, ὅτι οὔτε ἄσκησις, οὔτε σωφροσύνη, οὔτε ἀποταγὴ πάσης ὕλης 20 νηστειῶν τε
 καὶ M. νηστειῶν καὶ 20 (ὁ)φελος Cod. ὠφελος 20-21 (ὁ)φελος, εἰ ὑπὸ ὀργῆς Cod. ὀφελος
 ἡμῖν ἔσται, ἐάν, ὑπὸ ὀργῆς 21 κρίσει Migne has a final, mostly typical, phrase, evidently
 added by a scribe: Ὡς ρυσθῆιμεν χάριτι τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς
 αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων

^a Rom. 2:15-16. ^b Matt. 5:22. ^c Cf. 1 Cor. 3:16; 6:19.

*And their conscience either condemns or commends one another; which will be taken into account on the day when God shall judge the secrets of men.*¹⁰³

And God the Lord himself, in order to teach us that we ought to set aside all wrath, says in the gospels, *That whosoever is angry with his brother shall be in danger of the judgement.*¹⁰⁴ | This is actually the text contained in the copies which are accurate. For the word *without a cause* was an addition by all those who did not wish to banish wrath altogether. That the [expression] *without a cause* is an interpolation is plain from that which Scripture intends at that point. For the intention and will of the Lord is that we should by all means cut off the spark of wrath and allow no pretext for wrath in those words, lest we fancy that we indulge in wrath with good reason and subsequently fall into the madness of irrational anger. This is in fact the perfect remedy of this disease, which is also what instructs us to conclude that we are not allowed to express anger, neither to the unjust nor to just people. For once the spirit of wrath embrowns our mind, it will be impossible for either the light of discernment, or the security of good counsel, or the ability to practise | righteousness, to be found within us. Neither would it be possible for our soul to become the temple of the Holy Spirit, once the spirit of wrath has won over us. Lastly, it is necessary for us daily to reflect on the fact that the time of death is unknown to us, for which reason we should preserve ourselves from wrath. And we should also know that neither chastity, nor renunciation of all possessions, nor fasting and night-offices could procure any benefit to us, if we are found guilty at the time of Judgement.

¹⁰³ Rom. 2:15–16.

¹⁰⁴ Matt. 5:22.

45^v

Πε(ρί) λύπης

Πέμπτος τοίνυν ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἄγων κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς λύπης, τοῦ ἐπισκο-
 τουντος τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ πάσης πνευματικῆς θεωρίας καὶ κωλύ(ο)ντος αὐτὴν
 ἀπὸ πάσης ἀγαθῆς ἐργασίας. Ὅταν γὰρ τὸ πονηρὸν τοῦτο πνεῦμα περιδράξῃ-
 ται τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ὅλην αὐτὴν σκοτίσ(η), οὐκ εὐχὰς ἐπιτελεῖν μετὰ προθυμίας 5
 συγχωρεῖ, οὐ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀναγνωσμάτων τῇ ὠφελείᾳ ἐγκαρτερεῖν, πρᾶον καὶ εὐ-
 κατάμικτον²⁹ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι οὐκ ἀνέχεται, καὶ πρὸς
 πάντα τῶν ἔργων τὰ ἐπιτ(η)δεύματα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τοῦ βίου τὴν ἐπαγγελ-
 λίαν μ(ι)σος ἐμποιεῖ. Καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ σωτηριώδη βουλεύματα τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ
 λύπη συγγέασα καὶ τὴν εὐτονίαν αὐτῆς καὶ καρτερίαν παραλύσασα, ὡς ἄφρονα 10
 46^r ταύτην καὶ παραπλήγη ἀπεργάζεται τῷ τῆς | ἀπογνώσεως ἐνδήσασα λογισμῷ.
 Διὰ τοι τοῦτο εἰς σκοπὸς ἡμῖν ἐστὶν, ἀγωνίσασθαι τὸν πνευματικὸν ἄγωνα καὶ
 νικῆσαι σὺν Θεῷ τὰ πνεύματα τῆς πονηρίας.^a Πάσῃ οὖν φυλακῇ τ(η)ρήσωμεν
 τὴν ἑαυτῶν καρδίαν^b ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς λύπης. Ὡσπερ γὰρ σῆς ἱμάτιον καὶ
 σκ(ώ)ληξ ξύλον, οὕτως ἡ λύπη τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν κατεσθίει, ἐκκλίν(ει)ν 15
 πείθουσα ἅπασαν ἀγαθὴν συντυχίαν καὶ οὐδὲ παρὰ τῶν γνησίων φ(ι)λων λό-
 γον συμβουλίας δέχεσθαι συγχωροῦσα, οὐδὲ χρυστ(ῆ)ν ἀπόκρ(ι)σιν ἢ εἰρηνικὴν
 ἐπιτρέπουσα τούτοις μεταδοῦναι· ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ψυχὴν περιλαβοῦσα, πικρίας
 αὐτὴν καὶ ἀηδίας πληροῖ. Καὶ λ(οι)πὸν ὑποβάλλει αὐτὴν φεύγειν τοὺς ἀνθρώ-
 πους ὡς αἰτίους αὐτῇ τῆς ταραχῆς γινομένους· καὶ οὐ συγχωρεῖ αὐτὴν ἐπιγινῶναι 20

2 Πέμπτος τοίνυν ἡμῖν M. V104: Πέμπτος ἡμῖν. The opening passage Πέμπτος ... ταραχῆς γινομένους obtains also in John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, PG.96.25.34–54, with minor variations 3 τὴν ψυχὴν M. τῇ ψυχῇ. The verb ἐπισκοτεῖν appears in different authors with either Dative or Accusative. Migne actually has both alternatives for the same expression: s. *infra*: ἐπισκοτεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν 3 κωλύ(ο)ντος Cod. κωλύωντος 5 σκοτίσ(η) Cod. σκοτίσει. M. σκοτώση. The Codex, not Migne, should be employed, since the cognitive participle ἐπισκοτοῦντος re-appears only a couple of lines *supra* 5 ἐπιτελεῖν M. ἐκτελεῖν 7 ἀδελφούς τὸν ... οὐκ ἀνέχεται M. ἀδελφούς εἶναι οὐ συγχωρεῖ 8 ἐπιτ(η)δεύματα Cod. ἐπιτιδεύματα 8–9 ἐπαγγελίαν μ(ι)σος Cod. ἐπαγγελίαν μῆσος 10 τὴν εὐτονίαν M. τὴν εὐτονίαν. V104: τὸν τόνον 11 ταύτην M. αὐτὴν 11 ἀπογνώσεως ἐνδήσασα M. ἀπογνώσεως λοιπὸν ἐνδήσασα 12 Διὰ τοι τοῦτο M. Διὰ τοῦτο 12 ἐστὶν M. ἔστω 13 τὰ πνεύματα V104: τὸ πνεῦμα 13 τ(η)ρήσωμεν Cod. τηρήσωμεν. M. πονηρίας, καὶ πάσῃ φυλακῇ τηρήσαι. V104: πονηρίας, Πάσῃ οὖν φυλακῇ τηρήσαντας 15 σκ(ώ)ληξ Cod. σκόληξ 15 κατεσθίει Cod. κατεσθείει 15 ἐκκλίν(ει)ν Cod. ἐκκλίνην 16 ἅπασαν M. πᾶσαν 16 φ(ι)λων Cod. φήλων 17 χρυστ(ῆ)ν Cod. χρυστεῖν 17 ἀπόκρ(ι)σιν Cod. ἀπόκρησιν 18–19 τὴν ψυχὴν ... καὶ ἀηδίας M. τὴν ψυχὴν θλίβουσα, πικρίας αὐτὴν καὶ ἀκηδίας 19 πληροῖ V104: ἀποπληροῖ 19 λ(οι)πὸν Cod. λυπὸν 19 αὐτὴν φεύγειν M. αὐτὴν φεύγειν. V104: αὐτῇ φεύγειν 20 γινομένους M. γενομένους. V104: ἐπιγινόμενους 20 αὐτὴν M. αὐτὴν. V104: αὐτῇ

^a Cf. Eph. 6:12. ^b Cf. Prov. 4:23.

45^v*On Dejection*46^r

The fifth combat set before us is one against the spirit of dejection, which hinders all spiritual contemplation by casting a shadow on the soul and obstructing any good work. For once this evil spirit takes hold of the soul and embrowns all of it, it does not allow it to say its prayers with readiness, neither does it permit it to persevere in taking advantage of the sacred writings, nor does it tolerate man to be benign and willing to keep company with his brethren; it instills hatred against engaging in any work, indeed against having any purpose in this life at all. And, once dejection has altogether blurred all the salvaging counsel and perseverance and endurance of the soul, it renders it foolish and paralysed, since it | has wrapped it up with the disposition of despair. Therefore, there is one purpose set before us, which is to wage this spiritual combat and conquer the spirits *of wickedness*¹⁰⁵ with God's help. Let us safeguard our soul against the spirit of dejection with the utmost attentiveness. For as the moth does to a garment, and a worm to wood, so dejection devours the heart of man: it persuades to decline all beneficial conversations; it does not allow it to accept any word of counsel, even by the real friends; it does not even allow any benevolent or peaceful reply to be given to them. For once it has taken over all of the soul, it fills it with such bitterness and disgust, that it subsequently impels it to decamp away from all men, whom it regards as the cause of its trouble. And it [sc. dejection] does not

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Eph. 6:12.

46^v ὅτι οὐκ ἔξωθεν, ἀλλ' ἔνδοθεν ἔχει τὴν ν(ό)σον ἀποκειμένην, ἥτις τότε φανεροῦ-
ται, | ὅταν οἱ πειρασμοὶ ἐπιστάντες διὰ τῆς γυμνασίας εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ταύτην
προενέγκωσιν. Οὐδέποτε γὰρ ὑπὸ ἄλλου βλαβήσεται ἄνθρωπος, εἰ μὴ ἔνδοθεν
ἐναποκειμένας ἔχει τὰς τῶν παθῶν αἰτίαις.

Τοῦτου χάριν ὁ πάντων δημιουργὸς καὶ ἱατρὸς τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν Θεός, ὁ μό- 5
νος ἐπιστάμενος τὰ τραύματα τῆς ψυχῆς, οὐ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων συνδιατριβὰς³⁰
παραγγέλλει καταλιμπάνειν, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐν ἡμῖν τῆς κακίας ἐκκόπτειν αἰτίαις,
γινώσκων τὴν ὑγ(ε)ίαν τῆς ψυχῆς οὐκ ἐν τῷ χ(ω)ρισμῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατορ-
θοῦσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐναρέτῳ (συν)διαγωγῇ καὶ γυμνασίᾳ. "Ὅταν
τοίνυν διὰ τινὰς εὐλόγους δῆθεν προφάσεις τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καταλιμπάνωμεν, 10
οὐ τὰς τῆς λύπης ἀφορμὰς ἐξεκόψαμεν, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐνηλλάξαμεν αὐτάς, τῆς
47^r ἐναποκειμένης ἔνδον νόσου καὶ δι' ἐτέρων πραγμάτων ταύτας ἀνακινούσης.

Διὰ τοῦτο κατὰ τῶν ἔνδ(ο)ν παθῶν ἅπας ἡμῖν ἔστω ὁ πόλεμος.³¹ Τοῦτων
γὰρ διὰ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ συνεργίας ἐκ τῆς καρδίας ἐκβληθέντων, οὐ λέγω μετὰ
ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ ἀγρίων θηρίων εὐκόλως συνδιατρίψ(ο)μεν, κατὰ τὸ 15
ὑπὸ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰὼβ εἰρημένον· θῆρες ἄγριοι εἰρηνεύουσιν σοι.^a

Προηγούμενως τοίνυν ἀγωνιστέ(ο)ν κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς λύπης, τοῦ ἐμ-
βάλλοντος τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν, ὅπως ἀπελάσωμεν αὐτ(ὸ) ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμε-
τέρας καρδίας. Τοῦτ(ο) γὰρ τὸν Κάϊν οὐ συνεχώρησε μετὰ τὴν ἀδελφοκτονίαν
μετανοῆσαι, οὔτε τὸν Ἰούδαν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ δεσπότου προδοσίαν. Ἐκείνην μόνην 20

1 ν(ό)σον Cod. νόσον 2 ταύτην M. αὐτήν 3-4 ἔνδοθεν ἐναποκειμένας ... παθῶν αἰτίαις
M. ἔνδοθεν ἀποκειμένην ἔχει τὴν νόσον, ἥτοι τὰς τῶν παθῶν αἰτίαις. V104: ἔνδοθεν ἀποκειμένας
ἔχει τὰς τῶν παθῶν αἰτίαις 4 ἐναποκειμένας V104: ἀποκειμένας 5 Τοῦτου M. V104: καὶ
τούτου 5-6 ψυχῶν ἡμῶν Θεός, ὁ μόνος M. ψυχῶν Θεός, καὶ μόνος. V104: ψυχῶν ἡμῶν Θεός,
μόνος 6 τῆς ψυχῆς M. ψυχῆς ἀκριβῶς 6 συνδιατριβὰς M. V104: διατριβὰς 7 καταλιμπάνειν
Cod. καταλειμπάνειν 7 ἐκκόπτειν αἰτίαις V104: αἰτίαις ἐκκόπτειν 8 γινώσκων τὴν ὑγ(ε)ίαν
τῆς ψυχῆς M. γινώσκων τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ψυχῆς ὑγείας 8 ὑγ(ε)ίαν Cod. ὑγίαν 8 χ(ω)ρισμῷ
Cod. χορισμῷ 9 ἐν τῇ ... καὶ γυμνασίᾳ M. ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων συνδιαγωγῇ καὶ γυμνασίᾳ
9 (συν)διαγωγῇ M. V104: συνδιαγωγῇ 10 τινὰς εὐλόγους δῆθεν προφάσεις M. τινὰς
εὐλόγους δῆθεν προφάσεις. V104: τινὰς αἰτίαις εὐλόγους προφάσεις 10 καταλιμπάνωμεν Cod.
καταλειμπάνωμεν 12 καὶ δι' ἐτέρων πραγμάτων M. has a lacuna at this point: καὶ διετο
... πραγμάτων 12 ἀνακινούσης Cod. ἀνακινούσησ 13 ἔνδ(ο)ν Cod. ἔνδων. M. ἔνδοθεν
14 συνεργίας ἐκ τῆς καρδίας ἐκβληθέντων M. V104: συνεργίας ἐκβληθέντων 14 συνεργίας
Cod. συνεργείας 15 μετὰ ἀγρίων θηρίων M. μετὰ θηρίων 15 συνδιατρίψ(ο)μεν Cod.
συνδιατρίψωμεν 17 ἀγωνιστέ(ο)ν Cod. ἀγωνιστέων 17-18 ἐμβάλλοντος M. βάλλοντος
18 αὐτ(ὸ) Cod. αὐτῶ. M. τοῦτο τῆς. V104: αὐτὸ τῆς 19 Τοῦτ(ο) Cod. τούτω 20 τὸν Ἰούδαν
M. τὸν Ἰούδαν. V104: τῷ Ἰούδᾳ

^a Job 5:23.

allow it [sc. the soul] to realise that the origin of its disease is not from without, but from within. This disease emerges | once temptations transpire and bring it to light by means of putting [the soul] to the test. For no man can be driven to sin by another, unless he has the causes of evil stored within himself.

By reason of this, God, the creator and healer of our souls, who alone knows the wounds of the soul, enjoins us clearly not to abandon association with people, but to cut off the causes of evil which are within us. For he knows that health of the soul is accomplished not by detachment from other people, but by virtuous intercourse with them and by training. When, therefore, we abandon our brethren by using certain ostensibly reasonable pretexts, this does not entail that we have eliminated the origins of dejection: we shall only have substituted them, since the disease which is established within us can always stir them up by means of other things, too. |

Therefore we ought to wage this war entirely against passions which are within us.¹⁰⁶ For once they have been expelled from our heart with the help of God, we shall be easily able to live, I will not say with men, but even with beasts, according to what is said by the blessed Job: *For the beasts of the field will be at peace with you.*¹⁰⁷

We should therefore consider it a primary task to combat the spirit of dejection, in order to expel this from our heart, since it entangles the soul in despair. For it was this which deterred Cain from repenting after the murder of his brother, as it did with Judas after the betrayal of the Lord.

¹⁰⁶ κατὰ τῶν ἐνδ(ο)ν παθῶν ἅπας ἡμῖν ἔστω ὁ πόλεμος. This notion of 'internal war', which has a telling history in Christian literature (discussed on endnote 14 to the Greek text, p. 296) is absent from the Latin text. Cf. *Collationes*, IX.8, PL.49.356C–357A: Procurandum itaque nobis est, ut nostra potius emendare vitia et mores corrigere festinemus. Quae proculdubio si fuerint emendata, non dicam cum hominibus, sed etiam cum feris et belluis facillime nobis conveniet.

¹⁰⁷ Job 5:23.

47^v τὴν λύπην ἀσκήσωμεν, τὴν ἐπὶ μετανοίᾳ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων μετ' ἐλπίδος ἀγα-
 θῆς γινομένην καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ κτήσει τ(ῶ)ν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀποκειμένων ἀγαθῶν
 ἐπιτ(η)δευομένην, περὶ ἧς καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος | εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ κατὰ Θεὸν λύπη μετάνοιαν εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀμεταμέλητον κατεργάζεται.^a Ἡ γὰρ κατὰ Θεὸν λύπη τῇ ἐλπίδι
 τῆς μετανοίας τρέφουσα τὴν ψυχὴν, χαρὰ σύμμικτος ὑπάρχει· ὅθεν καὶ πρόθυ- 5
 μον καὶ ὑπήκοον πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀγαθὴν ἐργασίαν παρασκευάζει τὸν ἄνθρωπον εὐ-
 πρόσσιτον καὶ ταπεινόν,³² πρῶτον, ἀνεξίκακον, πρὸς πάντα πόνον ἀγαθὸν καὶ συν-
 τριβὴν ὑπομον(η)τικόν, οἷα δὲ κατὰ Θεὸν τυγχάνουσα. Ὡς ἐκ τούτου λ(οι)πὸν
 τοὺς καρποὺς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος γνωρίζεσθαι ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, τοὔτέστιν ἀγά-
 πην, χαρὰν, εἰρήνην, μακροθυμίαν, ἀγαθότητα, πίστιν, ἐγκράτειαν.^b Ἐκ γὰρ τῆς 10
 ἐναντίας λύπης τοὺς καρποὺς ἐπιγινώσκ(ο)μεν τοῦ πονηροῦ πνεύματος, οἵτι-
 νες εἰσὶν ἀκ(η)δία, ἀνυπομονησία, θυμός, μ(ι)σος, ἀντιλογία, ἀπελπισμός, εὐχῆς
 48^r ὀκηρία, ἥντινα λύπην ὀφείλομεν οὕτως ἐκκλίνειν | ὡς τὴν πορν(ε)ίαν καὶ τὴν
 φιλαργυρίαν καὶ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὰ λ(οι)πὰ τῶν παθῶν. Αὕτη δὲ θεραπεύεται διὰ
 προσευχῆς καὶ τῆς εἰς Θεὸν ἐλπίδος καὶ μελέτης τῶν θείων λογίων καὶ τῆς μετὰ 15
 ἀνθρώπων εὐλαβῶν συνδιαγωγῆς.³³

Περὶ ἀκηδίας

Ἐκτος ἡμῖν ἔστω ἁγὼν κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ἀκηδίας, τοῦ συνευγμένου
 καὶ συνεργούντος τῷ πνεύματι τῆς λύπης. Δειν(ὸς) οὐτ(ο)ς καὶ βαρύτατος
 δαίμων καὶ τοῖς μοναχοῖς αἰεὶ πολεμῶν, ὅστις (περὶ) ἔκτην ὥραν ἐπιπίπτει τῷ 20
 μοναχῷ, ἀτονίαν καὶ φρίκ(ην) αὐτῷ ἐμποίων, καὶ μίσος ἐργάζεται καὶ πρὸς
 αὐτὸν τὸν τόπον³⁴ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συνδιατρίβοντας ἀδελφοὺς καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν

1 τὴν ἐπὶ μετανοίᾳ M. ἐπὶ τῇ μετανοίᾳ 2 τὴν ἐπὶ ... ἀποκειμένων ἀγαθῶν M. τῇ ἐπικτήσει
 τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀγαθῶν. V104: κτήσει τῶν ἀποκειμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀγαθῶν 2 τ(ῶ)ν Cod.
 τόν 3 ἐπιτ(η)δευομένην Cod. ἐπιτιδευομένην 3-4 μετάνοιαν εἰς ... Θεὸν λύπη The
 following expression μετάνοιαν εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀμεταμέλητον κατεργάζεται· ἡ γὰρ κατὰ Θεὸν λύπη
 fills a lacuna, which exists in Migne 4 κατεργάζεται V104: κατεργάζονται 5 χαρὰ M. χαρὰ.
 V104: χαρὰς 6-7 εὐπρόσιτον καὶ ταπεινόν M. εὐπρόσιτον, ταπεινόν 8 ὑπομον(η)τικόν
 Cod. ὑπομονιτικόν. V104: καὶ πᾶσαν συντριβὴν ἀγαθὴν, οἷα 8 λ(οι)πὸν Cod. λυπὸν
 11 ἐπιγινώσκ(ο)μεν Cod. ἐπιγινώσκωμεν 12 ἀκ(η)δία Cod. ἀκιδία 12 μ(ι)σος Cod. μῆσος
 13 ὀφείλομεν οὕτως ἐκκλίνειν V104: οὕτως ἐκκλίνειν ὀφείλομεν 13 πορν(ε)ίαν Cod. πορνίαν
 14 λ(οι)πὰ Cod. λυπὰ 15 λογίων καὶ V104: λογίων τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ 18 Ἐκτος The text of
 this chapter down to ὑπὸ μυρίων πνευμάτων αἰχμαλωτίζεται, also in John of Damascus, with
 minor variations. *Sacra Parallela*, PG.95.1212.24-1213.43. Likewise, in *Constitutio Monasterii
 Prodromi* τοῦ Φοβεροῦ, 6 18 ἡμῖν ἔστω V104: ἡμῖν ἔστιν 19 Δειν(ὸς) οὐτ(ο)ς Cod. δεινώσ
 οὕτωσ 21 φρίκ(ην) Cod. φρίκτ 21 ἐργάζεται V104: ἐργαζόμενος

^a 2 Cor. 7:10. ^b Gal. 5:22-23.

The sole kind of dejection that we should practice is the one we feel at wrongs which we did despite our good intention, as well as the one which is practised to the purpose of attaining heavenly goods. This is [the dejection] about which the apostle | said, *For godly sorrow worketh repentance to salvation not to be repented of*.¹⁰⁸ For the *godly sorrow* is one commingled with joy, since it feeds the soul with the hope of repentance. It therefore renders man willing to do any good work promptly and obediently; it makes him easy to associate with others, as well as humble, mild, forgetful of injuries done to him, willing to undertake any toil, and patient during any ordeal, since this [sorrow] is one according to God. As a result of this [sorrow], the fruits of the Holy Spirit make a mark in a man's behaviour, which are, *love, joy, peace, forbearance, gentleness, faith, temperance*.¹⁰⁹ On the other hand, from the opposite quality of dejection we make out the fruits of the evil spirit. Those fruits are accidie, eagerness, anger, rancour, dispute, despair, and disinclination to prayer; which sorrow we ought to reject in the same way | as we do with fornication, covetousness, anger and the rest of the passions. This can be healed by prayer, trust in God, study of the divine words and intercourse with pious people.

On Accidie

The sixth combat set before us is one against the spirit of accidie, which conjoins and collaborates with the spirit of dejection. This is a horrendous and very violent daemon ceaselessly waging war against monks. He attacks at the sixth hour, causing him to feel slackness and horror; it gives rise to abhorrence of the place itself, and of the brethren who dwell with

¹⁰⁸ 2 Cor. 7:10. Both the Greek and Latin text quote from this scriptural portion, yet each of them does so with a different part of it. The Latin quotes only, *But the sorrow of the world works death*.

¹⁰⁹ Gal. 5:22–23.

48^v ἐργασίαν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τῶν θείων γραφῶν τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν, ὑποβάλλων αὐτῷ
 καὶ λογισμοὺς μεταβάσεως καὶ ὥς, (εἰ) μὴ μεταστήσ(η) | αὐτὸν πρὸς ἐτέρους
 τόπους, μάταιος αὐτῷ ἅπας ὁ πόνος καὶ ὁ χρόνος γενήσεται. Πρὸς τοῦτοις πᾶ-
 σιν καὶ π(ε)ῖναν αὐτῷ ἐντίθησιν περὶ ὥραν ἕκτην, ὅση οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ συνέβη
 ἐκ τριημέρου νηστείας ἢ μακροτάτης ὁδοῦ ἢ βαρυτάτου κόπου. Ἐπειτα λογι-
 σμοὺς αὐτῷ ἐμβάλλει ὥς οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ δυνήσεται τῆς νόσου ταύτης καὶ
 τοῦ βάρους ἀπα(λ)λάττεσθαι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ προέρχεσθαι συνεχῶς καὶ παραβάλ-
 λειν ἀδελφοῖς χάριν (ὡ)φελείας δ(ῆ)θεν καὶ ἐπισκέψεως ἀσθενούντων. Ὅταν
 δὲ μὴ δυνηθ(ῇ) ἐν τοῦτοις αὐτὸν ἀπατήσαι, τ(ὸ) τ(ῇ)νικαῦτα ὕπνῳ βαρυτά-
 τῳ καταβαπτίσας³⁵ αὐτὸν σφοδρ(ό)τερος κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰσχυρ(ό)τερος γίνεται,
 οὐκ ἄλλως ἀνατρεπ(ό)μενος εἰ μὴ διὰ προσευχῆς καὶ ἀποχῆς ἀργολογίας καὶ
 μελέτης τῶν θείων λογίων καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πειρασμοῖς ὑπομονῆς. Ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ
 49^r τοῦτοις τοῖς ὅπλοις ἡσφαλισμένον | αὐτὸν εὖρη, κατατοξεύσας τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ βέ-
 λεσιν ἄστατον ἀποδείκνυσιν καὶ ῥεμβὸν ἀποτελεῖ καὶ ῥάθυμον καὶ ἄεργον, καὶ
 μοναστήρια πολλὰ περιέρχεσθαι παρασκευάζει καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου φροντίζειν
 ἢ τοῦ περισκοπεῖν ποῦ ἄριστα καὶ πότοι γίνονται. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ διάνοια
 τοῦ ἀκ(η)διαστοῦ φαντάζεται ἢ τοὺς ἐκ τούτων μετεωρισμούς. Καὶ λ(οι)πὸν ἐκ
 τούτων εἰς κοσμικὰ πράγματα αὐτὸν ἐνδεσμεῖ καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον δαλεάζει ταύταις
 ταῖς ἐπιβλαβέσιν ἀσχολ(ίαις), ἕως ἂν καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ μοναδικοῦ ἐπαγγέλματος
 τελείως αὐτὸν ἐκβάλ(η).

Ταύτην τὴν νόσον βαρυτάτην οὖσαν ὁ θεὸς ἀπόστολος ἐπιστάμενος, καὶ
 βουλόμενος αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν ὡς σοφὸς ἰατρός π(ρ)όρριζον ἀνα-
 σπᾶσαι, τὰς αἰτίας ἀφ' ὧν μάλιστα τίκτεται δείκνυσιν· δι' ὧν (δὲ) γράφων
 49^v Θεσ(σ)αλονικεῦσι τὰδε φησίν· παραγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, | ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ
 κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, στέλ(λ)εσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀδελφοῦ ἀτάκτως
 περιπατοῦντος καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν παράδ(ο)σιν ἣν παρέλαβον παρ' ἡμῶν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ
 οἶδατε πῶς δεῖ μιμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς, ὅτι οὐκ ἡτακτήσαμεν ἐν ὑμῖν, οὐδὲ δωρεάν ἄρτον
 ἐφάγ(ο)μεν (παρὰ τινος), ἀλλ' ἐν κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐργαζόμενοι

2 (εἰ) Cod. ἡ 2 μεταστήσ(η) Cod. μεταστήσειεν. V104: εἰ μὴ μεταστήσῃ ἑαυτὸν 3 ἅπας ὁ
 ... ὁ χρόνος V104: ἅπας ὁ χρόνος καὶ ὁ πόνος 3-4 πᾶσιν Cod. πᾶσιν. John of Damascus and
Const. Monast.: πᾶσι 4 π(ε)ῖναν Cod. πίναν 5 κόπου V104: πόνου 7 ἀπα(λ)λάττεσθαι Cod.
 ἀπαλάττεσθαι 7 προέρχεσθαι V104: ἔρχεσθαι 8 (ὡ)φελείας δ(ῆ)θεν Cod. ὀφελείας δεῖθεν
 9 δυνηθ(ῇ) Cod. δυνηθεί 9 τ(ὸ) Cod. τῳ 9 τ(ῇ)νικαῦτα Cod. τινικαῦτα 10 σφοδρ(ό)τερος
 Cod. σφοδρώτερος 10 ἰσχυρ(ό)τερος Cod. ἰσχυρώτερος 11 ἀνατρεπ(ό)μενος Cod.
 ἀνατρεπώμενος 14 ἄστατον V104: ἄστατον αὐτόν 15 περιέρχεσθαι V104: περιεργάζεσθαι
 16 ἄριστα V104: ἄριστοι 17 ἀκ(η)διαστοῦ Cod. ἀκιδιαστοῦ 17 λ(οι)πὸν Cod. λυπὸν
 19 ἀσχολ(ίαις) Cod. ἀσχολέσιν 20 ἐκβάλ(η) Cod. ἐκβάλλει 22 π(ρ)όρριζον Cod.
 πόρριζον 24 Θεσ(σ)αλονικεῦσι Cod. Θεσσαλονικεῦσι. V104: ὧν γράφων Θεσ(σ)αλονικεῦσι
 τὰδε λέγει 25 στέλ(λ)εσθαι Cod. στέλεσθαι 26 παράδ(ο)σιν Cod. παράδωσιν 28 ἐφάγ(ο)μεν
 Cod. ἐφάγωμεν

him; also, of any work, even of reading the holy scriptures. [He does so] by instilling into his mind considerations of betaking himself, and [the thought that] if he does not move | to other places, all his toil and time
 48^v will turn out to have been spent vainly. In addition to all this, by the sixth hour a longing for food stirs him, which is so intense that it could hardly be matched by [hunger] following either a three-day fasting, or a very long hike, or very heavy labour. Subsequently, it instils into him certain thoughts, such as that there is no other way for him to get rid of this disease and burden, unless he moves here and there all the time, visiting some brethren and staying with them, on the pretext that he does so either for the sake of offering a service or paying visits to the sick. And in cases when [this daemon] is unable to deceive him [sc. the monk] by such means, he attacks him even more violently and forcefully after having sunk him into deep sleep. [This daemon] can be overthrown only by means of prayer, refrainment from idle talking, study of the divine words and endurance amidst temptations. Once this [daemon] finds him
 49^r [sc. the monk] not safeguarded by these weapons, | he hurls against him his arrows exposing him as unstable, renders him maundering, and makes him gad about many monasteries and care for nothing other than browsing around in order to come upon morning meals and drinking bouts. For the mind of an idler cannot think of anything other than these distractions. Consequently, it constricts him in mundane occupations and entices him little by little by these detrimental concerns, until it manages to expel him altogether from the monastic vocation itself.

The blessed apostle, who was aware of this disease being very grave, and wishing to eradicate it completely from our souls like a wise physician, demonstrates the causes which give birth to it. Writing therefore to the Thessalonians, he says the following: *We command you, brethren, | in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received of us. For yourselves know how ye ought to follow us: for we behaved not ourselves disorderly among you. Neither did we eat any man's bread for nought; but wrought with labour and travail night and day, that we might not be*

49^v

πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαι τινα ὑμῶν· οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἔχ(ο)μεν ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἑαυτοὺς τύπον δώμεν ὑμῖν εἰς τὸ μιμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἤμ(η)ν, τοῦτο παρηγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν, ὅτι (εἰ) τις οὐ θέλ(ει) ἐργάζεσθαι, μηδὲ ἐσθιέτ(ω). ἀκούομεν γὰρ τινος (περιπατοῦντος) ἐν ὑμῖν (ἀτάκτως, μηδὲν ἐργαζο)μένους, ἀλλὰ περιεργαζομένους· τοῖς δὲ τοιούτοις παραγγέλλομεν καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ἐν κυρίῳ (Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ) ἵνα μετ' ἡσυχίας ἐργαζόμενοι τὸν ἴδιον ἄρτον ἐσθίωσιν.^a

5

50^r

Ἀκούσωμεν πῶς σοφ(ῶ)ς | ἡμῖν ὑποδείκνυσιν τὰς αἰτίας τῆς ἀκηδίας ὁ ἀπὸστολος· ἀτάκτους γὰρ καλεῖ τοὺς μὴ ἐργαζομένους ἐνὶ τούτῳ ῥήματι πολλὴν κακίαν ἐμφαίνων· ὁ γὰρ ἄτακτος καὶ ἀνευλαβὴς τυγχάνει καὶ προπετ(ῆ)ς περὶ λόγον καὶ εἰς λοιδορίαν πρόχειρος καὶ εἰς ἡσυχίαν ἀνεπιτ(ῆ)δ(ε)ιος καὶ τῆς ἀκ(η)δίας δοῦλος. Παραγγέλλει οὖν στέλλεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, τουτέστιν ἀφορίζεσθαι ὡς ἀπὸ λ(οι)μικῆς νόσου. Εἴτα φησὶν, καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ἣν παρέλαβον παρ' ὑμῶν,^b διὰ τῆς λέξεως ταύτης ἐμφαίνων ὑπερηφάνους αὐτοὺς εἶναι καὶ καταφρονητὰς καὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν παραδ(ό)σεων καταλύτας. Καὶ πάλιν, δωρεάν, φησιν, ἄρτον οὐκ ἐφάγ(ο)μεν παρά τινος, ἀλλὰ ἐν κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐργαζόμενοι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαι τινα.^c

10

15

50^v

Ὁ διδάσκαλος τῶν ἐθνῶν,^d ὁ κήρυξ | τοῦ εὐαγγελίου,^e ὁ μετάρσιος ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ,^f ὁ λέγων τὸν Κύριον προστεταχέναι τοὺς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καταγγέλλοντας ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ζῆν,^g ἐν κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐργάζεται πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρ(ῆ)σαι τινα. Τί τοίνυν ἡμεῖς ποιήσ(ο)μεν ἀκηδιῶντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου

20

1 ἔχ(ο)μεν Cod. ἔχωμεν 2 ἡμ(η)ν Cod. ἡμιν. V104: μιμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς, παρεγγέλλομεν (καὶ γὰρ ὅτε ... πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἡμ(η)ν, τοῦτο is missing) 3 (εἰ) Cod. ἢ 3 θέλ(ει) Cod. θέλη 3 ἐσθιέτ(ω) Cod. ἐσθιέτο 4 (περιπατοῦντος) V104: περιπατοῦντας μηδὲν ἐργαζο)μένους 4 ὑμῖν At this point, the (exhausted) scribe writes, once again, ἅτι, which makes no sense. He evidently meant to start writing ἀτάκτως, but he reverts to Paul's words. Hence, Cod. ἅτι εἰ τις οὐ θέλει ἐργάζεσθαι, μηδὲ ἐσθιέτω 6 μετ' ἡσυχίας ... ἄρτον ἐσθίωσιν V104: μετὰ ἡσυχίας ἐργαζόμενοι τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἄρτον ἐσθίωσι 6 τὸν ἴδιον Cod. τὸν ἴδιον marks the end of supplementary text from codex 573 filling the lacuna of Migne's text 7 σοφ(ῶ)ς Cod. σοφός. V104: σοφῶς ὑποδείκνυσιν ἡμῖν 9–10 ὁ γὰρ ... εἰς λοιδορίαν M. Ὁ γὰρ ἀργὸς καὶ προπετῆς ἐν λόγοις τυγχάνει, καὶ πρὸς λοιδορίαν 9 προπετ(ῆ)ς Cod. προπετεῖς 10 καὶ εἰς ἡσυχίαν M. καὶ λοιπὸν εἰς ἡσυχίαν 10 ἀνεπιτ(ῆ)δ(ε)ιος Cod. ἀνεπιτιδίος 11 ἀκ(η)δίας Cod. ἀκιδίας 12 λ(οι)μικῆς Cod. λυμικῆς 12 Εἴτα φησιν M. Εἴτα τί φησι 13 ὑπερηφάνους M. ταύτης ὑπερηφάνους 14 καταφρονητὰς M. καταφρονήσαντας ἐμφαίνων 14 παραδ(ό)σεων Cod. παραδώσεων 15 ἐφάγ(ο)μεν Cod. ἐφάγωμεν 16 τινα M. τινα ὑμῶν 17 εὐαγγελίου M. κήρυξ εὐαγγελίου 19 ἐν κόπῳ ... καὶ νυκτὸς M. ἐν κόπῳ καὶ νυκτὸς 19 ἐργάζεται V104: μόχθῳ ἐργάζεται 20 μὴ ἐπιβαρ(ῆ)σαι M. μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαι 20 ἐπιβαρ(ῆ)σαι Cod. ἐπιβαρεῖσαι 20 ποιήσ(ο)μεν Cod. ποιήσωμεν. M. Τί οὖν ποιήσωμεν ἡμεῖς

^a 2 Thess. 3:6–12. ^b 2 Thess. 3:6. ^c 2 Thess. 3:8. ^d 1 Tim. 2:7. ^e Cf. Col. 1:23. ^f 2 Cor. 12:2. ^g 1 Cor. 9:14.

*chargeable to any of you. Not because we have no power, but to make ourselves an example unto you to follow us. For even when we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat. For we hear that there are some who walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are busy-bodies. Now them that are such we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread.*¹¹⁰

50^r Let us listen to how wisely | the apostle demonstrates the causes of accidie to us. For he styles *disorderly* those who do not work, thus pointing to a lot of wickedness through this single word. For anyone who is disorderly, he is also impious and presumptuous, he is all too quick both to speak and to abuse, he is unfit to live in peacefulness, and he is a slave to accidie. [The apostle therefore] instructs to *withdraw from* him, in other words, to insulate ourselves, as if he [a *disorderly* man] were a pestilential disease. He subsequently says, *and not after the tradition which he received of us*, by this phrase indicating them to be arrogant, despisers, and destroyers of the apostolic traditions. Again, he says, *Neither did we eat any man's bread for nought; but wrought with labour and travail night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you.*

50^v The teacher of the Gentiles,¹¹¹ the preacher | of the Gospel,¹¹² he who was lifted up to the third heaven,¹¹³ the one who said that the Lord enjoined that *they who preach the Gospel should live of the gospel*,¹¹⁴ used to *labour night and day, that he might not be chargeable to any one*. What therefore should we do ourselves, when we seek to evade labour due to accidie and pursue ease of the body—we who have been assigned neither with preaching the

¹¹⁰ 2 Thess. 6:3–12.

¹¹¹ 1 Tim. 2:7.

¹¹² Col. 1:23.

¹¹³ 2 Cor. 12:2.

¹¹⁴ 1 Cor. 9:14.

καὶ τὴν σωματικὴν ἀνάπαυσιν μεταδιώκοντες, οἷς οὔτε κήρυγμα εὐαγγελίου ἐνεχειρίσθη, οὔτε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἢ μέρ(ιμν)α, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἰδίων ψυχῶν μόνων ἢ φροντίς;

Εἴτα, σαφέστερον δεικνύων τὴν τικτομένην βλάβην ἐκ τῆς ἀργίας (ἐπιφέρει)· μὴδὲν ἐργαζομένους, ἀλλὰ περιεργαζομένους^a ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀργολογίας περιεργία, καὶ ἀπὸ περιεργίας ἀταξία, καὶ ἀπὸ ἀταξίας πᾶσα (κακία). Κατασκευάζ(ων) δὲ πάλιν τὴν θεραπείαν αὐτῆς, ἐπιφέρει· τοῖς δὲ τοιοῦτοις παραγγέλλομεν, (καὶ 5^r παρακαλοῦμεν) ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἐργαζομένους τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἄρτον ἐσθίειν· | καὶ ἐπιπληκτικ(ώτ)ερον λέγει· εἴ τις οὐ θέλ(ει) ἐργάζεσθαι, μὴδὲ ἐσθιέτω.^b

Τούτοις τοῖς ἀποστολικοῖς διδάγμασιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἅγιοι πατέρες πεπαιδευμένοι, οὐδένα κ(αι)ρὸν ἀργοὺς εἶναι τοὺς μοναχοὺς ἐπιτρέπουσιν, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς νεωτέρους, εἰδότες ὡς διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς τοῦ ἔργου καὶ ἀκ(η)δῖαν ἀπελαύνουσιν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν τροφὴν προσπορίζουσιν καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις βοηθοῦσιν. Οὐ μόνον γὰρ τῆς ἑαυτῶν χρείας ἕνεκεν ἐργάζονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένοις καὶ πτωχοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακαῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου ἔργου ἐπιχορ(η)γοῦσιν, πιστεύον- 15^rτες τὴν τοιαύτην εὐποιάν *θυσίαν ἁγίαν εὐάρεστον τῷ Θεῷ*^c γίνεσθαι. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ λέγουσιν οἱ πατέρες, ὅτι ὁ ἐργαζόμενος ἐνὶ δαίμονι πολεμ(εῖ) καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ θλίβεται· ὁ δὲ ἄεργος ὑπὸ μυρίων πνευμάτων αἰχμαλωτίζεται.

Καλὸν δὲ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ λόγων | ἐπιμνησθῆναι τοῦ ἀββᾶ Μωσέως, τοῦ δοκιμωτάτου ἐν τοῖς πατράσιν, (οὗς) πρὸς με ἀπεφθέγγατο. Καθεσθέντος γάρ 20^rμου ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ὡχλήθην ὑπὸ ἀκ(η)δίας καὶ παρέβαλον αὐτῷ

1–3 οὔτε κήρυγμα ... ἢ φροντίς; M. οὔτε κήρυγμα εὐαγγελίου ἐνεχειρίσθη, οὔτε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἢ μέριμνα, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἰδίας μόνης ψυχῆς ἢ φροντίς; V104: οὐδὲ κήρυγμα εὐαγγελίου οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἢ μέριμνα, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἰδίας μόνον ψυχῆς ἢ φροντίς; 2 μέρ(ιμν)α Cod. ἡμέρα, evidently a mishearing by the scribe 4 ἀργίας Cod. ἀργείας 4 (ἐπιφέρει) With M 6 (κακία) Cod. ἀταξία. M. ἀπὸ ἀργίας ἀταξία, καὶ ἀπὸ ἀταξίας πᾶσα κακία. V104: ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀργίας περιεργία, καὶ ἀπὸ περιεργίας ἀταξία, καὶ ἀπὸ ἀταξίας πᾶσα κακία 6 Κατασκευάζ(ων) Cod. κατασκευάζει 7–8 (καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν) So this full quotation goes in Migne, but not in V104 8 ἐσθίειν Cod. ἐσθιέειν 8–9 ἐπιπληκτικ(ώτ)ερον Cod. ἐπιπληκτικόν ερον 8–9 ἐπιπληκτικ(ώτ)ερον λέγει M. ἐπιπληκτικώτερον ἐπάγει λέγων 9 θέλ(ει) Cod. θέλη 10 διδάγμασιν M. παραγγέλμασιν 11 πεπαιδευμένοι M. παιδευόμενοι 11 κ(αι)ρὸν Cod. κερὸν 12 ὡς M. ὅτι 12 ἀκ(η)δῖαν Cod. ἀκιδῖαν 13 προσπορίζουσιν V104: εἰσπορίζονται 14 χρείας ἕνεκεν V104: ἕνεκεν χρείας 14 καὶ M. δέ 15 καὶ τοῖς ... τοῦ ἰδίου M. φυλακαῖς, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς δεομένοις, ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου 15 ἐπιχορ(η)γοῦσιν Cod. ἐπιχοριγοῦσιν 16 τοιαύτην M. ἑαυτῶν 16 *θυσίαν ἁγίαν εὐάρεστον* M. *θυσίαν εὐάρεστον*. V104: *θυσίαν ἁγίαν εὐπρόσδεκτον* 17 πολεμ(εῖ) Cod. πολεμῇ. V104: δαίμονι πολλᾶκις πολεμεῖται 17 καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ M. καὶ πολλᾶκις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ 18 ἄεργος M. ἀργός 19 Μω(ϋ)σέως Cod. Μωοσέως 20 (οὗς) Cod. ὦν 21 ἀκ(η)δίας Cod. ἀκιδίας 21–140.1 καὶ παρέβαλον ... χθές δεινῶς Cod. καὶ παραβαλὼν αὐτῷ, λέγω πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι δεινῶς 21 παρέβαλον Cod. παρέβαλλον. V104: παραβαλὼν αὐτῷ καὶ εἰπὼν

^a 2 Thess. 3:11. ^b 2 Thess. 3:10. ^c Rom. 12:1. Cf. Phil. 4:18; Heb. 13:16.

Gospel, nor with concern for the churches, but only with care for our own souls?

Subsequently, he adds, demonstrating more clearly the damage which proceeds from idleness: [*there are some*] *working not at all, but are busy-bodies*.¹¹⁵ For idle-talking gives rise to idle curiosity; curiosity brings about disorder; and disorder produces all kinds of evil. Yet again [the apostle], prescribing the cure, adds this: *Now them that are such we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their*
 51^r *own bread*.¹¹⁶ | He also says, using a more rebuking tone, *if any would not work, neither should he eat*.¹¹⁷

And so instructed by these apostolic lessons, the fathers in Egypt never allow monks, especially the younger ones, to be idle at any time. For they know that by means of patient perseverance in labour, they expel accidie, [while at the same time] they produce food, both for their own needs and for those who are in want. For indeed they labour not only to satisfy their own needs, but also they provide from the product of their work for those who are either foreigners, or poor, or in prison. They hold this benefaction to take place as *a holy sacrifice acceptable to God*.¹¹⁸ And the fathers say this [apophthegm]: one [monk] who works, he wages war against one devil; but an idle one is captured by ten thousand spirits.

51^v In addition to all these considerations, it is good to recall a saying | addressed to me by abba Moses, who was¹¹⁹ most proficient among the fathers. After I had settled for a short while in the desert, I was disturbed

¹¹⁵ 2 Thess. 3:11.

¹¹⁶ 2 Thess. 6:12.

¹¹⁷ 2 Thess. 3:10.

¹¹⁸ Rom. 12:1. Cf. Phil. 4:18; Heb. 13:16.

¹¹⁹ The Imperfect 'was' is used tentatively. It might well be 'is', since the clause τοῦ δοκιμωτάτου ἐν τοῖς πατράσιν has no verb at all and the possibility of Moses being still alive at the time Cassian was writing cannot be excluded. *RCR*, p. 140.

καὶ εἶπον ὅτι χθὲς δεινῶς ὀχλ(η)θεῖς ὑπὸ ἀκ(η)δίας καὶ ἐξασθενήσας σφόδρα, οὐ πρότερον ἀπηλλάγην αὐτῆς, εἰ μὴ ἀπῆλθον καὶ παρέβαλον τῷ ἀββᾷ Παύλῳ. Ἀπεκρίνατο δέ μοι πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ ἀββᾶς Μωσῆς καὶ εἶπεν· θάρσει, οὐ σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡλευθέρωσας, ἀλλὰ μάλλον ἔκδοτον ἑαυτὸν καὶ δοῦλον ταύτῃ παρέδωκας. Γίνωσκε οὖν ὅτι βαρυτέρως σε ὡς λειποτάκτην καταπολεμήσει, εἰ μὴ τοῦ λ(οι)ποῦ δι' ὑπομονῆς καὶ προσευχῆς καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τῶν χειρῶν ταύτην καταπολεμήσαι σπουδάσῃς.

52^r

Πε(ρι) κενοδοξίας

Ἐβδομος ἡμῖν ἀγὼν πρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς κενοδοξίας. Πολύμορφον τοῦτο καὶ λεπτ(ό)τατον πάθος, καὶ οὐ ταχέως οὐδ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πειραζομένου καταλαμβανόμενον. Καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν αἱ προσβολαὶ φανερώτεροι τυγχάνουσι, εὐκολ(ω)τέραν πῶς τὴν πρὸς αὐτάς μάχην ἔχουσιν, τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιγινωσκούσης τὸν πόλεμον καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀντιρρήσεως καὶ προσευχῆς τοῦτον εὐθέως ἀνατρεπούσης. (Ἡ) δὲ τῆς κενοδοξίας κακία πολύμορφος οὖσα, καθ' ἃ εἴρηται, δυσκαταγνώριστος τυγχάνει.

52^v

Καὶ γὰρ ἐν παντὶ ἐπιτ(η)δεύματι παρυφίσταται ἔν τε σχήματι καὶ ἐν μορφῇ καὶ ἐν βαδίσματι καὶ ἐν φωνῇ καὶ ἐν λόγῳ καὶ ἐν σιωπῇ καὶ ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ ἐν ἀγρυπνίαις καὶ ἐν νηστείαις καὶ ἐν εὐχῇ καὶ ἐν ἀναγνώσμασι καὶ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ ἐν μακροθυμίᾳ. Διὰ πάντων γὰρ τούτων ἐπιχειρεῖ τὸν στρατιωτῆν | τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατατοξεύειν.

20

1 ὀχλ(η)θεῖς Cod. ὀχλίθεισ 1 ἀκ(η)δίας Cod. ἀκιδίας 2 αὐτῆς V104: ταύτης 2 παρέβαλον Cod. παρέβαλλον 3 Ἀπεκρίνατο δέ ... καὶ εἶπεν M. λέγων. V104: Ἀπεκρίθη μοι ὁ ἀββᾶς Μωσῆς λέγων 3-4 οὐ σεαυτὸν M. οὐχ ἑαυτόν 4 ἑαυτὸν καὶ δοῦλον M. V104: ἔκδοτον καὶ δοῦλον 5 οὖν M. V104: τοίνυν 6 λ(οι)ποῦ Cod. λυποῦ 7 καταπολεμήσαι M. καταπαλαῖσαι 9 ἡμῖν ἀγὼν ... πνεῦμα τῆς M. ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἀγὼν κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος 10 λεπτ(ό)τατον Cod. λεπτώτατον 10 οὐ ταχέως not in Migne 11 τυγχάνουσι M. τυγχάνουσι 12 εὐκολ(ω)τέραν Cod. εὐκολοτέραν 12-14 εὐκολ(ω)τέραν πῶς ... εὐθέως ἀνατρεπούσης M. καὶ εὐκολώτερόν πῶς τὴν πρὸς ταῦτα μάχην κέκτηνται, καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιγινωσκόμενης διὰ τῆς ἀντιρρήσεως καὶ προσευχῆς τοῦτον ἀνατρεπούσης 13 καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀντιρρήσεως V104: καὶ δι' ἀντιρρήσεως 14 (Ἡ) Cod. εἰ 14 τῆς κενοδοξίας κακία πολύμορφος V104: τῆς κενοδοξίας πολύμορφος 14 καθ' ἃ M. καθώς 16 ἐπιτ(η)δεύματι Cod. ἐπιτιδεύματι 17 καὶ ἐν βαδίσματι M. καὶ βαδίσματι 17-19 καὶ ἐν βαδίσματι ... ἐν μακροθυμίᾳ M. καὶ βαδίσματι καὶ λόγῳ, καὶ ἐν ἀγρυπνίαις, καὶ ἐν νηστείαις, καὶ ἐν προσευχῇ, καὶ ἐν ἀναγνώσει. V104: καὶ ἐν βαδίσματι καὶ φωνῇ καὶ ἐν λόγῳ καὶ ἐν σιωπῇ καὶ ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ ἐν ἀγρυπνίαις καὶ ἐν νηστείαις καὶ ἐν εὐχῇ καὶ ἐν ἀναγνώσει

by accidie. I then visited him and said: 'I was terribly troubled yesterday by an attack of accidie. Since I had been utterly weakened, I could only get rid of that by getting out and visiting abba Paul'. To this abba Moses replied saying this: 'Be of good comfort; you have not freed yourself from it, but rather have given yourself up to it as its slave. You should know that the enemy will attack you [again] more fiercely as a deserter, unless in the future you seek to combat it by means of endurance, prayer, and manual work.'

52^f

On Vainglory

The fifth combat set before us is one against the spirit of vainglory. This is a spirit that takes many shapes, it is thoroughly subtle, and it is not possibly for the one who is attacked to notice this immediately. For indeed since the assaults by the rest of the passions are more evident, it is easier to confront them once the soul realises the war is being waged and wins out forthwith by means of controversion and prayer. To the contrary, the evil of vainglory is difficult to fight, by reason of this being multiform, as already said.

As a matter of fact, this [malady] lurks in all kinds of activity, such as dressing, appearance, walking, speech, silence, work, night office, fasting, prayer, reading, tranquillity, and forbearance. For it tries to injure the soldier | of Christ by any kind of these [activities].

52^v

Καὶ γὰρ ὄντινα μὴ δυνήθῃ πολυτελείᾳ ἐνδυμάτων πρὸς κενοδοξίαν ἀπατή-
σαι, τοῦτον δι' εὐτελοῦς ἐσθήτ(ο)ς ἐπιχειρ(ε)ῖ πειράζειν. Καὶ ὃν οὐκ ἡδυνήθη
διὰ τιμῆς ἐπάραι, τοῦτον διὰ τοῦ φέρειν δῆθεν ἀτιμίαν εἰς ἀπόνοιαν αἶρει· καὶ
ὃν οὐκ ἡδυνήθη πείσαι δι' ἐπιστημ(ονικ)ῶν λόγων κενοδοξεῖν, τοῦτον διὰ σιω-
πῆς ὡς ἡσυχον δῆθεν δελεάζει· καὶ ὃν οὐκ ἡδυνήθη διὰ πολυτελείας βρωμάτων
χαυνῶσαι, τοῦτον διὰ νηστείας πρὸς ἔπαινον ἐλκύει. Καὶ ἀπλῶς πᾶν ἔργον, πᾶν
ἐπιτ(ή)δευμα, πρόφασιν παρέχει πολέμου τῷ πονηρῷ τούτῳ δαίμονι.

Ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ κλῆρον φαντάζεσθαι ὑποβάλλει. Μέννημ(αι) γάρ
τινος γέροντος, ἡνίκα ἐν Σκ(ή)τ(ει) διέτριβον, ἀπελθόντος εἰς κέλλαν τινὸς ἀδελ-
53^τ φοῦ ἐπισκέψεως χάριν, ὃς πλησιάσας αὐτοῦ | τῇ θύρᾳ ἀκούει ἔνδον λαλοῦντος
10 αὐτοῦ· καὶ νομ(ί)σας ὁ γέρων ἀπὸ Γραφῆς αὐτὸν μελετᾶν, ἔστ(η) ἀκρωμένος
καὶ αἰσθάνεται αὐτοῦ παραφρονούντος ὑπὸ τῆς κενοδοξίας καὶ ἑαυτὸν χειροτο-
νούντος διάκονον καὶ τοῖς κατηχομένοις ἀπόλυσιν παρέχοντος. Ὡς οὖν ἤκουσε
τούτων ὁ γέρων, τέλος ὠθήσας τὴν θύραν εἰσῆλθεν· καὶ ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ ὁ ἀδελ-
15 φὸς προσεκύνησεν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος καὶ ἡξίου μαθεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ εἰ πολλὴν ὥραν
ἔχ(ει) πρὸς τὴν θύραν ἱστάμενος καὶ πάσχων ὕβριν. Ὁ δὲ γέρων χαριέντ(ω)ς
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεκρίθη· ἄρτι, φησίν, ἦλθον, ὅτε σὺ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τοῖς κατηχο-
μένοις ἐπετέλεις. Ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἔπεσεν παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ
γέροντος καὶ παρεκάλει αὐτὸν εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ῥυσθῇ τῆς τοιαύτης
πλάν(η)ς.

53^υ Τούτου δὲ ἐμνήσθην | δεῖξαι βουλόμενος εἰς ὅσ(η)ν ἀναισθησίαν φέρει τὸν
ἄνθρωπον οὗτος ὁ δαίμων. Ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος τελεί(ω)ς ἀθλήσαι καὶ τὸν τῆς

1 μὴ V104: οὐ 1 πολυτελείᾳ ἐνδυμάτων M. διὰ πολυτελείας ἐνδυμάτων. V104: πολυτελείᾳ
ἐνδύσεως 2 ἐσθήτ(ο)ς Cod. ἐσθήτωσ 2 ἐπιχειρ(ε)ῖ Cod. ἐπιχειρί 4-5 ἡδυνήθη πείσαι ...
δῆθεν δελεάζει Cod. ἡδυνήθη διὰ τῆς ἐπιστήμης τοῦ λόγου πείσαι κενοδοξεῖν, τοῦτον τῇ σιωπῇ ὡς
ἡσυχον δελεάζει 4 πείσαι δι' ἐπιστημ(ονικ)ῶν λόγων M. διὰ τῆς ἐπιστήμης τοῦ λόγου πείσαι.
V104: δι' ἐπιστήμης λόγων ποιῆσαι 4 ἐπιστημ(ονικ)ῶν Cod. ἐπιστήμων 5 πολυτελείας M.
πολυτελείᾳ 6 πρὸς M. εἰς 6 ἐλκύει M. ἐκλύει 7 ἐπιτ(ή)δευμα Cod. ἐπιτίδευμα 7 παρέχει
πολέμου ... τούτῳ δαίμονι M. πολέμου παρέχει τούτῳ τῷ δαίμονι 7 πονηρῷ τούτῳ δαίμονι
V104: πονηρῷ δαίμονι 8 κλῆρον φαντάζεσθαι M. κλῆρον φαντάζεται ὁ πολεμούμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
8 Μέννημ(αι) Cod. μέννημε 9 Σκ(ή)τ(ει) Cod. σκίτη 9 κέλλαν M. κελλίον 10 χάριν, ὃς
πλησιάσας M. καὶ ὡς ἐπλησίασε 10-11 χάριν, ὃς ... λαλοῦντος αὐτοῦ M. καὶ ὡς ἐπλησίασε τῇ
θύρᾳ τῆς κέλλης, ἀκούει αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος ἔνδον 11 νομ(ί)σας Cod. νομήσας 11 ἔστ(η) Cod.
ἔστι 12 αὐτοῦ παραφρονούντος ὑπὸ τῆς κενοδοξίας M. αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ κενοδοξίας παραφρονούντος
13 παρέχοντος M. παρέχοντα 14 τούτων M. τοῦτο 16 ἔχ(ει) Cod. ἔχοι 16 τὴν θύραν M. τῇ
θύρᾳ 16 ἱστάμενος καὶ πάσχων ὕβριν M. πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ. The expression ἱστάμενος καὶ πάσχων
ὕβριν is missing 16 χαριέντ(ω)ς Cod. χαριεντός. V104: χαριέντως ἀπεκρίνατο 17 πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἀπεκρίθη M. ἀπεκρίθη πρὸς αὐτόν 18 Ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς ταῦτα ἀκούσας M. Τότε ὁ ἀδελφὸς
ἀκούσας ταῦτα 19 παρεκάλει M. παρακαλεῖ 19 ὅπως Cod. ἵνα 20 πλάν(η)ς Cod. πλάνοις
21 ὅσ(η)ν Cod. ὅσιν 22 Ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος M. Ὁ τοῖνον βουλόμενος. V104: Ὁ βουλόμενος τοῖνον
[τίνυν] 22 τελεί(ω)ς Cod. τελείος

For once [this spirit] fails to seduce someone to luxury of dress, it tries to lead him astray by impelling preference for cheap clothing. If it cannot make someone indulge in reputation, it throws him to the madness of believing that he willingly suffers abasement. If it cannot persuade someone to be puffed up on account of his learnedness, it allures him to believing that he is a hesychast. If it cannot make one slack by means of opulent food, it seduces him to fast, so that he be praised. And in general, any work and any habit of life can supply this evil daemon with an opportunity for assault.

Moreover, it instils the delusion that one is a man of the cloth. For I recall from the years I was living at the Scetis, a certain elder who went to the cell of a certain brother to pay him a visit. When he had
 53^r reached | the door, he heard him muttering inside. He stood still for a little while in order to listen, since he assumed that the man was reading from the Scripture. But he realised that he had been driven to madness by vainglory, since he fancied himself ordained a deacon and giving out the dismissal of the catechumens. Once the elder heard all this, he pushed the door and went into [the cell]. The brother made obeisance as usual and was anxious to learn whether the elder had spent so much time waiting by the door, for fear lest he might have taken offense at having stood too long at the door. And the elder joking pleasantly replied, 'I only got here while you were giving out the dismissal of the catechumens.' Once the brother heard this, he prostrated himself at the feet of the elder, entreating him to pray for him, so as to be delivered from such delusion.

53^v I have recalled this | only wishing to show how much obtuseness this daemon brings about to man. One therefore who wishes to become a

δικαι(ο)σύνης στέφανον^a ἀναδήσασθαι, πᾶσι τρόποις σπουδάσει τὸ πολύμορφον τοῦτο θηρίον νικῆσαι, πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχων πάντοτε τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Δαυὶδ εἰρη- μένον· Κύριος διεσκόρπ(ι)σεν ὅστ᾽ ἀνθρωπαρέσκων· καὶ μηδὲν^b ποιείτω περι- βλεπ(ό)μενος τ(ὸ)ν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔπαινον, ἀλλὰ τὸν παρὰ Θεοῦ μισθὸν ἐπι- ζητείτω· καὶ ἀπορρίπτων αἰεὶ τοὺς ἐπερχομένους ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ λογισμοὺς 5 (τοὺς) ἐπαινοῦντας αὐτόν, ἐξουδενούτω ἑαυτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ. Οὕτω γὰρ δυνήσεται περιγενέσθαι τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς κενοδοξίας.

54^r

Πε(ρὶ) ὑπερ(η)φανείας

Ἦθος ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἀγὼν κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ὑπερ(η)φανείας. Χαλεπώ- τατος οὗτος καὶ πάντων τῶν πρ(ο)τέρων ἀγριώτερος, τοὺς τελείους μάλιστα 10 πολεμῶν καὶ σχεδὸν τοὺς ἀναβεβηκ(ό)τας ἐπιχειρῶν καταστρέφειν. Καὶ καθά- περ νόσος λοιμικὴ καὶ φθοροποιός, (ἥ)τις οὐχ ἐν μέρος τοῦ σώματος ἀλλ' ὅλ(ο)ν διαφθείρει, οὕτως ἡ ὑπερ(η)φάνεια οὐ μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν δια- φθείρει. Καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων (παθῶν) ἕκαστον, εἰ καὶ ταράσσει τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀλ- λά πρὸς μίαν, τὴν ἀντικειμένην αὐτῷ, ἀρετὴν πολεμ(οῦ)ν καὶ ταύτην νικῆσαι 15

1 δικαι(ο)σύνης Cod. δικαιωσύνησ 1 στέφανον V104: στέφανον τελείως 1 σπουδάσει M. σπουδάσῃ 2 τοῦ Δαυὶδ M. τοῦ ἁγίου Δαυὶδ 3 διεσκόρπ(ι)σεν Cod. διεσκόρπησεν 3 ἀνθρωπαρέσκων· καὶ μηδὲν V104: ἀνθρωπαρέσκων· μηδὲν 3-4 περιβλεπ(ό)μενος Cod. περιβλεπόμενος 4 τ(ὸ)ν Cod. τῶν 4 τ(ὸ)ν τῶν ἀνθρώπων M. τὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων 6 (τοὺς) Cod. καὶ 6 ἐξουδενούτω ἑαυτὸν Cod. δὲ ἑαυτὸν. M. ἐξουθενείτω ἑαυτὸν 6-7 Οὕτω γὰρ δυνήσεται περιγενέσθαι τοῦ V104: δυνήσεται σὺν Θεῷ ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ. M. δυνήσεται σὺν Θεῷ ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ δαίμονος τῆς κενοδοξίας χάριτι τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν 8 ὑπερ(η)φανείας Cod. ὑπεριφανείας 9 ὑπερ(η)φανείας Cod. ὑπεριφανείας 10 πρ(ο)τέρων Cod. πρωτέρων 11 τοὺς ἀναβεβηκ(ό)τας ἐπιχειρῶν καταστρέφειν M. τοὺς τὸ ὕψος τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀναβεβηκτότας ἐπιχειρεῖ καταστρέφειν 11 ἀναβεβηκ(ό)τας Cod. ἀναβεβηκώτας. V104: σχεδὸν εἰς τὸ ὕψος τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀναβεβηκτότας 11-12 Καὶ καθάπερ V104: καθάπερ γάρ 12 λοιμικὴ καὶ ... ἐν μέρος M. λοιμικὴ φθοροποιὸς οὐχὶ μέρος 12 ὅλ(ο)ν Cod. ὅλων 13-14 οὕτως ἡ ... αὐτὴν διαφθείρει Migne's text has a lacuna at this point, which was not noticed by the editor and which can be filled by the codex text: οὕτως ἡ ὑπερ(η)φάνεια οὐ μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν διαφθείρει, which appears in V104, too 13 ὑπερ(η)φάνεια Cod. ὑπεριφάνεια 13 ἀλλὰ V104: ἀλλ' ὅλην 14 (παθῶν) With M. and V104 15 πολεμ(οῦ)ν Cod. πολεμῶν. M. πολεμοῦν. V104: τῶν ἀντικειμένων αὐτῇ ἀρετὴν πολεμῶν

^a Cf. 2 Tim. 4:8. ^b Psalm 52:6. LXX: ὁ Θεὸς διεσκόρπισεν.

perfect athlete and to be bound with *the wreath of righteousness*,¹²⁰ should seek all means in order to defeat this multi-formed beast. One should always have in mind the saying by David, *God has scattered the bones of men-pleasers*.¹²¹ He should act not seeking praise of men, but looking forward to reward by God. Always casting away thoughts praising himself, which emerge in his heart, he should despise himself in the sight God. For this is how he shall be able to prevail over the spirit of vainglory.

54^f*On Pride*

The eighth combat set before us is against the spirit of pride. This is immensely difficult and most fierce of all the foregoing ones, since this [daemon] chiefly fights against those who are perfect and seeks to destroy those who are elevated [in virtue]. Like a pestilential disease, which consumes not simply a part of the body, but the whole of it, so pride consumes the entire soul, not one part of it. For every other passion, although disturbing the soul, conflicts with one single virtue, which stands against it. While seeking to defeat this [single virtue], [such a passion] vexes

¹²⁰ 2 Tim. 4:8.

¹²¹ Psalm 52:6.

φιλον(ε)ικῶν, ἐκ μέρους ἐπισκοτοῖ τὴν ψυχὴν <καὶ ταράσσει αὐτήν· τὸ δὲ τῆς ὑπερηφανείας πάθος πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἐπισκοτοῖ> καὶ εἰς ἐσχάτην πτώσιν κατὰ-
γει.

Καὶ ἵνα σαφέστερον νοήσωμεν τὸ εἰρημένον, σκοπήσωμεν οὕτως. Ἡ γαστρι-
54^v μαργία τὴν ἐγκράτειαν σπουδάζει διαφθεῖρειν· | ἡ πορν(ε)ία τὴν σωφροσύνην· 5
ἡ φιλαργυρία τὴν ἀκτημοσύνην· ὁ θυμὸς τὴν πρα(ό)τητα· καὶ τὰ λ(οι)πὰ τῆς
κακίας εἰδ(η) τὰς ἐναντίας αὐτοῖς ἀρετάς· <ἡ> δὲ τῆς ὑπερ(η)φανίας κακία,
ὅταν κυριεύσ(η) τῆς ἀθλίας ψυχῆς, ὥσπερ τις χαλεπώτατος τύραννος μεγάλην
πόλιν³⁶ καὶ ὑψ(η)λὴν παραλαβὼν, ὅλην αὐτὴν καταστρέφει καὶ ἕως θεμελίων
κατασκάπτει. Καὶ μάρτυς τούτων ὁ ἄγγελος ἐκεῖνος, ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ^a πεσὼν 10
διὰ τὴν ὑπερ(η)φάνειαν αὐτοῦ, ὁ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ κτισθεὶς καὶ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ καὶ σοφίᾳ
κατακοσμηθεὶς, ταῦτα τῇ τοῦ Δεσπότης χάριτι οὐκ ἡβουλήθη ἐπιγράψαι, ἀλλὰ
τῇ ἰδίᾳ φύσει· ὅθεν καὶ ἴσον ἑαυτὸν ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι τοῦ Θεοῦ. Καὶ ταύτην αὐτοῦ
τὴν ἐνθύμησιν ἐλέγχων ὁ προφήτης ἔλεγεν· εἶπας ἐν <τῇ καρδίᾳ σου· καθιῶ ἐν
55^r ὄρει> ὑψηλῷ, θήσω τὸν θρόνον μου· > ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν, | καὶ ἔσομαι ὅμοιος τῷ Ὑψί- 15
στῳ.^b σὺ δὲ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ οὐ Θεός.^c Καὶ ἄλλος πάλιν προφήτης φησὶν· τί ἐγκαυχᾷ
ἐν κακίᾳ, ὁ δυνατός;^d καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα· ἡγάπησας πάντα ῥήμα(τα) καταποντισμοῦ,
γλώσσαν δολιαν· διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Θεὸς καθελεῖ σ(ε) εἰς τέλος, ἐκτίλαι σε, καὶ μετα-
ναστεύσαι σε ἀπὸ σκηνώματός σου, καὶ τὸ ῥ(ί)ζωμά σου ἐκ γῆς ζώντων. Ὄφονται
δίκαιοι, καὶ φοβηθήσονται, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν γελάσονται, καὶ ἐροῦσιν· ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος 20

1 φίλον(ε)ικῶν Cod. φιλονεικῶν. M. φιλονεικῶν 1–3 ἐκ μέρους ... πτώσιν κατὰγει M. ἐκ μέρους ἐπισκοτεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ ταράσσει αὐτήν τὸ δὲ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἐπισκοτεῖ καὶ εἰς πτώσιν ἄγει ἐσχάτην. V104: ἐκ μέρους ἐπισκοτοῖ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ταράσσει αὐτήν· τὸ δὲ τῆς ὑπερηφανείας πάθος πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἐπισκοτοῖ καὶ εἰς ἐσχάτην πτώσιν κατὰγει. Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 44: Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάθη ἐκ μέρους ἐπισκοτοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν, ἡ καὶ ταράσσουν αὐτήν· τὸ δὲ τῆς ὑπερηφανείας πάθος πᾶσαν αὐτὴν σκοτεῖ καὶ εἰς μεγάλην πτώσιν κατὰγει. See this text in *RCR*, Appendix I 2 ἐπισκοτοῖ M. ἐπισκοτεῖ. This is a form that was used more frequently. However, the Codex-spelling is the correct one (*supra*), since the verb is σκοτόω, not σκοτέω 5 διαφθεῖρειν M. διαφθεῖραι 5 πορν(ε)ία Cod. πορνία 6 πρα(ό)τητα Cod. πραώτητα 6 λ(οι)πὰ Cod. λυπά 7 εἰδ(η) Cod. εἶδε 7 αὐτοῖς M. αὐτῶν 7 <ἡ> Cod. εἰ. M. V104: ἡ 7 ὑπερ(η)φανίας Cod. ὑπεριφανίας 8 κυριεύσ(η) Cod. κυριεύσει 9 ὑψ(η)λὴν Cod. ὑψηλὴν 10 τούτων ὁ ἄγγελος M. τούτου ὁ ἄγγελος 11 ὑπερ(η)φάνειαν Cod. ὑπεριφάνειαν 11 ὑπερ(η)φάνειαν αὐτοῦ, ... Θεοῦ κτισθεὶς M. ὑπερηφανίαν ὅς, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ κτισθεὶς 12 κατακοσμηθεὶς, ταῦτα ... ἡβουλήθη ἐπιγράψαι M. κοσμηθεὶς, οὐ τῇ τοῦ Δεσπότης χάριτι ἐβουλήθη ταῦτα ἐπιγράψαι. V104: κατακοσμηθεὶς, οὐ τῇ τοῦ Δεσπότης χάριτι ἡβουλήθη ἐπιγράψαι 13 ἴσον Cod. εἶσον 13 ὑπέλαβεν Cod. ὑπελάμβανεν 13 εἶναι τοῦ Θεοῦ M. εἶναι Θεοῦ 14 ἔλεγεν M. φησὶν 14–15 <τῇ καρδίᾳ ... ἐν ὄρει> V104: τῇ καρδίᾳ σου· καθίσω ἐν ὄρει 15 μου Cod. μο 16 ἄλλος πάλιν προφήτης M. ἄλλος προφήτης λέγει 17 ῥήμα(τα) Cod. ῥήμα 18 σ(ε) Cod. σαι 18 ἐκτίλαι Cod. ἐκτεῖλαι 19 ῥ(ί)ζωμά Cod. ρήζωμά

^a Isaiah 14:12. ^b Cf. Isaiah 14:13–14. ^c Ezekiel 28:2; 28:9. ^d Psalm 51:3.

the soul and clouds part of it. In contrast, the passion of pride clouds all of the soul and brings it down to the worst downfall.

54^v Let us then consider the issue in the following way, in order to understand what we have just said. Gluttony seeks to destroy temperance; | fornication [seeks to destroy] chastity; covetousness [seeks to destroy] poverty; anger [seeks to destroy] mildness; and the other different kinds of evil [seek to destroy] the virtues which stand opposite them. But once the evil of pride captures a miserable soul, like some most brutal tyrant who captures a great and lofty city, it utterly destroys and levels it to the ground.¹²² And let that angel who fell *from heaven*¹²³ because of his pride be an example confirming what we have said. For he, who was created by God and was adorned with all virtue and wisdom, ascribed all this not to the grace of the Lord, but to his own nature, and subsequently he took himself to be equal to God. It is this impression [of the Lucifer] which the prophet castigated saying this: *Thou hast said in thine heart; I will sit upon a*
 55^r *mount, I will exalt my throne on the clouds | and I will be like the most High;*¹²⁴ *yet thou art a man, and not God.*¹²⁵ Again, another prophet says, *Why boastest thou thyself in mischief, O mighty man?*¹²⁶ And after a few lines: *Thou lovest all words of destruction and a deceitful tongue. God shall likewise destroy thee for ever, he shall take thee away, and pluck thee out of thy dwelling place, and root thee out of the land of the living. The righteous also shall see, and shall laugh at him and say: Lo, this is the man that made not*

¹²² I discuss the simile of 'soul' illustrated as a 'lofty city' in *RCR*, pp. 170–171. Cf. *Institutiones*, XII.3, PL.49.426A: haec vero cum infelicem possederit mentem, ut quidam saevissimus tyrannus, sublimissima capta arce virtutum, universam funditus civitatem diruit atque subvertit.

¹²³ Isaiah 14:12.

¹²⁴ Cf. Isaiah 14:13–14.

¹²⁵ Ezekiel 28:2; 28:9.

¹²⁶ Psalm 51:3.

δς οὐκ ἔθετο τὸν Θεὸν βοηθὸν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπήλπ(ι)σεν ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθ(ει) τοῦ πλούτου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνεδυναμώθη ἐπὶ τῇ μαται(ό)τητι αὐτοῦ.^a

Ταῦτα τοίνυν γινώσκοντες, φοβηθῶμεν καὶ πάσῃ φυλακῇ τ(η)ρήσωμεν τὴν
 55^v ἑαυτῶν καρδίαν^b ἀπὸ τοῦ θανατ(η)φόρου πνεύματος τῆς ὑπερ(η)φανείας, ἐπι-
 λέγοντες ἑαυτοῖς αἰεὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου, ὅταν ἀρετὴν τινα κατορθώσωμεν, | τ(ὸ) 5
 οὐκ ἐγὼ δέ, ἀλλ' ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἢ σὺν ἐμοί^c καὶ τ(ὸ) ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου (εἰ)ρημένον,
 ὅτι χωρὶς ἐμοῦ οὐ δύνασθ(ε) ποιεῖν οὐδέν^d καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου· ἐὰν μὴ Κύ-
 ριος οἰκοδομήσ(η) οἶκον, εἰς μάτην ἐκοπίασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες^e καὶ πάλιν· οὐ τοῦ
 θέλοντος, οὐδὲ τοῦ τρέχοντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐλεούντος Θεοῦ.^f Καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα
 ἔσσε(αί) τις ζέων τῇ προθυμίᾳ καὶ σπουδαίῳ τῇ προαιρέσει, ὅμως σαρκὶ καὶ αἵ- 10
 ματι συνδεδεμένος οὐ δυνήσεται πρὸς τελει(ό)τητα φθάσαι, εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ ἐλέει
 τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῇ χάριτι αὐτοῦ.³⁷ Κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Ἰάκωβον, *πάσα δόσις ἀγα-
 θή καὶ πᾶν δῶρημα τέλειον ἄνωθέν ἐστιν, καταβαίνον ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν φώτων.*^g
 56^r Καὶ ὁ Παῦλος φησὶν· τί γὰρ ἔχεις ὁ οὐκ ἔλαβες; εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔλαβες, τί καυχᾶσαι ὡς
 μὴ λαβών,^h ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ ἰδίοις ἐπαί(ρ)ομενος; "Οτι δὲ χάριτι Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐλέει ἢ 15
 σωτηρίᾳ ἡμῶν προσγίνεται, μάρτυς ἀληθ(ή)ς ὁ λ(η)στής ἐκεῖνος, δς οὐκ ἀρε-
 τῆς ἔπαθλον τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶνⁱ ἐκομ(ι)σατο, ἀλλὰ χάριτι καὶ ἐλέει
 Θεοῦ.

1 ἐπήλπ(ι)σεν Cod. ἐπήλπησεν 1 πλήθ(ει) Cod. πλήθη 2 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνεδυναμώθη ἐπὶ τῇ
 μαται(ό)τητι αὐτοῦ M. βοηθὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐνεδυναμώθη ἐπὶ τῇ ματαιότητι αὐτοῦ 2 μαται(ό)τητι
 Cod. ματαιώτητι 3 τ(η)ρήσωμεν Cod. τηρήσωμεν 4 θανατ(η)φόρου Cod. θανατιφόρου
 4 ὑπερ(η)φανείας Cod. ὑπερφανείας 5 ἑαυτοῖς αἰεὶ τὸ M. ἑαυτοῖς τὸ 5 κατορθώσωμεν
 M. κατορθώσωμεν· οὐκ 5 τ(ὸ) Cod. τῷ 6 τ(ὸ) Cod. τῷ 6 (εἰ)ρημένον Cod. ἡρημένον
 7 δύνασθ(ε) Cod. δύνασθαι 7 ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου V104: ὑπὸ τῆς γραφῆς εἰρημένον 7–8 Κύριος
 V104: Χριστός 8 οἰκοδομήσ(η) Cod. οἰκοδομήσει 10 ἔσσε(αί) Cod. ἔσειτέ. V104: ἔσηται τις
 ὡς ζέων 10–11 σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι συνδεδεμένος M. V104: ἀλλὰ σαρκὶ συνδεδεμένος καὶ αἵματι
 11 τελει(ό)τητα Cod. τελειώτητα 11–12 εἰ μὴ ... τὸν Ἰάκωβον M. εἰ μὴ πρὸς τοῦτοις πᾶσιν
 ἐπὶ τῷ ἐλέει Χριστοῦ ἐλπίζει καὶ τῇ χάριτι αὐτοῦ. Κατὰ γὰρ τὸν θεῖον Ἰάκωβον 12 τὸν M. τὸν
 θεῖον. V104: τὸν ὄγιον 13 ἐστίν M. ἐστι 13 ἐκ τοῦ Cod. ἐκ παρὰ τοῦ. V104: παρὰ τοῦ 13 τῶν
 φώτων V104: τῶν φώτων. Αὐτῷ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ προσκύνησις. εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας
 τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. The text of V104 concludes at this point 15 ἐπὶ ἰδίοις ἐπαί(ρ)ομενος; M. ἐπὶ
 ἰδίοις τοῖς τοῖς ἄλλοις χαρίσμασιν ἐπαί(ρ)ομενος 15–16 χάριτι Χριστοῦ ... λ(η)στής ἐκεῖνος
 M. χάριτι καὶ ἐλέει Θεοῦ ἢ σωτηρίᾳ ἡμῶν προσγίνεται, μάρτυς ὁ ληστής ἐκεῖνος 16 ἀληθ(ή)ς
 Cod. ἀληθείς 16 λ(η)στής Cod. λιστής 17 ἐκομ(ι)σατο Cod. ἐκομήσατο 17–18 καὶ ἐλέει
 Θεοῦ M. Θεοῦ καὶ ἐλέει

^a Psalm 51:6–9. ^b Cf. Prov. 4:23 ^c 1 Cor. 15:10. ^d John 15:5. ^e Psalm 126:1. ^f Rom. 9:16.
^g James 1:17. ^h 1 Cor. 4:7. ⁱ Cf. Matt. 23:39–43.

*God his help; but trusted in the abundance of his riches, and strengthened himself in his vanity.*¹²⁷

55^v Being aware of all these, therefore, let us beware and protect our heart attentively against the lethal spirit of pride, repeating to ourselves the saying of the apostle, whenever we happen to attain a certain virtue: | *Not I, but the grace of God with me;*¹²⁸ also, that which has been said by the Lord, *without me ye can do nothing;*¹²⁹ and the saying by the prophet, *except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it.*¹³⁰ Likewise, *it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy.*¹³¹

56^r Even if one is a person of fervent readiness and earnest resolution, since he is bound with flesh and blood, he cannot attain to perfection unless by the mercy and grace of Jesus. For according to James, *Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights.*¹³² Paul likewise says, *For what hast thou which thou didst not receive? now if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it,*¹³³ but you boast as if these were your ownership? | And that thief¹³⁴ is a genuine witness to our salvation being attained by means of the grace and mercy of Christ. For he was offered the kingdom of heavens not as a prize for his virtue, but by the grace and mercy of God.¹³⁵

¹²⁷ Psalm 51:6–9.

¹²⁸ 1 Cor. 15:10.

¹²⁹ John 15:5.

¹³⁰ Psalm 126:1.

¹³¹ Rom. 9:16.

¹³² James 1:17.

¹³³ 1 Cor. 4:7.

¹³⁴ Cf. Matt. 23:39–43.

¹³⁵ These are considerations hardly expected by a semi-Pelagian, as the alleged author of the text John Cassian the Scythian purportedly was.

Ταῦτα καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐπιστάμενοι, πάντες μ(ι)ᾷ γνώμῃ παραδεδώ-
 κασι μὴ ἄλλως δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς θεμέλιον ἀσφαλὴ πρὸς τελείωσιν ἀρετῆς κατα-
 βά(λ)λεσθαι, εἰ μὴ διὰ ταπεινώσεως, ἥτις ἀπὸ πίστεως καὶ φόβου Θεοῦ καὶ
 πραΰτητος καὶ τελείας ἀκτημοσύνης προσγίνεσθαι πέφυκεν, δι' ὧν ἡ τελεία
 ἀγάπη κατορθοῦται χάριτι Θεοῦ, ἀμήν.

5

1 μ(ι)ᾷ Cod. μῆα 2-3 καταβά(λ)λεσθαι Cod. κατὰ βαλέσθαι 3-4 πίστεως καὶ ... τελείας
 ἀκτημοσύνης M. πίστεως καὶ πραΰτητος, καὶ τελείας ἀκτημοσύνης 5 χάριτι Θεοῦ, ἀμήν M.
 χάριτι τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μεθ' οὗ Πατρὶ ἡ δόξα σὺν τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς
 αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν

Being aware of the foregoing considerations, all of our fathers unanimously have handed down to us the tenet that we are unable to lay safe foundations in order to become perfect in virtue, unless [we pursue this] through humility, which is attained as a natural result of faith, fear of God, mildness, and absolute poverty. For it is through them that perfect love by the grace of God is accomplished, amen.

NOTES TO THE TEXT

1. From this point down to the end of the section about fasting, the text appears in the *Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi* τοῦ Φοβεροῦ, 5, pp. 12–14. See *RCR*, Appendix I.

2. The rare expression ἀστεῖον σῶμα suggests a (normally human) body which is ‘imposing’ due to being either good-looking or of a strong physical structure. In the sense entertained by Cassian, it appears in the Hippocratic Corpus, meaning ‘strong constitution of a body’. Hippocrates, *Epistulae*, 21: Φυλάσσεσθαι δὲ ἐν ταῖς φαρμακοποιαῖς τοὺς ἀστεῖους τὰ σώματα. John Philoponus, *De Vocabulis Quae Diversum Significatum Exhibent Secundum Differentiam Accentus*, Recensio b, alphabetic letter lambda, entry 16: ἡ ἀστεία τῷ σώματι ὀξύνεται. Procopius of Gaza, *Epistulae* 1–166, 2: ποιεῖ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χαιρεφώντος οὐδὲν ἀστειότερον ἔχειν. *AP* (*collectio alphabetica*), p. 108: Ἦν δὲ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ, ἀγγελικόν, ὥσπερ τοῦ Ἰακώβ· ὀλοπόλιος, ἀστεῖος τῷ σώματι.

This notwithstanding, I emend to ἐξ(ι)ν ἀστειοτέρ(αν) σώματος, which is Cassian’s text correctly quoted in *Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi* τοῦ Φοβεροῦ, 5, p. 13. Cf. Plutarch, *De Virtute Morali* (440d–452d), 443D: ἐμποιεῖ δὲ τῇ φρονήσει τὴν τοῦ παθητικοῦ δύναμιν εἰς ἕξιν ἀστείαν καθιστάς. τρία γὰρ δὴ ταῦτά φασι περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπάρχειν, δύναμιν πάθος ἕξιν. Cyril of Alexandria, *Epistulae Paschales* sive *Homiliae Paschales* (epist. 1–30), PG.77.669: ὁ τὴν ἕξιν ἀστεῖος. Cassian evidently took up the notion from Plutarch expounding the issue of ‘moral virtue’ according to the Peripatetics. See further discussion in *RCR*, ch. 3, p. 185. Plutarch, *De Virtute Morali*, 443D.

3. There is only one author who took up Cassian’s expression ἀσωτίας σπέρματα. Theodore Studites, *Sermones Catacheseos Magnae*, Carechesis 52, p. 145: Ἀνατέλλουσι γὰρ ἐν τῇ προλεχθείσῃ ψυχῇ τὰ σπέρματα τῆς ἀσωτίας.

Cf. *Institutiones*, V.6, PL.49.217A: Quibuslibet escis refectus venter seminae luxuriae parit.

4. τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τῆς ζωῆς κυβέρνησιν. Cassian’s expression for ‘conduct of one’s life’ transpires only in a couple of authors, and once again points to his affinity with the writings of Pseudo-Macarius, *Sermones* 64 (*collectio B*), Homily 25.1.4: 5 τὴν ἐαυτῶν βραχύβιον ζωὴν κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ

κυβερνήσαντες κληρονόμοι τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς γενέσθαι. This is actually the imagery of one's life being like a ship, which one has to manage skillfully. This is made clear by Theodore Studites, who turns out a staunch follower of Cassian's language once again. *Parva Catechesis*, Catechesis 106: ἐπίφοβος καὶ ὁ πλοῦς τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν· διὰ τοῦτο νηφαλέως καὶ ἐγγρηγορότως σχοίημεν τὴν κυβέρνησιν.

The expression disappeared from the Latin rendering. Cf. *Institutiones*, V.6, PL.49.224A: Non ergo curam ejus omnimodis interdixit, sed ut in desideriis fieret, denegavit.

However, it is Cassian himself who explains this notion of his in *ScetPatr*, p. 65^v, arguing that this is the meaning of Prov. 11:14: Αὕτη καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ζωῆς λέγεται κυβέρνησις κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, οἷς μὴ ὑπάρχει κυβέρνησις πίπτουσι ὡς φύλλα. His exegesis of Prov. 11:14 appears at that point, where the Latin stands faithfully parallel to the Greek. *Collationes*, II.4, PL.49.528A: Haec vitae nostrae gubernatio dicitur secundum illum, Quibus non est gubernatio, cadunt ut folia.

5. καρδίας συντριμμός. Once again, we come upon Pseudo-Macarius: *Sermones* 64 (*collectio B*), Homily 46.2.3 (& *Homiliae Spirituales* 50 (*collectio H*), Homily 16, line 96); op. cit. Homily 41, line 34.

It should be noticed that that we come very often upon expressions which are characteristic of Cassian and transpire (sometimes only) in epistles ascribed to Basil. I believe that these epistles, as indeed the writings about monastic life, need reassessment as to their real author. Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae*, 173.1; 217.75; *Epistulae Tres*, 173; *Homiliae Super Psalmos*, PG.29.380.33; *Asceticon Magnum*, PG.31.940.40. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Poenae in Monachos Delinquentes* (*epitimia* 24), PG.31.1308.10. Amphilochius of Iconium, *In Mulierem Peccatricem* (*orat.* 4), line 182. Pseudo-Amphilochius of Iconium, *Oratio in Resurrectionem Domini*, (*e cod. Vat. gr.* 1936), p. 70, line 15; *Oratio in Resurrectionem Domini* (*e cod. Vat. gr.* 2194), line 32. Ephraem Syrus, *De Virtute; Ad Novitium Monachum* (*capita quattuor*), 4; *Consilium de Vita Spirituali; Ad Monachum Novitium* (*capita xcvi*), 40. Marcus Eremita (fifth–sixth cent.), *De Lege Spirituali*, 15; *De His Qui Putant Se Ex Operibus Justificari*, paragraph 197; *Ad Nicolaum Praecepta Animae Salutaria*, 2. AP (*collectio systematica*) (*cap.* 10–16), 15, paragraph 119. John Climacus, *Scala Paradisi*, 23, col. 969. Theodore Studites, *Μεγάλη Κατήχησις*, Catechesis 75, p. 517; *Parva Catechesis*, Catecheses 42; 67; 82; 91; 132; *Epistulae*, s 42; 67; 173.

In conclusion, I should have thought that the expression καρδίας συντριμμός was a Greek rendering from a Syriac expression used by Ephraem Syrus,

which Cassian took up. Cassian's language anyway presents us once again with its recurring parallels, which are the writings of Pseudo-Macarius, epistles and monastic admonition ascribed to Basil of Caesarea, John Climacus, Theodore Studites. Antiochus of Palestine quotes from this section verbatim. See *RCR*, Appendix I.

Cf. *Institutiones*, VI.1, PL.49.268A: Nec enim sufficit solum corporale jejunium ad conquirendam vel possidendam perfectae castimoniae puritatem, nisi praecesserit contritio spiritus.

6. τὰς ἀτάκτους τῆς ψυχῆς ὁρμάς. This is one more proof that Cassian's text was written in Greek. The expression is used all but at random and cannot be a translation from Latin. Didymus, *frPs(al)*, Fr. 935: πρώτη γὰρ εὐεργεσία τοῖς μετανοοῦσιν ἀποθανεῖν τὰς ἀτάκτους καὶ τεθορυβημένας ὁρμάς. John Chrysostom, *In Epistulam ad Galatas Commentarius*, PG.61.669.1–2: Δέον γὰρ διορθῶσαι μόνον τὴν ἄτακτον τῆς ψυχῆς ὁρμήν. When Antiochus of Palestine, the monk of the Laura of St. Sabas, used this characteristic expression, he actually availed himself of his predecessor. *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 19: ἅπερ δύνανται τὰς ἀστάτους τῆς ψυχῆς ὁρμάς συστέλλειν. The following portion (indeed the entire treatise) might well be Cassian's. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Constitutiones Asceticae*, PG.31.1365.34–35: κατιδεῖν τε τὰς ἀτάκτους τῆς ψυχῆς ὁρμάς καὶ κινήσεις. Cf. Proclus, *In Platonis Alcibiadem i*, 301: Πρὸς δὴ τοῦτοις καὶ αἱ προδρομαὶ τοῦ λόγου σημαίνουσι τὰς ἀτάκτους ὁρμάς τῶν ἀτελῶν ψυχῶν.

Cf. *Institutiones*, VI.1, PL.49.268A–269A: labor etiam opusque manuum instabiles cordis pervagationes coercens ac revocans.

7. τῶν λογισμῶν παραφυλακήν. There is only one instance beyond the present one, where this expression transpires. Maximus Confessor, *Questiones et Dubia*, 46: τὴν δὲ συγκατάθεσιν διὰ τῆς προσοχῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν λογισμῶν παραφυλακῆς.

Cf. *Institutiones*, VI.1, PL.49.269B: ne escarum abundantia referta caro, praeceptis animae salutaribus adversata, rectorem suum spiritum dejiciat insolescens.

8. Theodore Studites is the sole author to employ Cassian's expression οὐράνιον βραβεῖον. Cf. *Epistulae*, 340: εἰ καὶ καταπύνησιω πολλὴ παρὰ τῶν διωκτῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ βραβεῖον οὐράνιον.

The Latin is faithful to the original Greek. Cf. *Institutiones*, VI.6, PL.49.275A: Et idcirco impossibile est hominem suis (ut ita dixerim) penis ad tam praecelsum coelesteque praemium subvolare.

9. μιμητὴν ἀγγέλων. I discuss the rare expression in *RCR*, ch. 3, pp. 183–184.

10. πνευματικοῖς ἀγγέλοις. An expression exclusive to Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, v. 3, p. 198: οἱ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγονότες ἄγγελοι πνευματικοί. Cf. Latin in previous note: *spiritalibus angelis*.

11. The verb φανεροποιεῖσθαι (active, φανεροποιεῖν, to make something evident) was introduced by Hermas, *Pastor*, 53.3 (φανεροποιηθήσονται). Cassian must have had in mind this instance, along with one transpiring in the acts of Chalcedon. ACO, *Concilium Universale Chalcedonense anno 451*, 2,1,1, p. 45 (in the Tome of Leo) (φανεροποιηθῆναι). Otherwise, it is rather the pen of catenists compiling portions of renowned authors that made use of it. Cf. Origen, *frJohn*, Fr. LIX. Didymus, *commJob* (7.20c–11), Cod. p. 253. Clement of Rome, *Epistula i ad Corinthios*, 60.1. Also, *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 8.22. Cyril of Alexandria, *Thesaurus De Sancta Consubstantiali Trinitate*, PG.75.297.42. Instances ascribed to Athanasius are all spurious and probably sixth-century ones: *In Nativitatem Praecursoris*, PG.28.913.27; *Sermo De Descriptione Deiparae*, PG.28.956.42. *Homilia in Sanctos Patres et Prophetas*, PG.28.1065.15; *Homilia in Sanctos Patres et Prophetas*, PG.28.1072.11.

Lexicographers used the verb, yet they never made it a lemma. Hesychius of Alexandria, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter alpha, entry 6764; Alphabetic letter gamma, entry 742; Alphabetic letter epsilon, entries 1422; 1790; 2540; 3659; 4702; 6199; Alphabetic letter pi, entries 479; 2111; 2399. Likewise, the lexicographers Suda, *Sugeriana*, *Etymologicum Magnum*, *Etymologicum Gudianum*, and those by Pseudo-Zonaras and Photius.

Non-casual usage appears only during the sixth century. Olympiodorus, the deacon of Alexandria, *commJob*, pp. 123; 371; *Commentarii in Jeremiam*, PG.93.648.45.

The author who entertained the verb obsessively was Marcus Eremita, *Sermo Dogmaticus Adversos Eos Qui Dicunt Sanctam Carnem Non Fuisse Unitam Cum Verbo*, 12 & 29; *De Lege Spiritualis*, 39; *De His Qui Putant Se Ex Operibus Justificari*, paragraphs 126 & 137; *De Baptismo*, 8; 9 (bis); *Consultatio Intellectus Cum Sua Ipsius Anima*, 3 (bis); *Disputatio Cum Quodam Causidico*, 5; 10; 12; 13 (bis); 16; 20; *De Melchisedech*, 4; 6; 10; *De Incarnatione sive Adversus Nestorianos*, 12; 29.

The usual followers of Cassian are present once again: Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 67, line 14; Homily 91, line 57. Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 452.

12. τὴν ἔνδον ἐνιδρυμένην ψυχὴν. Cf. *Institutiones*, VI.6, PL.49.282A: quam illum interiorem sensum. I canvass the significance of this Greek expression, along with its telling use by Simplicius, in *RCR*, ch. 7, pp. 372–373.

13. The expression διαβολικῆς κακουργίας is discussed in *RCR*, ch. 3, pp. 185–186.

14. Migne puts a semi-colon to φωνήν, as if the ensuing passage καὶ ὥς ἔτι νήπιοι εἰσιν οἱ υἱοὶ Βαβυλῶνος were a scriptural quotation. This is not however, and the semi-colon is misleading. Cassian says that evil thoughts must be eradicated as long as they are incipient ones, indeed as long as ‘the sons of Babylon are yet babies’. This reveals Cassian being influenced by Origen, who made the same point in identical terms, commenting on Psalm 136:9, which is the source for this terminology about ‘babies of Babylon’ to be used. Cf. Origen, *frJer*, Fr. 26: Ἔστι τις ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος καὶ νήπιον Βαβυλώνιον, καὶ δεῖ πρὸς τούτους ἀγωνίζεσθαι, τουτέστιν ἢ πρὸς μέγαρα ἢ πρὸς νῦν ἀρχόμενα πάθη. πλὴν μακάριος, ὃς ἂν κρατήσας ἐδαφίσῃ πρὸς τὴν πέτραν (τὸν Χριστόν) τὰ νήπια Βαβυλῶνος, πρὶν εἰς ἄνδρας προέλθωσιν. ἔτι δὲ μακαριώτερον ἐξολοθρεῦσαι Βαβυλώνιον σπέρμα, λογισμὸν δηλονότι Συγχυτικόν (ἐναντίον δὲ τούτῳ σπέρμα περὶ οὗ λέλεκται· μακάριος ὃς ἔχει ἐν Σιών σπέρμα καὶ μακάριοι οἱ σπείροντες ἐπὶ πᾶν ὕδωρ, οὗ βοῦς καὶ ὄνος πατεῖ). οὐ μόνον ἄνδρα τινὰ οὐδὲ παιδίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνον σπέρμα· δύναται γὰρ καρποφορεῖν γεωργοῦμενον. Origen comments on Jer. 27, 16, which urges eradication of every ‘seed’ (not ‘baby’) ‘of Babylon’, and renders these ‘seeds’ as betokening ‘evil thoughts’ (σπέρμα, λογισμὸν δηλονότι). The same point Origen made in *selPs*, PG.12.1660.1–4, and more clearly in *Cels*, VII.22: “Νήπια” γὰρ “Βαβυλῶνος”, ἐρμηνευομένης συγχύσεως, οἱ ἄρτι ὑποφύμενοι καὶ ἀνατέλλοντες ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ εἰσιν συγχυτικοὶ λογισμοί. Following this statement, Cassian employed from Origen the key-term λογισμός, which imbues the present treatise. This portion was used verbatim by Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 81. Authors relevant to Origen, such as Eusebius, *Commentaria in Psalmos*, PG.24.37.21–23, employed this exegesis (but the same portion is attributed to Apollinaris of Laodicea, *Fragmenta in Psalmos*, Fr. 277). The text of Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea did likewise, but I believe that this is a work by Cassian the Sabaite: *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaiam*, 13.273. The author who also identified ‘the babies of Babylon’ with ‘incipient evil thoughts and actions’ (τὰ πρωτότοκα τῶν οἰκείων λογισμῶν καὶ πράξεων) was Gregory of Nazianzus, *In Sanctum Pascha* (*orat.* 45), PG.36.644.26–29.

15. The maxim is not attested otherwise. This is probably a saying by Basil of Caesarea communicated to Cassian through oral tradition, by two great

Cappadocians, who were his older contemporaries and whom he knew personally, namely, St. Sabas and Theodosius the Coenobiarch.

16. Styling 'night-office' a 'momentous weapon' is not very common. Cassian was followed by his younger brother at the Laura of Sabas, namely, Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 104, line 2: ἀγρυπνία μέγα ὄπλον καὶ καλὸν ἡμῖν παρὰ Θεοῦ δεδωρηται. Likewise, John Climacus, *Scala Paradisi*, 20, col. 940: ἀγρυπνία πυρώσεως θραύσις. This point starts with the simile of 'night-office' styled a 'weapon'. Also, in Greek translation of Ephraem Syrus, *Sermo Asceticus*, p. 141: Εἰς πόλεμον κληθεῖς, χωρὶς ὅπλων τοῖς ἐχθροῖς θέλεις παρατάξασθαι. Ἀντὶ ἀγρυπνίας, ὕπνω καταφερόμενος; *Sermo Paraeneticus De Secundo Aduentu Domini; et De Paenitentia*, p. 207: Εἰς πόλεμον, καὶ σὺ χωρὶς ὅπλων βούλει εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν; Εἰς ἀγρυπνίαν, καὶ σὺ ὕπνω καταφέρῃ; Cf. an attenuated parallel in Nilus of Ancyra, *Commentarii in Cantica Canticorum*, 72: ἀλλὰ καὶ παρασκευὴ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ γυμνασίᾳ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ἀγρυπνίᾳ φυλακτικῇ.

Cf. *Institutiones*, VI.23, PL.49.292A–292B: Ante omnia vero pervigil necessaria est sollicitudo nocturna. Nam sicut puritas et custodia diei nocturnam praeperant castitatem, ita nocturnae vigiliae cordi pariter et observationi diurnae statum solidissimum roburque praemittunt.

17. The verb προοδοποιεῖν (middle voice: προοδοποιεῖσθαι) was introduced by Aristotle, *De Partibus Animalium*, 671b31 (προοδοποιήσασθαι); *Politica*, 1336a32 (προοδοποιεῖν); *Problemata*, 867a36 (προοδοποιεῖται); 876a28 (προοδοποιεῖ); (προοδοποιεῖται); *Rhetorica*, 1379a23 (προοδοποιεῖται). Significant authors reproduced this later. Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 4.2 (προοδοποιεῖν); *Quaestiones Convivales* (612c–748d), 664A (προοδοποιούσης). Lucian of Samosata, *Abdicatus*, 17 (προοδοποιῆσαι). Christians took up the term, and its use by Gregory of Nyssa and Didymus was a good reason for Cassian to use it, too. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, 1.5.28.3 (προοδοποιούσα). Gregory of Nyssa, *Antirrheticus Adversus Apollinarium*, v. 3.1, p. 144 (προοδοποιήσας); *Oratio in Diem Natalem Christi*, PG.1136.44 (προοδοποιούσα). Didymus, *frPs(al)*, Fr. 154 (προοδοποιούσαι). Chrysostom was obsessed with the verb: he used it every now and then, amounting to some sixty instances.

18. The Migne-text stops at ἡμερινήν. This codex contributes to the end of the chapter through the phrase, τῇ ψυχῇ προοδοποιεῖ καθαρ(ό)τητα, which is a remarkable one and attests to the text being a Greek original. This rhetorical construction was used by Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos*, 6.34: καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τῷ προοδοποιεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς σοφίαν. A spurious text

ascribed to Chrysostom might well be Cassian's, since the expression is virtually unique therein. Besides, the notion of 'evil λογισμός' is applied in the same sense as Cassian understood it. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *In Sanctum Pascha* (*sermo* 6), 10.1: ἀρότρου δίκην τὰς ἔνδον πυκνάς καὶ δασείας ἀκάνθας τῶν λογισμῶν, ἀροτροτεμῶν καὶ αὐλακηδὸν σχίζων τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς βάθην, προοδοποιῶν καὶ νεάζων τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ οὐρανίου θεοῦ λόγου καὶ σπόρου.

19. δυσαπόβλητος. Cassian uses a word which was used exclusively by Aristotelian commentators. See *RCR*, ch. 3, p. 202. Cf. *Institutiones*, VII.6, PL.49.296A: et inextricabilis nequitiae fomes efficitur.

20. Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 72a: ὁ διάβολος κατὰ κρημν(ῶ)ν φέρει. Despite a casual use apiece in Philo and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and two instances in John Philoponus, the expression κατὰ κρημνῶν φέρεσθαι (not simply κατὰ κρημνῶν) points to a person educated at Antioch, and it is characteristic of John Chrysostom par excellence, as well as of Theodoret. Cf. John Chrysostom, *Ad Stelechium De Compunctione* (*lib.* 2), PG.47.422.1; *In Eutropium*, PG.52.392.31; *Epistulae* 18–242, PG.52.653.17; *In Genesim* (*homiliae* 1–67), PG.53: 25.22; 145.9; 156.46; 191.43; 376.39; PG.54: 396.31; 470.50; *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG.55.182.5; *In Matthaeum* (*homiliae* 1–90), PG.58.643.10; *In Joannem* (*homiliae* 1–88), PG.59.228.49; *In Epistulam ad Romanos* (*homiliae* 1–32), PG.60.432.46; *In Epistulam i ad Corinthios* (*homiliae* 1–44), PG.61: 144.46; 221.32; 502.5; *Catecheses ad Illuminandos* 1–8 (*series tertia*), Catechesis 5.17. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *De Perfecta Caritate*, PG.56.287.48. Likewise, Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Ezechielem*, PG.81.841.13; *intProphXII*, PG.81.1576.36; *De Providentia*, PG.83.633.33; *Eranistes*, p. 118. It is noteworthy that the specific expression (not even simply the one κατὰ κρημνῶν) never occurs in Gregory of Nyssa. On the other hand, its single apparent use by Basil of Caesarea (*Epistulae*, 334.1) simply invites the question as to the authenticity of this epistle. Usage of merely κατὰ κρημνῶν is a different matter, since it transpires in Plato once, and then in Philo, Plutarch, Lucian of Samosata, Eusebius, Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria.

21. καὶ ὡς ξένον καὶ ἐξ(ω)τικόν. No author did ever use the two terms in apposition, considering them as virtually synonymous with each other. This however is one more indication revealing a sixth-century author. For this apposition transpires only in the collection of legal documents known as *Basilica*: ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐξωτικόν, ἤτοι ξένον καὶ ἀλλότριον (7, 15.2). Cf. *Lexica Juridica Byzantina*, *Lexicon in Hexabiblos Aucta*, Letter epsilon, lemma 32:

Ἐξτράνεος· ὁ ἐξωτικὸς ἢ ὁ ξένος. Cf. *Institutiones*, VII.9, PL.49.299A: Et tamquam peregrinum extraneumque se gerens, quaecumque indigentia correctione perspexerit, negligit atque contemnit. Cumque furtim possideat reconditam pecuniam, nec calceamenta quidem ac vestimenta se habere conqueritur, darique sibi tardius indignatur. Ac si forte dispensatione senioris ei prius, qui nihil penitus habere cognoscitur, aliquid horum fuerit impartitum, maioribus irae stimulis inardescit, seque despici velut extraneum putat, nec ad ullum opus manus suas accommodare contentus, reprehendit omnia, quae necessario fieri monasterii compellit utilitas.

22. M. ἐπίσης. V104: ἐφ' ἴσης, which suggests once again that V104 was copied from Codex 573. This is an extremely rare colloquialism, meaning 'equally' and testifying to this text having been written during the sixth century. It was used by the lexicographer Hesychius of Alexandria (fifth–sixth cent. AD) explaining the meaning of the verb ἰσηγορεῖν (= 'being entitled to equal right of speech'), *Lexicon*, alphabetic letter iota, p. 915: ἰσηγορεῖν· ἐφ' ἴσης λέγει (= 'speaking as much as all others do'). Likewise the sixth-century Patriarch of Antioch Ephraem (or, Ephraemius) of Amida, *Capita XII*, p. 262: ἐφ' ἴσης γὰρ ἅπασιν τοῦ λόγου τὸ καλὸν ἢ τὸ κακὸν ὑποδεικνύοντος. The adverb appeared later still at only a couple of instances. Ecloga, *Ecloga*, 16.2.1: ἐφ' ἴσης μοίρας μερίζεσθαι. So in 18.1. Pseudo-Gregentius (a monk of the tenth cent.), *Vita Sancti Gregentii*, 1, line 135: καὶ τὸ θεὸς ἐφ' ἴσης κεκτημένον ἐν ἅπασιν. 4, line 453: ἐφ' ἴσης ἄρα λογισθήσονται. The colloquialism ἐφίσης (that is, appearing as one word) occurs also in sixth-century authors. There is a unique second-century instance in the medical doctor Soranus of Ephesus (first–second cent. AD), *Gynaeciorum Libri iv*, 3.11.1, which however may well be owing to a later scribe. This form actually appears in the sixth century. Justinian, *Epistula Contra Tria Capitula*, 63; *Edictum Rectae Fidei*, p. 150 (the relevant text is reproduced in the *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 662). Pseudo-Caesarius, *QR*, 190. Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones et Dubia*, 27; *Epistula Secunda ad Thomam*, 1. John of Damascus, *Fragmenta Philosophica* (e cod. Oxon. Bodl. Auct. T.1.6), 11 (bis). Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 34; 305; 437; 464; 476. Photius, *Epistulae et Amphiloquia*, 34; 43. AP (*collectio systematica*) (*cap.* 1–9), 5.39, at three points. Ecloga, *Ecloga Privata Aucta*, 6.2. The adverb is an alternative for the hackneyed ἐπίσης. Two later texts advise us that this usage betokened a tendency to use rough breathing (') instead of smooth breathing (̂) by those who wished to imitate the Attic language. Cf. Scholia in Aristophanem, *Commentarium in Nubes*, col. 175, line 4: Ἀττικοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν ψιλῶν δασέα τιθέασιν· ἐκθές ἐκθές, ἐπίσης ἐφίσης. Scholia in Hesiodum, *Scholia in Opera et Dies*, Prolegomena, 156bis, line 8: Δασυνταὶ γὰρ οἱ Ἀττικοί.

τοὺς λίσπους λίσφους λέγοντες ... καὶ ἐπίσης ἐφίσης. Cf. the same adverb ἐφ' ἴσης on Cod. pp. 39^v; 79^r; 89^v. See further, *infra*, pp. 407–408, notes 188–192.

23. Cf. *supra*, Cod. p. 2^v: εἰ μὴ πού γε χρεῖα γένηται. The structure εἰ μὴ is rare and indeed characteristic of Origen. *Cels*, II.2: Καὶ πρόσχες εἰ μὴ νοὺν ἔχει. Op. cit. II.57: Πρόσχες δὲ εἰ μὴ πάνυ τυφλῶς ... φησιν. *homJer*, 10.3: Πρόσχες οὖν αὐτοῦ τῇ λέξει, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο βεβούληται λέγων. *frLuc*, 197: καὶ πρόσχες, εἰ μὴ λόγον ἔχει. *commMatt*, 12.9: καὶ πρόσχες ἐπιμελῶς εἰ μὴ. 15.7: καὶ πρόσχες εἰ μὴ ἀρμόζει. Op. cit. 10.10: καὶ πρόσχες ... εἰ μὴ δεῖξιν περιέχει. Op. cit. 16.27: πρόσχες εἰ μὴ κατὰ μὲν τοὺς ἀπλούστερον νοοῦντας παρέλκει. *commJohn*, XX.4.25: πρόσχες εἰ μὴ λόγον ἔχει.

24. The notion of 'contemplation of divine light' (θεωρία θείου φωτός) seems to come from Origen, though not as a recurrent theme. *frLuc*, Fr. 123: Πάντας γὰρ ἂν τῷ γράμματι τοῦ νόμου καθάπερ μοδίῳ κρατούμενος ἐστέρησε φωτὸς αἰδίου, μὴ διδοὺς θεωρίαν πνευματικὴν. Gregory of Nyssa made a remark, too, yet only once. *Encomium in Sanctum Stephanum Protomartyrem i*, p. 36: οὐκ ἐνδέχεται μὴ ἐν φωτὶ γενέσθαι τὴν τοῦ φωτὸς θεωρίαν ... ἐν τῷ φωτὶ τοῦ πατρός, τουτέστι τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ τῷ ἐκείθεν ἐκπορευομένῳ, τὸ μονογενὲς καθορᾶται φῶς. Cassian definitely took up the idea from Evagrius treating the same topic, namely, the eight thoughts of evil. Evagrius of Pontus, *De Malignis Cogitationibus (sub nomine Nili Ancyran)*, PG.40.1244.17–23: καὶ τὰ μὲν πάθη ἀποθήσεται διὰ τῶν ἀρετῶν, τοὺς δὲ ψιλοὺς λογισμοὺς διὰ τῆς πνευματικῆς θεωρίας· καὶ ταύτην πάλιν, ἐπιφανέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ φωτὸς ἐκείνου τοῦ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς προσευχῆς ἐκτυποῦντος τὸν τόπον τοῦ Θεοῦ. *De Octo Spiritibus Malitiae (sub nomine Nili Ancyran)*, PG.79.1157.26–30: Ὁφθαλμῶν ἐνέργειαν ἀμαυροῖ γνόφος, καὶ νοῦν θεωρητικὸν ἀμβλύνει λύπη· βυθὸν ὕδατος οὐ διαβαίνει ἡλιακὸν φέγγος, καὶ καρδίαν κατάλυπον οὐ καταυγάζει θεωρία φωτός. Once again, Theodore Studites (following his readings of Cassian) reproduced the idea, which had not enjoyed any currency by his time. *Parva Catechesis*, Catechesis 66 (describing the eternal life): ἔνθα ἡχος ἑορταζόντων καὶ χορὸς πανηγυριζόντων καὶ φωτὸς αἰδίου θεωρία. The concept of 'contemplation of divine light' became prominent in the writings of Symeon Neotheologus ('the New Theologian'), in the turn of tenth to eleventh century, and central in the so-called movement of Hesychasm, with the writings of Gregory Palamas (1296–1359).

25. The distinction κατ' ἐνέργειαν / κατὰ διάνοιαν made by Cassian (also on Cod. pp. 40^v, 43^v) is a revealing one and shows both himself a sixth-century author and his text having originally been written in Greek. The authors

who entertained this distinction are characteristic and indicative of the influence upon Cassian, notably Origen's commentaries on the Psalms as they were rendered probably by Evagrius. Origen, *frPs*, Psalm 71:14; 118:61; *selPs*, PG.12: 1425.29; 1609.37; 1616.54; 1637.26; *expProv*, PG.17.177.5; 224.46. Evagrius of Pontus, *Practicus (capita centum)*, 48; *De Malignis Cogitationibus (sub nomine Nili Ancyran)*, PG.79: 1212.47; 1229.41; *Expositio in Proverbia Salomonis*, pp. 85; 108; *Scholia in Proverbia (fragmenta e catenis)*, 70; 261. Later still, Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 50; 55; *Capita de Caritate*, 1.63; 2.20; 2.72; 2.78; 2.87; 3.53.

26. Cassian took up the expression from Athanasius, *Orationes Tres Contra Arianos*, PG.26.73.13 (speaking of the Arians): εὐθὺς τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἰὸν ἐξεμοῦσι λέγοντες.

27. At this point Migne rendered a text which is a real mess and makes no sense whatsoever: φονεύων αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ διαθέσει τοῦ μίσους. Ἀναιρεθέντος Θεὸς ἀφορᾷ· οὐτινος τὸ αἷμα, οὐ διὰ ξίφους ἐκχυθέν, ἄνθρωποι βλέπουσιν, ἀλλὰ τῇ διαθέσει τοῦ μίσους ἀναιρεθέντος. By contrast, Cassian's text is plain: 'Whoever hates his own brother, he commits homicide; all men around do not see any blood, since this [blood] is shed not by means of a material sword. God however superintends over the man who is killed out of the disposition of hatred.'

28. Cassian confidently argues that the adverb εἰκῇ, ('by chance') is a later addition to the scriptural text 'by those who did not wish to ban wrath altogether'. Migne does not contain the crucial expression, παρὰ τῶν μὴ βουλομένων τελείως ἐκκόπτειν τὴν ὀργήν. Taking into account that Chrysostom used this scriptural 'by chance' constantly, it could be simply absurd to claim that this treatise was composed by a 'Cassian' who was pupil of John Chrysostom, let alone a 'John Cassian', a name entirely unknown to all Greek manuscripts. Cf. M. τὸ γὰρ εἰκῇ, ἐκ προσθήκης ἐτέθη καὶ τοῦτο δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ προκειμένου λήμματος τῆς γραφῆς.

29. The adjective εὐκατάμικτον occurs in both Antiochus and John of Damascus quoting from Cassian alike. Beyond this, it transpires only once, in Theodore Studites, *Sermones Catecheseos Magnae*, Catechesis 68, p. 191: καὶ τὸ σύννου καὶ εὐκατάμικτον πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφότητα. Cassian is therefore the writer that appears to have introduced the term.

30. Cf. Cassian, 47a: καὶ μετὰ θηρίων εὐκόλως συνδιατρίψ(ο)μεν. 48a: πρὸς τοὺς συνδιατρίβοντας ἀδελφούς. Once again, the term occurs in texts ascribed to Basil of Caesarea, yet they are probably not his own. Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae*, 39; 45; 223; *Sermones de Moribus a Symeone Metaphrasta Collecti*, PG.32.1217.37. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Constitutiones Asceticae*, PG.31.1360.44. The verb συνδιατρίβειν comes from Greek literature, and was employed by important authors, such as Plato, Xenophon, Isocrates, Plutarch, Diodore of Sicily, Galen, Libanius, Lucian of Samosata. It transpires in only a specific work by Cyril of Alexandria (*In Joannem*, v. 2, pp. 8; 495; 692; 706) and abundantly in the Greek translations of Ephraem Syrus, as well as in Eusebius, John Chrysostom, and John of Damascus, but neither in Gregory of Nyssa nor in his namesake of Nazianzus. Origen used this at a couple of points: *commJohn*, XIII.64.455; *frCor*, 26. The Jews Josephus and Philo made pretty much of it. Didymus possibly, yet not definitely, did the same: *frPs(al)*, Frs. 86; 131 (bis), which are possibly catenist's words. So did Theodoret, *Quaestiones in Libros Regnorum et Paralipomenon*, PG.80.581.42.

31. Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 83^v: τοῦ νοητοῦ καὶ ἐνδοτέρου πολλέμου. The notion is discussed in endnote 14 to Cod. p. 83^v (pp. 296–297) and in *RCR*, pp. 359–360.

32. From this point onwards, a more extensive lacuna in Migne is due to one folio missing, as the editor notes (PG.28.897.51–53: “Λείπει φύλλον ἓν, τουτέστι τὸ λείπον κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς λύπης, καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ κατὰ τῆς ἀκηδίας πνεύματος”). The text can now be restored from Codex 573. Therefore, now we can have the end of the chapter on ‘dejection’ (melancholy, λύπη) and the beginning of the chapter on accidie (depressing boredom with the life of prayer, ἀκηδία). However, as I show in *RCR*, Appendix I, Montfaucon could have largely restored this lacuna from the text by John of Damascus in the *Sacra Parallela*. Despite some expressions missing (which I indicate) that text is faithful to Cassian's one, as we have it in the present Codex. The corresponding Latin text (PL.50.890B) has the same lacuna and the selfsame remark about it, which makes it plain that Montfaucon's Greek text of *Patrologia Graeca* was the source of it.

33. On Cod. p. 46^v, I have the noun συνδιαγωγή, which is used by Cassian himself at this point. This is a telling usage, which I canvass in *RCR*, pp. 373–374.

34. καὶ μῖσος ἐργάζεται καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν τόπον. This account by Cassian a more or less a paraphrased rendering of Evagrius' treatment of ἀκηδία.

The expression ‘hatred against one’s own place’ (μῖσος πρὸς τὸν τόπον) is in fact Evagrius’: *Practicus* (*capita centum*), 12. Nevertheless, this had been reproduced within the monastic terrain where Cassian lived, since Cyril of Scythopolis puts the expression (and the general context of ἀκηδία) on the lips of the great anchorite Euthymius. *Vita Euthymii*, p. 30: καὶ ταῦτα δὲ τῇ νοουθεσίᾳ προσετίθει λέγων ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἡμᾶς τοὺς πονηροὺς παραδέχεσθαι λογισμοὺς λύπην ἡμῖν ἢ μῖσος πρὸς τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ ἔσμεν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συνοικοῦντας κατὰ τὸ λεληθὸς ἐμβάλλοντας ἢ ἀκηδίαν ὑποσπεύροντας ἢ τὴν πρὸς ἐτέρους τόπους μετάβασιν ὑποτιθεμένους. The Latin has it *horror loci*, which is specified as hatred against a monk’s own cell (*fastidium cellae*). Cf. *Institutiones*, X.2, PL.49.365A–366A: Qui cum miserabilem obsederit mentem, horrorem loci, fastidium cellae, fratrum quoque, qui cum eo vel eminus commorantur, tamquam negligentium ac minus spiritalium, aspernationem gignit atque contemptum.

35. ὕπνω βαρυτάτῳ καταβαπτίσας. This rare rhetorical expression originates in John Chrysostom, *In Epistulam ad Hebraeos* (*homiliae* 1–34), PG.63.167.9–10: ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τινος κάρου καὶ ὕπνου καὶ μέθης καταβαπτισθέντες, καταπεπλήγμεθα φανταζόμενοι. John Climacus definitely received it from this very point of Cassian’s work, and entertained the expression in identical context. *Scala Paradisi*, 18, col. 932: καὶ τῷ ὕπνῳ εὐθέως αὐτῷ καταβαπτίζει. Likewise, 19, col. 937: Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ παρισταμένους τῷ ὕπνῳ καταβαπτίζουσιν. Once again, Theodore Studites is present. *Parva Catechesis*, Catechesis 4: κανόνιζε σεαυτὸν καὶ ὕπνῳ ... ἵνα ἀκαταβάπτιστος μένης τῷ κλύδωνι τῶν παθῶν. Cf. *Institutiones*, X.2, PL.49.367B: seu somni solius solatio posse aestimet inveniri.

36. The simile of the ‘soul’ represented as a ‘city’ and an ‘acropolis’ originates in Plato and was subsequently entertained only by Theodoret and Cassian. I canvass the point in *RCR*, ch. 3, pp. 170–171.

37. τῷ ἐλέει τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῇ χάριτι αὐτοῦ and *infra* χάριτι Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐλέει and χάριτι καὶ ἐλέει Θεοῦ. This apposition of χάριτι with ἐλέει (τοῦ Χριστοῦ) is very rare and reveals the real Cassian and his liabilities once again. The expression comes from Eusebius, it recurs in Ephraem Syrus, in the acts of the Local Synod of 536 (where Cassian himself was present), and nowhere else. Eusebius, *Commentaria in Psalmos*, PG.23.220.16–17: Πεποιθῶς τῷ σῶ ἐλέει, καὶ τῇ σῇ χάριτι. Ephraem Syrus, *Sermo Compunctorius*, p. 390: Καὶ τεχθεῖς ἐν ἐλέει ἐγὼ ὁ ἀνάξιος ἡξιώθην γενέσθαι σκευὸς τῇ σῇ χάριτι. Op. cit. p. 390: οἰκτιρηθεῖς χάριτι, σωθεῖς δὲ ἐν ἐλέει. *Precationes e Sacris Scripturis*

Collectae, Prayer 4, p. 311: Ἐκχεον ἐπὶ τὸν ἄθλιον ἐμὲ μικρὰν σταγὸνα ἐπιστροφῆς τῷ ἐλέει σου, καὶ φώτισόν μου τὴν ψυχὴν τῇ χάριτί σου. Op. cit. Prayer 6, p. 335: καὶ τεχθεὶς τῷ σῷ ἐλέει, ἡξιώθην γενέσθαι σκευὸς τῇ σῇ χάριτι. Op. cit. Prayer 7, p. 343: οἰκτειρηθεὶς χάριτι, σωθεὶς ἐν ἐλέει. *Encomium in Sanctos Quadraginta Martyres*, p. 162: ὅπως εὖρω ἔλεος καὶ σωθῶ τῇ χάριτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ. ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, p. 35: ἐλέει θεοῦ ... χάριτι Χριστοῦ. p. 47: ἐλέει θεοῦ ... χάριτι Χριστοῦ. p. 145: ἐλέει θεοῦ ... χάριτι θεοῦ.

ON THE HOLY FATHERS LIVING AT SCETIS

Τὸ χρέος ὅπερ ἐπηγγειλάμην τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ πάπῃ Κάστ(ο)ρι περὶ τῆς διηγῆ-
σεως τοῦ τε βίου τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων καὶ τῆς τούτων διδασκαλίας μερικῶς
ἀποδεδωκώς¹ ἐν τοῖς παρ' ἐμοὶ πάλαι² πρὸς αὐτὸν γραφ(εῖ)σιν, ἁγιώτατε 5
Λε(ό)ντιε, περὶ τε διατυπώσεως κοιν(ο)βίων καὶ περὶ τῶν ὀκτῶ λογισμῶν τῆς
κακίας, νῦν προεθέμην ἀποπληρῶσαι.³ Ἐπειδὴ δὲ μεμάθηκα ὅτι ἀπολιπὼν ἡμᾶς
ὁ προειρημένος ἀρχιερεὺς μετώκησε πρὸς Χριστόν, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην σ(οι),
τῷ διαδεξαμένῳ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ μοναστηρίου σὺν Θεῷ φρον-
τίδα,⁴ τὰ λείποντα τῷ διηγήματι ἀποπληρώσας ἀποστεῖλαι. 10

Ὅτε τοίνυν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς Σκ(ή)τεως, [[ὅπου τῶν μοναχῶν οἱ δοκι-
μώτατοι πατέρες, παρεγενόμεθα ἐγὼ τε καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Γερμανός, ὃς ἐκ
πρώτης ἡλικίας φίλος μου πνευματικὸς ἐγεγόνει ἔν τε τοῖς παιδευτη-
ριοῖς καὶ ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ καὶ ἐν τῷ μονήρει βίῳ, ἐθεασάμεθα τὸν ἀβ-
220^r βᾶν Μωϋσῆν, ἄνδρα ἅγιον, οὐ μόνον πρᾶκτικαῖς ἀρεταῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ 15
καὶ θεωρίᾳ⁵ πνευματικῇ διαλάμποντα. Τοῦτον τοίνυν παρεκαλοῦμεν
μετὰ δακρύων εἰπεῖν ἡμῖν λόγον οἰκοδομῆς, δι' οὗ δύνησόμεθα ἐπιβῆ-
ναι τῇ τελειότητι. Ὅστις πολλὰ παρακληθεῖς ἤρξατο οὕτως· τέκνα, πᾶ-
σαι, φησὶν, αἱ τέχναι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα⁶ σκοπὸν τινα ἔχουσι, πρὸς
ὄνπερ ἀφορῶντες καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ρυθμίζοντες τοῦ ποθομένου τέλους⁷ 20
ἐπιτυγχάνουσι·⁸ καὶ γὰρ ὁ γεωργός, ποτὲ μὲν τὴν φλόγα τοῦ ἡλίου ποτὲ δὲ
τοῦ ψύχους⁹ ὑπομένων, προθύμως τὴν γῆν ἐργάζεται, σκοπὸν ἔχων κατα-
ρὰν ταύτην ἀκανθῶν καὶ βοτανῶν ἀποδεῖξαι, τέλος δὲ τὴν ἐκ τῶν καρπῶν

2 ΣΚ(Η)Τ(Ι)Ν Cod. ΣΚΙΤΗΝ. V121: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Λεόντιον περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σκήτην πατέρων.
V104: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Λεόντιον περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σκήτην ἁγίων πατέρων. Codex V104 quotes only
portions of this work. The excerpt begins with μάτην τοίνυν ἐπὶ νηστεία (Cod. 573, p. 59^v),
adding Εἶπεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Μωϋσῆς 2 The Latin introduces a Preface to the *Collationes* at
this point. PL.49.477A f 3 Κάστ(ο)ρι Cod. Κάστωρι 5 ἐμοὶ V121: ἐμοὶ 5 γραφ(εῖ)σιν
Cod. γραφήσιν 6 Λε(ό)ντιε Cod. Λεώντιε 6 κοιν(ο)βίων Cod. κοινωβίων 6–7 λογισμῶν
τῆς κακίας V121: τῆς κακίας λογισμῶν 7 ὅτι V121: ὅτι περ 7 ἀπολιπὼν Cod. ἀπολειπὼν
8 σ(οι) Cod. σύ 11 Ὅτε τοίνυν The Latin introduces *Collatio I* at this point. PL.49.481C f
11 Σκ(ή)τεως Cod. Σκίτεωσ. One folio is missing. The lacuna has been filled by using *Codex
Vindobonensis graecus theologicus* 121 (National Library of Austria, Vienna), folia 219^v–220^r.
I am grateful to the library for having supplied me with a microfilm of this codex.

The obligation, of which I had made a promise to the most blessed pope Castor, I have partially fulfilled by means of my writings addressed to him a long time ago. Those involved a recounting of both the way of life and the teaching of the holy fathers pertaining to both the rules and regulations of the coenobia and the eight considerations of evil. [This obligation] I have now set out to complete, o, you most holy Leontius. Since I have been advised that the aforesaid bishop has left us and decamped to Christ, I have thought it good to finish it by adding those things which were missing in that recounting and send them to you, who both inherited his virtue and succeeded him in the care of the monastery with the help of God.

When, both myself along with saint Germanus (who had been a spiritual friend of mine since the very early age, in school, in the army, and in monastic life) lived in the desert of Scetis, where the most proficient fathers of monks [also lived], we saw abba Moses. He was a saintly man, not only with regard to practical virtues, but was also shining in respect of contemplative excellence. This man we implored in tears to give us a discourse for our edification, which we should use as a means for attaining to perfection. After many supplications addressed to him by us, this man began to speak by saying the following:

Children, says he, all the arts and habits of life have a certain intent. By concentrating on it and training themselves, people achieve a desirable end.¹³⁷ For indeed, a farmer cleaves the earth unweariedly, enduring either the scorching heat of the sun at one time, or the cold of frost at another. His intent is to render the ground clear from all weeds and briars; but his end is to enjoy a good fruitage. And a man who is engaged in mercantile

¹³⁶ Latin Patrology considers this text as 'Conference I'. PL.49.481: *Collatio Prima*, Quae est prima abbatis Moysis. De monachi intentione ac fine. Caput Primum. *De habitatione Scythi, et proposito abbatis Moysis*. On Σκῆτις rendered as 'Scythian' in Latin, see *RCR*, p. 50.

¹³⁷ I render 'intent' for σκοπὸς and 'end' for τέλος. In the Latin text, this crucial Aristotelian distinction has been eliminated altogether.

ἀπόλαυσιν· καὶ ὁ πραγματευόμενος οὔτε τοὺς ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης οὔτε τοὺς ἐκ γῆς κινδύνους ὑφορώμενος προθύμως ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδίδωσιν τῇ πραγματείᾳ, σκοπὸν ἔχων τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς κέρδος, τέλος δὲ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κέρδους ἀπόλαυσιν· καὶ ὁ στρατευόμενος οὔτε τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων κινδύνους οὔτε τὰς ἐκ τῆς ξενιτείας ταλαιπωρίας ὑφορᾶται, σκοπὸν ἔχων τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας ἐν ἀξιώματι προκοπὴν, τέλος δὲ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἀξιώματος κέρδος.

5

Ἐχει τοίνυν καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα ἐπαγγελία σκοπὸν καὶ τέλος ἴδιον, ὑπὲρ οὗ πάντα κόπον καὶ κάματον¹⁰ προθύμως ὑπομένομεν· διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἡ τῶν νηστεϊῶν ἀσιτία οὐ κατα|πονεῖ ἡμᾶς, ὁ τῶν ἀγρυπνιῶν πόνος τέρπει, ἡ ἀνάγνωσις καὶ ἡ μελέτη τῶν γραφῶν προθύμως γίνεται, καὶ κάματος ἔργου καὶ ὑπακοῆς καὶ γύμνωσις πάντων τῶν γηϊνῶν πραγμάτων¹¹ καὶ ἡ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐρήμῳ διατριβὴ ἡδέως ἐπιτελοῦνται.

57^r

10

Ὑμεῖς δὲ καταφρονήσαντες πατρίδος καὶ γένους καὶ ὄλου τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὴν ξενιτείαν καταδεξάμενοι καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀνθρώπους ἀγρ(οί)κους καὶ ἰδιώτας¹² προθύμως παραγενόμενοι, εἴπατέ μοι, ποῖος ἐστὶν ὁ ὑμέτερος σκοπὸς καὶ εἰς ποῖον τέλος¹³ ἀφορώντες τοῦτο πεποιήκατε;

15

Ἀποκριθέντες δὲ ἡμεῖς εἶπαμεν· διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν· πρὸς ὅπερ ὁ ἄββας Μωσῆς καλῶς, φησιν, περὶ τοῦ τέλους εἰρήκατε, τίς δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ σκοπὸς πρὸς ὃν ἀποβλέποντες (καὶ μὴ ἐκκλίνοντες) τῆς ὁρθῆς ὁδοῦ | δυνάμεθα τυχεῖν τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν οὐκ εἰρήκατε.

57^v

20

Καὶ ὅτε ἀγν(ο)εῖν (ῶ)μολογήσαμεν, ὁ γέρων ἀπεκρίνατο:

Τέλος μὲν οὖν τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπαγγελίας, ὡς εἴρηται, ἡ βασιλεία ἐστὶν τοῦ Θεοῦ· σκοπὸς δὲ ἡ καθαρ(ό)της τῆς καρδίας, ἥς χωρὶς ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ τέλος ἐλθεῖν. Ἐν τούτῳ τοίνυν τῷ σκοπῷ πάντ(ο)τε ὁ ὑμέτερος ἔστω νοῦς· κἂν ποτε συμβῇ πρὸς ὀλίγον τὴν καρδίαν τῆς εὐθείας ἐκκλ(ί)ναι ὁδοῦ, παραχρῆμα ταύτην ἐπανάξωμεν, ὥσπερ τεκτονικῶ¹⁴ καν(ό)νι τῷ σκοπῷ ἀπευθύνοντες. Τοῦτο καὶ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐπιστάμενός φησιν· τῶν μὲν ὀπισθεν ἐπιλανθανόμενος, τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτ(ε)ινόμενος κατὰ σκοπὸν

25

3 πραγματεία Cod. πραγματία 10 ἀσιτία Cod. ἀσιτεία 10 καταπονεῖ Cod. πονῇ
15 ἀγρ(οί)κους Cod. ἀγρύκους. V121: ἀγροίκους ἀνθρώπους 17 ποῖον Cod. ὁποῖον 18 εἴπαμεν V121: εἴπομεν 19 καλῶς V121: καλῶς μὲν 20 ἐκκλίνοντες) With V121 (ἐγκλίνοντες)
22 ἀγν(ο)εῖν Cod. ἀγνωεῖν 22 (ῶ)μολογήσαμεν Cod. ὁμολογήσαμεν 23 ἐπαγγελίας Cod. ἐπαγγελείας
24 καθαρ(ό)της Cod. καθαρώτης 25 πάντ(ο)τε Cod. πάντῳ 25–26 ὁ ὑμέτερος ἔστω V121: ἔστω ὁ ὑμέτερος 26 ἐκκλ(ί)ναι Cod. ἐκκλῆναι 27 καν(ό)νι Cod. κανώνι
29 ἐπεκτ(ε)ινόμενος Cod. ἐπεκτινόμενος

pursuits, having no dread of the dangers either on sea or on the ground, promptly becomes involved with this business. His intent is to make profit out of this, and his end is the enjoyment stemming from the profit. And one who is engaged in military life is afraid of¹³⁸ neither the dangers of war, nor of the ordeal of living away from home. For his intent is to promote himself in the military hierarchy on account of his bravery, and his end is profit flowing from the higher rank.

Our profession, too, has its own intent and end, for the sake of which we are prepared to endure all sorts of toil and exertion. It is because of this
 57^r [end] that we are not overcome by the want of food during fasting; | the hardship out of our vigils becomes a delight; the reading and meditation on the scriptures takes place promptly; and striving on a certain work, and obedience, and renunciation of all earthly things, even living in the desert itself—they are all done with delight.

But you, who have despised your fatherland and your kinsfolk and the entire world, and have chosen sojourn in a foreign land, and have promptly come to us, savage and simpleton people as we are, do answer me this: what is your intent? and which is the end you are pursuing, and for the sake of which you have done all this?

We replied by saying, 'for the sake of the kingdom of heavens'. To which abba Moses said: you have spoken well of the end; yet you did not reply to this question: what is the intent which we should pursue, so as to attain
 57^v to the kingdom of heavens by not deviating from the right way? |

And when we confessed that we did not know this [viz. our intent], the elder replied thus: The end of our own profession is the kingdom of God, as already said; but [our] intent is purity of heart, without which it is impossible to attain that end. Let therefore our mind have always this intent in it. And if at any time it should come to pass that our heart deviates from the straight way, let us immediately recondition it towards our intent, acting in the same way as a builder, who makes use of an iron bar [to keep things straight]. This is what the blessed Paul says being aware of this [truth]: *forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth*

¹³⁸ ὑφορᾶται. The verb ὑφορῶμαι has a special sense which eluded both Liddell-Scott and Lampe lexica: it means 'to be afraid of, which is a rhetorical expression: Lexica Segueriana, *Glossae Rhetoricae* (e cod. Coislin. 345), Alphabetic entry delta, p. 234: Δυσωποῦμαι: τὸ αἰσχυνομαι καὶ ὑφορῶμαι καὶ φοβοῦμαι. καὶ τὸ ἀηδῶς ὁρᾶν ἢ ὁρᾶσθαι. The foregoing alternative sense of 'looking at something stealthily' (occurring in L&S, p. 1909) was mentioned only by the *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 785, line 50: Ὑφορῶμαι: Ἀντὶ τοῦ κρυπτῶς βλέπω.

- 58^r διώκων πρὸς τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως.^a Ὑπὲρ τούτου τοίνυν | τοῦ σκοποῦ
καὶ ἡμεῖς πάντα διαπραττόμεθα,¹⁵ ὑπὲρ τούτου πάντων καταφρονούμεν, καὶ
πατρίδος καὶ γένους καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ὄλου τοῦ κόσμου, ἵνα τὴν καθαρ(ό)τητα
τῆς καρδίας κτησώμεθα· εἰ δὲ τοῦ σκοποῦ τούτου λ(ή)θην ποιησώμεθα,¹⁶ ἐπά-
ναγκές ἐστιν ἐν σκοτίᾳ περιπατοῦντας^b καὶ ἔξω τῆς εὐθείας^c βαδίζοντας πολ-
λὰ προσκόπτειν καὶ πολλὰ πλανᾶσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ πολλοῖς συνέβη· ἐν ἀρχῇ
τῆς ἀποταγῆς καταφρονήσαντες πλούτου καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ὄλου τοῦ κόσμου,
ὑστερον ὑπὲρ δικέλλης καὶ ραφίδος¹⁷ καὶ καλάμου καὶ βιβλίου συγκινοῦσιν τὴν
ὀργήν, οὐκ ἂν τοῦτο παθόντες εἰ ἐμνημόνευον τοῦ σκοποῦ δι' ὃν πάντων τῶν
πραγμάτων κατεφρόνησαν. Διὰ γὰρ τὴν πρὸς τὸν πλησίον ἀγάπην πλούτου
58^v καταφρονούμεν, ἵνα μὴ | ὑπὲρ τούτου μαχόμενοι καὶ τὴν τῆς ὀργῆς διάθεσιν
αὐξάνοντες ἐκπέσωμεν τῆς ἀγάπης.^d Ὅταν οὖν καὶ ἐν ταῖς μ(ι)κραῖς ὕλαις τὴν
αὐτὴν τῆς ὀργῆς διάθεσιν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπιδεικνύμεθα, ἐκπεπτώκαμεν τοῦ
σκοποῦ¹⁸ καὶ ὄφελος οὐδὲν ἡμῖν τῆς ἀποταγῆς· ὅπερ καὶ ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστο-
λος ἐπιστάμενος ἔλεγεν· κἄν διαδῶ τ(ὸ) σῶμα μου¹⁹ ἵνα καυθίσωμαι, ἀγάπην δέ
μὴ ἔχω, οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦμαι.^e Ὅθεν μανθάν(ο)μεν τὴν τελείωσιν οὐ παραχρήμα τῇ
γυμνώσει καὶ τῇ ἀποταγῇ τῶν πραγμάτων²⁰ ἐπισυμβαίνειν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν τῆς
ἀγάπης κατ(ό)ρθωσιν, ἥστινος τὰ ιδιώματα ὁ αὐτὸς ἀπόστολος διαγράφει, ἡ
ἀγάπη λέγων οὐ ζηλοῖ, οὐ φησιούται, οὐκ ὀργίζεται, οὐ περπερεύεται, οὐ λογιζε-
59^r ται τὸ κακόν.^f Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα | καθαρ(ό)τητα καρδίας συνίστησιν. Διὰ ταύτην
πάντα διαπράττειν (δεῖ), καὶ χρημάτων καταφρονεῖν καὶ νηστείας καὶ ἀγρυπνί-
ας ἡδέως ἀνέχεσθαι, καὶ ἀναγνώσασαι καὶ ψαλμοῖς προσομιλεῖν. Οὐ μέντοι διὰ

1 πρὸς V121: εἰς 3 πατρίδος Cod. πατρίδα 3 καθαρ(ό)τητα Cod. καθαρῶτητα 4 λ(ή)θην
Cod. λίθην 5 σκοτίᾳ Cod. σκοτεῖα 6 συνέβη· ἐν V121: συνέβη οἵτινες ἐν 7 ἀποταγῆς V121:
ὑποταγῆς 12 μ(ι)κραῖς Cod. μηκραῖς 15 διαδῶ τ(ὸ) σῶμα μου ἵνα V121: διαδῶ πάντα τὰ
ὑπάρχοντά μου καὶ παραδῶ τ(ὸ) σῶμα μου ἵνα 15 τ(ὸ) Cod. τῷ 15 καυθίσωμαι καυθήσομαι
instead of καυχῆσωμαι transpires in Syriac versions 16 μανθάν(ο)μεν Cod. μανθάνωμεν
18 κατ(ό)ρθωσιν Cod. κατῶρθωσιν 20 καθαρ(ό)τητα Cod. καθαρῶτητα 20–21 ταύτην
πάντα διαπράττειν (δεῖ) V121: ταῦτα δεῖ πάντα πράττειν

^a Phil. 3:14. ^b Cf. John 8:12; 12:35; 1 John 2:11. ^c Cf. 2 Peter 2:15. ^d Cf. 1 Cor. 13:8. ^e 1 Cor. 13:3.
^f 1 Cor. 13:4–5.

unto those things which are before, pressing toward the mark of the high calling.¹³⁹ It is for the sake of this, therefore, that we do everything we
 58^r can. It is for the sake of this intent | that we despise our own country and kinsfolk and property and the entire world, so that we can gain purity of heart. If however we become oblivious of this intent, we shall of necessity fall into many stumbles and to many errors, since we shall be walking in darkness¹⁴⁰ and outside the right way.¹⁴¹ Which is what many people incurred. For although in the beginning of renunciation they shunned all possessions and money, and indeed the entire world, they were afterwards excited over a two-pronged hay fork, or pin, or reed-pen, or book; which they could have never suffered had they kept in mind the intent, for the sake of which they had scorned all things. For we despise wealth
 58^v on account of the love for *the neighbour*,¹⁴² | so that we do not *fail love*¹⁴³ by exerting ourselves in order to pursue this [viz. wealth] and by exacerbating the disposition of ire within us. For once we express this selfsame disposition of ire toward our brother even for the sake of petty things, we have fallen away from our intent and our renunciation is to no avail for us. Of which the blessed Paul was aware, which is why he said: *and though I give my body to be burned and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing*.¹⁴⁴

From which we learn that perfection is not arrived at simply by giving up and renunciation of all our goods, but [it is accomplished] as a result of the feat of charity, of which the apostle delineates the attributes saying this: *charity envieth not; is not puffed up, is not easily provoked, is not envious, vaunteth not itself, thinketh no evil*.¹⁴⁵

59^r All these [attributes] make up | purity of heart. It is for the sake of this [purity of heart] that one should carry out such acts as to shun wealth, stand fasting and vigils with pleasure, and spend time studying and chanting.

¹³⁹ Phil. 3:13–14. The Latin text has the gloss “Of which goal the same blessed Apostle teaches us, and significantly uses the very term, i.e., σκοπός, saying as follows, [Phil. 3:13–14] ... which is more clearly put in Greek κατὰ σκοπὸν διώκω, i.e. ‘I press toward the mark’”. Could anyone believe that a Latin author addressing a Latin audience could have ever used this gloss? Or is it indeed more plausible that this is in fact an annotation by one translating a Greek original into Latin?

¹⁴⁰ Cf. John 8:12; 12:35; 1 John 2:11.

¹⁴¹ Cf. 2 Peter 2:15.

¹⁴² Cf. Matt. 5:43; 19:19; 22:39; Mark 12:31; Rom. 13:9–10; Gal. 5:14; James 2:8.

¹⁴³ Cf. 1 Cor. 13:8.

¹⁴⁴ 1 Cor. 13:3.

¹⁴⁵ 1 Cor. 13:4–5.

τὰ προειρημένα ταύτης ἀμελεῖν, εἴ ποτε συμβῇ κατὰ τινὰ ἀναγκαίαν κατὰ Θεὸν
 ἀσχολίαν ἀπὸ τῆς συνήθους νηστείας καὶ ἀναγνώσεως ἐμποδισθῆναι· οὐ γὰρ
 τοσοῦτον ἔστιν κέρδος νηστείας ὅσον ὀργῆς ζημία, οὔτε τοσαύτη τῆς ἀναγνώ-
 σεως ὠφέλεια, ὅσον βλάβ(η) ἐκ τοῦ περιφρονῆσαι τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ λυπῆσαι
 αὐτόν. Καὶ γὰρ αἱ νηστεῖαι καὶ αἱ ἀγρυπνίαι καὶ ἡ μελέτη τῶν γραφῶν καὶ ἡ
 γύμνωσις τοῦ πλούτου καὶ ἡ ἀποταγὴ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου οὐκ ἔστιν τελειότης,
 καθ' ἃ εἴρηται, ἀλλὰ τελειότητος ἐργαλεῖα, ἐπειδὴ | οὐκ ἐν τούτοις εὐρίσκεται
 ἡ τελει(ό)της, ἀλλὰ διὰ τούτων προσγίνεται. Εἰς μάτην τοίνυν ἐπὶ νηστεία καὶ
 ἀγρυπνία καὶ ἀκτμημοσύνη καὶ ἀναγνώσει γραφῶν ἐγκαυχ(ό)μεθα, ὅταν μὴ τὴν
 πρὸς Θεὸν καὶ τὸν πλησίον ἀγάπην^a κατ(ο)ρθώσωμεν. Ὁ γὰρ κατορθώσας τὴν
 ἀγάπην ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχει τὸν Θεὸν²¹ καὶ ὁ νοὺς αὐτοῦ αἰεὶ μετὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔστιν.

Πρὸς ταῦτα ἠρώτησεν ὁ Γερμανός:

Καὶ τίς δύναται τῇ σαρκὶ ταύτῃ συνδεδεμένος²² ἔχειν τὸν νοῦν αἰεὶ μετὰ
 τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς μηδὲν ἄλλ(ο) ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, μὴ περὶ ἐπισκέψεως ἀσθενούντων, μὴ
 περὶ ὑποδοχῆς ξένου, μὴ περὶ ἐργοχείρου ἢ τῶν λοιπῶν χρεῶν τοῦ σώματος
 ἀναγκαίων οὐσῶν; Τὸ τελευτ(αῖ)ον, πῶς δύναται διάνοια ἀνθρώπου τὸν ἀόρατον
 καὶ ἀκατάσχετον²³ καὶ ἀκατάλ(η)πτον Θεὸν αἰεὶ βλέπειν καὶ ἀχώριστος αὐτοῦ
 (αἰεὶ) εἶναι;

60^r Ὁ Μωϋσῆς εἶπεν: |

Ὅραν μὲν αἰεὶ Θεὸν καὶ ἀχώριστο(ν) αὐτοῦ εἶναι τῷ τρόπῳ ᾧ νομίζεται,
 ἀδύνατον ἀνθρ(ώ)πῳ σάρκα φοροῦντι καὶ ἀσθενεῖα συνεζευγμένῳ· ἐτέρῳ δὲ
 τρόπῳ δυνατὸν ὁρᾶν Θεόν. Ἡ γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ θεωρία πολλαχῶς²⁴ λαμβάνεται.²⁵
 Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς οὐκ ἐν μόνῃ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μακαρίᾳ καὶ ἀκαταλήπτῳ οὐσίᾳ²⁶

1 ταύτης V121: ἐκείνης 4 βλάβ(η) Cod. βλάβει 4 τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ V121: τὸν ἀδελφόν
 8 τελει(ό)της Cod. τελειώτης 8 μάτην τοίνυν ἐπὶ νηστεία V104 culls from this point
 onwards: Εἶπεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Μωϋσῆς: μάτην ἐπὶ νηστεία 9 ἐγκαυχ(ό)μεθα Cod. ἐγκαυχώμεθα
 10 κατ(ο)ρθώσωμεν Cod. κατορθώσωμεν 14 ἄλλ(ο) Cod. ἄλλω 15 ξένου V121, V104: ξένων
 16 οὐσῶν; V121, V104: οὐσῶν καὶ ἀπαιρητήτων; 16 τελευτ(αῖ)ον Cod. τελευτέον 16 δύναται
 V121, V104: δυνήσεται 17 ἀκατάλ(η)πτον Cod. ἀκατάλιπτον. V104: ἀόρατον καὶ ἀκατάληπτον
 18 (αἰεὶ) With V104 19 Μωϋσῆς V121: Μωϋσῆς μὲν 20 ἀχώριστο(ν) Cod. ἀχώριστος 20 τῷ
 τρόπῳ ᾧ νομίζεται V121: τρόπῳ ὃν νομίζεται V104: κατὰ τὸν τρόπον ὃν 21 ἀνθρ(ώ)πῳ Cod.
 ἀνθρώπῳ 22 θεωρία Cod. θεωρεία 22–23 λαμβάνεται. Καὶ V121, V104: λαμβάνεται καὶ
 θεωρεῖται 23 τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μακαρίᾳ καὶ ἀκαταλήπτῳ V121: ἑαυτοῦ τῇ. V104: τῇ μακαρίᾳ καὶ
 ἀκαταλήπτῳ αὐτοῦ

^a Cf. Matt. 22:37–39; Mark 12:30–31; Luke 10:27.

One should never be negligent of this [purity of heart] because of the aforesaid observances, if [for instance] one happened to be obstructed from carrying out the usual fasting or reading due to a certain duty which is [deemed] necessary in God's eyes. For the profit of fasting is not commensurate with the damage of wrath; neither does the benefit of reading match the damage of despising a brother or making his heart heavy. For indeed, according to what we have said, fasts and vigils and the study of Scripture and casting away of all wealth and renunciation of the entire world are not perfection: they are tools towards perfection. For

59^v | perfection cannot be found in them, but it is accomplished by means of them. Therefore, once we have not achieved charity to *God* and to the *neighbour*,¹⁴⁶ it is vain to boast at our fasting and vigil and poverty and reading of the divine scriptures. For he has God in himself who has accomplished charity¹⁴⁷ and his mind is always with God.

In relation to all these Germanus asked this question:

Who then, while he is tied onto this flesh, can have his mind constantly clung to God, so as never to think of anything else, such as visiting the sick, receiving a foreigner, doing a handiwork or any of all those works which are requisite for the wants of the body? And one more last thing: How is it possible for human mind unceasingly to see God, who is invisible and unrestrained¹⁴⁸ and incomprehensible, and to be conjoined to him always?

60^r Moses said: |

To see God lastingly and to be conjoined to him in the way commonly understood is impossible to man, since he is still both clothed with flesh and joined with frailty. It is however possible to see God in another sense, since the contemplation of God is made through many ways. For indeed knowledge of God does not mean only knowledge of his substance, which

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Matt. 22:37–39; Mark 12:30–31; Luke 10:27.

¹⁴⁷ Cassian is one of the few Christian writers to style charity accomplishment of a feat, thus evincing himself once more a student of both Gregory of Nyssa and Theodoret.

¹⁴⁸ ἀκατάσχετος. This is a revealing epithet pointing to Cassian being a student of Nestorius. I have maintained that Cassian's Aristotelism originates in him having studied Nestorius and we know that Nestorians constitute the most important channel for the survival of Aristotle's works in the East beside the Arab intellectuals and scribes. See, *RCR*, pp. 367–368.

γινώσκεται· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι τοῖς ἀγίοις μόνοις τετήρηται.²⁷ ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἐκ τῆς μεγαλ(ε)ι(δ)ότητος καὶ καλλονῆς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ κτ(ι)σμάτων,^a καὶ ἐκ
τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν γινομένης διοικήσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ προνοίας²⁸ γνωρίζεται, καὶ ἐκ
τῆς δικαι(ο)σύνης αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν θαυμασίων, ὧν καθ' ἐκάστην γενεάν²⁹ εἰς
τοὺς ἀγίους αὐτοῦ ἐπιδείκνυται.^b Ὅταν γὰρ ἐννοήσωμεν τὸ ἀμέτρ(η)τον τῆς
τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως³⁰ καὶ τὸν ἀκοίμητον αὐτοῦ ὀφθαλμόν,³¹ τὸν τὰ κρυπτὰ τῶν
καρδιῶν ἐφορῶντα καὶ ὃν οὐδὲν | λαθεῖν δύνατ(αι), φόβῳ καρδίας συσχεθέντες
τοῦτον θαυμάζομέν τε καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν· ὅταν ἐννοήσωμεν ὅτι ἀριθμηταὶ αὐτῷ
εἰσὶν σταγόνες ὕετοῦ^c καὶ ἄμμος θαλάσσης καὶ ἀστέρεις οὐρανοῦ,³² ἐκπληττόμεθα
ἐπὶ τῇ μεγαλ(ε)ι(δ)ότητι τῆς σοφίας· ὅταν ἐννοήσωμεν τὴν ἄρρητον καὶ ἀνεκδι-
ήγητον (αὐτοῦ) φιλανθρωπίαν³³ καὶ τὴν ἀκάματον μακροθυμίαν βαστάζουσιν
τὰ ἀναρίθμητα πλημμελ(ή)ματα τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων, δοξάζ(ο)μεν τοῦτον· ὅταν
ἐννοήσωμεν τὴν μεγάλην αὐτοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀγάπην, ὅτι μηδὲν (ἀγαθόν) ἡμῶν προ-
εργασμένων κατηξίωσεν ἄνθρωπος γενέσθαι Θεὸς ὧν ἵνα σώσ(η) ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς
πλάνης, διεγειρόμεθα πρὸς τὸν πόθον αὐτοῦ·³⁴ ὅταν ἐννοήσωμεν ὅτι τὸν ἀντίδι-
κον ἡμῶν διάβολον^d αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν νικῶν ὑπὲρ μόνης τῆς προαιρέσεως | καὶ τῆς
ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν νεύσεως,³⁵ αἰωνίαν ἡμῖν δίδωσι ζωὴν, προσκυνοῦμεν αὐτόν. Εἰσὶ
δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τρόποι τοιοῦτοι καὶ ἀναρίθμητοι θεωρεῖται, αἵτινες κατὰ τὴν ἀναλο-
γίαν τῆς ἐργασίας ἡμῶν καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς καθάρσεως ἐν ἡμῖν ἀναφύονται,
δι' ὧν (δ)ράται Θεὸς καὶ νοεῖται.³⁶

1 γινώσκεται V121: γνωρίζεται 2 μεγαλ(ε)ι(δ)ότητος V121: Cod. μεγαλιώτητος 2 ἑαυτοῦ
V104: αὐτοῦ 2 κτ(ι)σμάτων Cod. κτησμάτων 4 δικαι(ο)σύνης Cod. δικαιωσύνης
5 ἀμέτρ(η)τον Cod. ἀμέτριτον 5-6 τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως V121: τῆς τούτου δυνάμεως.
V104: τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως 7 οὐδὲν λαθεῖν V104: λαθεῖν οὐδὲν 7 δύνατ(αι) Cod.
δύνατε 8 αὐτῷ Cod. αὐτοῦ 9 θαλάσσης V121: θαλάττης 10 μεγαλ(ε)ι(δ)ότητι
Cod. μεγαλιώτητι. V121: ἐν τῷ μεγαλείῳ τῆς σοφίας. V104: ἐπὶ τῷ μεγαλείῳ τῆς φύσεως καὶ
σοφίας 10-11 καὶ ἀνεκδιήγητον (αὐτοῦ) φιλανθρωπίαν With V121. Also, V104: τὴν ἀδιήγητον
αὐτοῦ. Cf. the same author entertaining this characteristic expression in Pseudo-Didymus
(= Cassian), *De Trinitate*: τὴν ἄφατον καὶ ἀνεκδιήγητον αὐτοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν, PG.39.916.34-
35 11 ἀκάματον V121: ἀκάματον αὐτοῦ 12 πλημμελ(ή)ματα Cod. πλημμελίματα. V104: τὰ
ἀναρίθμητα τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων 12 δοξάζ(ο)μεν Cod. δοξάζωμεν 13 (ἀγαθόν) With V121,
V104 13-14 προεργασμένων V104: ἐργασμένων 14 σώσ(η) Cod. σώσει 17 δίδωσι V121,
V104: δωρεῖται 17 αὐτόν V104: αὐτῷ 17 Εἰσὶ Cod. ἔστιν 17-18 Εἰσὶ δὲ ... ἀναρίθμητοι
θεωρεῖται V121: Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι τοιοῦτότροποι θεωρεῖται, V104: καὶ ἄλλοι τοιοῦτότροποι ἀναρίθμητοι
20 (δ)ράται Cod. ὠράται

^aWisdom of Solomon 13:5: ἐκ γὰρ μεγέθους καὶ καλλονῆς κτισμάτων ἀναλόγως ὁ γενεσιουργὸς
αὐτῶν θεωρεῖται ('for by the greatness and beauty of the creatures proportionably the
maker of them is seen'). ^bCf. Psalm 105:31; Ecclesiasticus 42:17. ^cJob 36:27.

^dCf. 1Peter 5:8.

is blessed and incomprehensible.¹⁴⁹ This [knowledge] is reserved only for the saints in the aeon to come. But he is known from the greatness and *beauty of his creatures*,¹⁵⁰ as well as from his rule and providence which is exercised every day, and from his righteousness and his wonderful things which he shows to his saints of each generation.

60^v For once we realize the immeasurable power and the never-sleeping eye of God that oversees all the secrets of heart of which none | can lie hidden, we shrink in fear of heart and admire and worship him. Once we realize that *the drops of rain are numbered by him*,¹⁵¹ and [so are] *the sand of the sea*,¹⁵² and *the stars of the heaven*,¹⁵³ we are astounded at the greatness of [his] wisdom. Once we realize his ineffable and inexpressible philanthropy and the untiring forbearance which tolerates the innumerable misdeeds of sinners, we glorify him. Once we realize how ample his charity towards us is, since he deigned to become a man, even though he is God, in order to save us from falsehood, and despite us having done nothing so as to deserve this [charity], we are aroused to longing for him. Once we realize that once he conquers our *adversary the devil*¹⁵⁴ within
61^r us, and grants us eternal life, on account of only our free volition | and assent to goodness, we worship him. There are also other ways of this kind and innumerable sorts of contemplation through which God is seen and perceived. They emerge within us in analogy to our own exertion and according to the measure of our purification.

¹⁴⁹ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μακαρίᾳ καὶ ἀκαταλήπτῳ οὐσίᾳ is an almost verbatim loan from Athanasius (s. p. 224 note 26), that once again makes it impossible for this text to be a translation from Latin, which though employed the Greek. Cf. Latin, *Collationes*, I.15, PL.49.505A: *incomprehensibilis substantiae suae*.

¹⁵⁰ Wisdom of Solomon 13:5.

¹⁵¹ Job 36:27.

¹⁵² Ecclesiasticus 1:2.

¹⁵³ Cf. Gen. 15:5.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. 1 Peter 5:8.

Πάλιν δὲ ἠρώτησεν ὁ Γερμανός:

Πόθεν οὖν συμβαίνει τοῦτο, ὅτι πολλάκις καίτοι γε μὴ θελόντων ἡμῶν πολλὰ ἐνθυμήσεις καὶ λογισμοὶ πονηροὶ παρενοχλοῦσιν καὶ σχεδὸν ἀγνοούντων ἡμῶν κλέπτουσιν ἡμᾶς λανθανόντως καὶ λεπτῶς ὑπείσερχόμενοι, ὥς μὴ μόνον μὴ δύνασθαι κωλύειν αὐτ(ού)ς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δυσχέριαν πολλὴν εἶναι³⁷ ἐπιγινώσκειν 5 τοὺτους; Καὶ (εἰ) δυνατόν ἐστιν τὴν διάνοιαν παντελῶς σχολάζειν ἀπὸ τούτων καὶ μηδαμῶς | παρενοχλεῖσθαι ἀξιούμεν μαθεῖν.

Ὁ Μωϋσῆς εἶπεν:

Διάνοιαν μὲν μὴ παρενοχλεῖσθαι ταῖς ἐνθυμήσεσιν ταύταις ἀδύνατον, δέχε-
σθαι δὲ ταύτας καὶ ἐμμελετᾶν αὐταῖς ἢ ἀπορρίπτειν (αὐτάς) παντὶ σπουδάζοντι 10 δυνατόν. "Ὡςπερ γὰρ τὸ ἔρχεσθαι αὐτάς οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐ(φ') ἡμῖν, οὕτως ἡ ἀποδίωξις αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ἡμῶν κείται· καὶ ἡ ἐπανόρθωσις δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας διανοίας ἐν τῇ ἡμῶν ἐστὶν προαιρέσει καὶ σπουδῇ. "Ὅταν γὰρ συνεχῶς μελετῶμεν τὸν νόμον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ εἰς ψαλμοὺς καὶ ᾠδὰς ἀδολεσχ(ώ)μεν, νηστεῖαις τε καὶ ἀγρυπνί-
αις προσασχολ(ώ)μεθα,³⁸ καὶ μνημονεύ(ω)μεν συνεχῶς τῶν μελλόντων τῆς τε 15 βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τῆς γεέν(ν)ης τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ πάντων τῶν ἔργων τοῦ Θεοῦ, οἱ πονηροὶ λογισμοὶ ἐλαττοῦνται καὶ τόπον οὐχ εὐρίσκουσιν· ὅταν δὲ κοσμ(ι)καῖς φροντ(ι)σιν καὶ σαρκικοῖς πράγμασιν ἐνασχολ(ώ)μεθα καὶ ὁμιλί-
αις ἀργαῖς καὶ ματαίαις³⁹ ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδίδ(ω)μεν, πλεονάζουσιν ἐν ἡμῖν οἱ φαῦλοι 20 λογισμοί. "Ὡςπερ γὰρ μῦλον ἐξ ὑδάτων κινούμενον ἀδύνατον ἀργῆσαι τῆς κινή-
σεως, ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ δὲ ἐστὶν τῷ (ἐ)φισταμένῳ τῷ μύλῳ σίτον ἀλέσαι⁴⁰ ἢ ζ(ι)ζάνιον, οὕτως ἡ διάνοια ἡμῶν ἀεικίνητος⁴¹ οὐσα οὐ δύνατ(αι) ἀργεῖν ἀπὸ λογισμῶν· ἐν ἡμῖν δὲ ἐστὶν δοῦναι (αὐτῇ ἢ) πνευματικὴν μελέτην ἢ σαρκικὴν ἐργασίαν.

1 δὲ V104: οὖν 2 πολλάκις καίτοι γε μὴ V104: πολλάκις μὴ 2 πολλάκις καίτοι ... θελόντων ἡμῶν V121: καίτοι γε πολλάκις μὴ θέλουσιν ἡμῖν 3 λογισμοὶ πονηροὶ παρενοχλοῦσιν V121: λογισμοὶ παρενοχλοῦσι 4 ὑπείσερχόμενοι V104: ἐπείσερχόμενοι 5 αὐτ(ού)ς Cod. αὐτάς V121: μὴ μόνον δύνασθαι κωλύειν ἔρχεσθαι αὐτοὺς. V104: μὴ μόνον μὴ δύνασθαι κωλύειν ἔρχεσθαι αὐτάς, ἀλλὰ 6 τοὺτους; V121: ταύτας; V104: αὐτάς; 6 (εἰ) Cod. ἢ. V104: εἰ 7 ἀξιούμεν μαθεῖν V121, V104: μαθεῖν ἀξιούμεν 10 ταύτας Cod. ταυ ταύτας. The scribe wrote ταυ at the end of the line, yet he wrote again the entire word ταύτας in the beginning of the next one 10 (αὐτάς) With V121, V104. 11 ἐ(φ') Cod. ἐν 12 ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ V104: ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ 14 ἀδολεσχ(ώ)μεν Cod. ἀδολεσχούμεν. V104: Θεοῦ εἰς ψαλμοὺς τε καὶ ᾠδὰς ἀσχολούμεθα 15 προσασχολ(ώ)μεθα Cod. προσασχολούμεθα. V104: προσασχολούμεθα 15 μνημονεύ(ω)μεν Cod. μνημονεύομεν 16 γεέν(ν)ης Cod. γεένης 18 κοσμ(ι)καῖς Cod. κοσμηκαῖς 18 φροντ(ι)σιν Cod. φροντήσιν 18 ἐνασχολ(ώ)μεθα Cod. ἐνασχολούμεθα. V104: ἐνασχολούμεθα 19 ἀργαῖς καὶ ματαίαις V104: ματαίαις καὶ ἀργαῖς 19 ἐκδίδ(ω)μεν Cod. ἐκδιδόμεν. V121, V104: ἐκδιδόμεν 20 κινούμενον Cod. κεινούμενον 21 (ἐ)φισταμένῳ Cod. ὑφισταμένῳ. V104: τοῦ ἐφισταμένου 21 ζ(ι)ζάνιον Cod. ζηζάνιον 22 δύνατ(αι) Cod. δύνατε 23 δοῦναι (αὐτῇ ἢ) Cod. δοῦναι 23 (αὐτῇ ἢ) With V104

Again, Germanus asked this question:

How is it then, that quite often, and even though we do not will this, many [idle] conceptions and evil thoughts disturb us and steal upon us, by entering [into our mind] clandestinely and subtly, in a way that not only are we unable to thwart them, but also it is very difficult to realize them at all? We also wish to know whether it is possible for our mind to be free from them and | not to be disturbed at all.

Moses said:

It is impossible for the mind not to be disturbed by such impulses. Nevertheless, it is possible for anyone who engages studying them to admit and consider them, or to cast them off. For as their rising does not depend on our free will, so their expulsion lies within our power. Furthermore, the correction of our own mind depends on our own free will and consideration. For if we study the law of God ceaselessly, meditate on psalms and odes, observe fasts and vigils and always make mention of the things to come such as the kingdom of heavens, the fiery Gehenna, and [study] all the works of God, then evil thoughts diminish and find no place | at all. On the other hand, if we engage in mundane concerns and in things of the flesh, and allow ourselves to indulge in idle and vain talking, then evil thoughts abound in us. For this is like a mill-wheel: once it whirls round by the headlong rush of water, it is impossible for anyone to stop its function, but it is within the power of the man who is in charge of the mill to grind either wheat or darnel. In like manner, our mind, which is in perpetual motion,¹⁵⁵ cannot be inert with regard to the flow of thoughts; still it is within our power to engage [mind] in either spiritual study or in a work of the flesh.

¹⁵⁵ This is one more point excluding the possibility of this text being a translation from Latin. *The Real Cassian*, pp. 156–157 and note 41 to the present Greek text, on p. 228.

〈Περὶ διακρίσεως〉⁴²

Πρὸς ταῦτα θαυμάζοντας ἡμᾶς βλέπων ὁ γέρων καὶ ἐκπληττομένους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἀκορέστω πόθῳ διακειμένους, πρὸς ὀλίγον σιωπήσας πάλιν εἶπεν:

- Ἐπειδὴ εἰς μ(ῆ)κος τοσοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἐξέτεινεν ὁ ὑμέτερος πόθος καὶ ἔτι 5
 62^v πρόθυμοί ἐστε, | ὥς ἐκ τούτου στοχάζεσθαι με διψᾶν ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀληθείᾳ τῆς τελει-
 ότητος τὴν διδασκίαν, βούλομαι ὑμῖν περὶ τοῦ ἐξαιρέτου ἀγαθοῦ τῆς διακρίσεως
 διαλεχθῆναι, ἥτις μεταξὺ τῶν λ(οι)πῶν 〈ἀρετῶν〉 ἀκρόπολις τις καὶ βασιλις⁴³
 τυγχάνει, καὶ δεῖξαι τὴν ὑπεροχὴν αὐτῆς καὶ τ(ὸ) ὕψος καὶ τὴν ὠφέλειαν, οὐ 10
 μόνον ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχαίαις τῶν πατέρων γνώμαις, τοῦ
 Κυρίου τὴν χάριν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ τὸν πόθον τῶν ἀκρωμένων τοῖς ἐξηγου-
 μένοις παρέχοντος. Ἔστιν γάρ οὐ μ(ι)κρὰ ἀρετὴ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπισημ(ο)τάτων
 τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος χαρισμάτων τυγχάνουσα, ἐν οἷς φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος· ἄλ-
 λω δίδ(ο)ται διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος λόγος σοφίας, ἄλλω λόγος γνώσεως κατὰ τὸ αὐ-
 τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἄλλω πίστις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Πνεύματι, ἄλλω χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων, ἄλλω | 15
 63^r διάκρ(ι)σις πνευμάτων.^a Εἶτα, συμπληρωθέντος τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν πνευματι-
 κῶν χαρισμάτων, ἐπιφέρει· πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐνεργεῖ τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα.^b
 Ὅρατε τοίνυν, οὐ γήινον οὐδὲ μικρὸν εἶναι τῆς διακρίσεως τὸ δῶρον, ἀλλὰ τῆς
 θείας χάριτος μέγιστον ἔπαθλον, ἥτινι εἰ μὴ ὁ μοναχὸς πάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ σπουδῇ
 ἐπακολουθήσ(η) καὶ τῶν ἀνερχομένων εἰς αὐτὸν πνευμάτων τὴν διάκρ(ι)σιν 20
 βεβαίῳ λογισμῷ⁴⁴ κτήσεται, ἐπ' ἀναγκῆς ἐστὶν αὐτὸν ὥς ἐν νυκτὶ⁴⁵ πλαν(ώ)μενον
 οὐ μόνον τοῖς χαλ(ε)π(ω)τάτοις τῆς κακίας βόθοις⁴⁶ περιπίπτειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν
 τοῖς ὁμαλοῖς καὶ ὀρθοῖς προσκόπτειν.
 Μέμνημαι τοίνυν ποτὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐνιαυτοῖς τῆς νε(ό)τητός μου γενόμενος ἐν
 63^v τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς Θ(η)βαίδος, ὅπου ὁ μακάριος Ἀντώνιος διέτριβεν, | γέροντας 25
 συναχθέντας πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ζήτησιν μετ' αὐτοῦ ποιούντας περὶ τελει(ό)τητος
 ἀρετῆς, ποία ἄρα πασῶν ἂν εἴη μείζων τῶν ἀρετῶν, ἡ δυναμένη τὸν μοναχὸν ἐκ

1 〈Περὶ διακρίσεως〉 In V104, from this point down to θείας γραφαῖς ἰστορουμένων (folio 65^r), the text is omitted 3 ἀκορέστω V121: καὶ ἀκορέστω 5 μ(ῆ)κος Cod. μήκος 6 διψᾶν V121: διψεῖν, intending διψῆν 8 λ(οι)πῶν Cod. λυπῶν 8 〈ἀρετῶν〉 With V121 8 βασιλις Cod. βασιλεῖς 9 τ(ὸ) Cod. τῷ 12 μ(ι)κρὰ Cod. μηκρά 12 ἐπισημ(ο)τάτων Cod. ἐπισημωτάτων 14 δίδ(ο)ται Cod. δίδωται 15 τῷ αὐτῷ V121: αὐτῷ τῷ 16 διάκρ(ι)σις Cod. διάκρησις 20 ἐπακολουθήσ(η) Cod. ἐπακολουθήσει 20 διάκρ(ι)σιν Cod. διάκρησιν 21 πλαν(ώ)μενον Cod. πλανόμενον 22 χαλ(ε)π(ω)τάτοις Cod. χαλαιοτάτοις 24 νε(ό)τητός Cod. νεώτητός 25 Θ(η)βαίδος Cod. Θιβαίδος 26 τελει(ό)τητος Cod. τελειώτητος

^a1 Cor. 12:8–10, partially paraphrased. ^b1 Cor. 12:11.

On Discretion

Once the old man saw us marvelling and amazed and filled with an unsatiable desire to listen to his words, he stood in silence for a while and then said this: Since your desire has resulted in our discussion having lengthened so much, and yet you are still willing [to hear more], | which makes me think that you truly hanker for [attaining] perfection, I wish to discuss with you the excellent quality of discretion. Among all other qualities, this one is a kind of a certain citadel and queen. I wish [therefore] to demonstrate its superiority and loftiness, as well as the benefit that it generates. All these will flow not only from my own words, but also from opinions expressed by the ancient fathers, whereas it is the Lord who endows the exegetes with such a grace which is analogous to the value and desire of those who listen. For this is by no means an insignificant virtue: to the contrary, this is one of the most excellent gifts bestowed by the Holy Spirit, as the apostle says: *For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit; to another faith by the same Spirit; to another the gifts of healing, to another | discernment of spirits.*¹⁵⁶ Then, once the catalogue of spiritual gifts is complete, he concludes: *But all these worketh that one and selfsame Spirit.*¹⁵⁷

You see, therefore, that the gift of discretion is neither earthly nor small, but it is the highest prize of the divine grace. Unless a monk observes this [gift] with all his power and diligence, and attains a sound knowledge of discretion concerning the spirits which rise in him, he will be of necessity like a man wandering into darkness, who will not only fall into the most hideous pits of wickedness, but will also stumble even while walking along a level and suitable ground.

Consequently, I remember that during the years of my youth, when I had visited the region of Thebais where the blessed Anthony lived, | the elders came along to inquire with him about the perfection of virtue. The question was which is the highest virtue, viz. the one which could preserve

¹⁵⁶ Cf. 1 Cor. 12:8–10.

¹⁵⁷ 1 Cor. 12:11.

τῶν δικτύων τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς ἀπάτης αὐτοῦ ἀβλαβῆ διαφυλάττειν. Ἐκαστος τοῖνυν κατὰ τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς αὐτοῦ διανοίας ἐδίδου γνώμην. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔλεγον νηστεῖαν καὶ ἀγρυπνίαν, ὡς διὰ τούτων τῆς διανοίας λεπτυνομένης⁴⁷ εὐχερέστερον τῷ Θεῷ δύνασθαι προσεγγίζειν· ἄλλοι δὲ τὴν ἀκτημοσύνην καὶ τὸ καταφρονῆσαι πάντων τῶν γηϊνῶν πραγμάτων, ὡς ἐκ τούτου τῆς διανοίας 5
 64^r εὐχερέστερον τῷ Θεῷ προσεγγίζειν· ἄλλοι τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης τὴν ἀρετὴν προέκρινον, | ὡς τοῦ Κυρίου ἐν εὐαγγελίοις λέγοντος· δεῦτε οἱ εὐλογημένοι τοῦ πατρὸς μου κληρονομήσατε τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην ὑμῖν βασιλείαν ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου· ἐπ(εῖ)νασα γάρ καὶ ἐδώκατέ μοι φαγεῖν, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.^a Καὶ ὅτε κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διαφό- 10
 ροις ἀρεταῖς ἕκαστος κατὰ τὴν δοκοῦσαν αὐτῷ γνώμην ἔλεγε Θεῷ μᾶλλον δύνασθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον προσεγγίζειν, καὶ παρεληλύθ(ει) πολὺ μέρος τῆς νυκτὸς τῇ ζητήσει ταύτῃ προσα(να)λωθέν, ἔσχατος πάντων ὁ μακάριος Ἀντώνιος ἀπεκρίνατο:

Πάντα μὲν ταῦτα (ἃ εἰρήκατε) καὶ ἀναγκαῖα τυγχάνουσι καὶ συμφέροντα 15
 τοῖς ζητοῦσι τὸν Θεὸν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν· ἀλλὰ ταύταις ταῖς ἀρεταῖς τὰ πρωτεῖα παρασχεῖν οὐ συγχωρεῖ ἡμῖν τὸ εὐρ(η)κέναι ἡμᾶς πολλοὺς καὶ νηστείας καὶ ἀγρυπνίας κατατριβέντας καὶ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ ἑαυτοὺς ἀποχωρή- 20
 64^v σαντας | καὶ ἀκτημοσύνην εἰς ἄκρον ἀσκήσαντας οὕτως ὡς μηδὲ τὴν καθημερινὴν τροφὴν ἑαυτοῖς καταλιμπάνειν, καὶ τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην κατορθώσαντας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὡς μὴ ἐπαρκεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὄντα πρὸς διάδ(ο)σιν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάντα ἔλε(ει)νῶς ἐκπεπτωκότας τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ πρὸς κακίαν ὀλισθήσαντας. 25
 Τί τοῖνυν ἐστὶ τὸ ποιήσαν αὐτοῖς ἀποσφαλῆναι τῆς εὐθείας ὁδοῦ; Οὐκ ἄλλο τι, κατὰ τὸν ἐμὸν ὄρον⁴⁹ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην, ἢ τὸ μὴ ἐσχ(η)κέναι αὐτοὺς τὸ τῆς διακρ(ι)σεως χάρισμα. Αὕτη γὰρ διδάσκει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καταλιμπάνοντα τὴν 25
 65^r ἐφ' ἐκάτερα μέρη ὑπερβολήν,⁵⁰ ὁδῷ βασιλικῇ^b βαδίζειν⁵¹ καὶ οὔτε δι' ἐγκρατείας ἀμέτρου συγχωρεῖ ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν κλέπτεσθαι, οὔτε πρὸς ἀδιαφορίαν καὶ χαύ-
 νωσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν κατασύρεσθαι. Καὶ γὰρ ὀφθαλμός τις | καὶ λύχνος τῆς

1 δικτύων Cod. δεικτύων 3 λεπτυνομένης V121: λεπτυνομένης καὶ ὑγείας προσγινομένης
 4 τῷ Θεῷ δύνασθαι V121: δύνασθαι τῷ Θεῷ 6 ἐ(κ)λυτ(ρ)οιμένης Cod. εὐλυτομένης
 9 ἐπ(εῖ)νασα Cod. ἐπήνασα 12 παρεληλύθ(ει) Cod. παρεληλύθη 15 (ἃ εἰρήκατε) With V121
 17 εὐρ(η)κέναι Cod. εὐρικέναι 20 καταλιμπάνειν Cod. καταλειμπάνειν 21 διάδ(ο)σιν Cod.
 διάδωσιν 22 ἔλε(ει)νῶς Cod. ἐλεηνῶς 24 ἐσχ(η)κέναι Cod. ἐσχικέναι 25 διακρ(ι)σεως
 Cod. διακρήσεως 25 καταλιμπάνοντα Cod. καταλειμπάνοντα

^a Matt. 25:34–35. ^b Num. 20:17; 21:22. Cf. Num. 22:26; Deut. 2:27; 5:32; 17:11; 2 Paralipomenon (Chronicon ii) 34:2; Macc. 5:46; Prov. 4:27.

a monk unharmed by the snares and deceit of the devil. Each one, therefore, expressed his opinion according to the grasp of his own mind; and some said that [perfect virtue] consisted in fasting and vigils, because a mind that has been refined by means of these observances can approach God more easily. Others argued for poverty and despal of all earthly things, since, if the mind were utterly released from the tangled threads of worldly concerns,¹⁵⁸ it could approach God more easily. Others opted for
 64^r the virtue of charity, | since the Lord said in the gospels, *Come ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was hungry and you gave me to eat,*¹⁵⁹ and the rest. And when in this way each one, according to his own opinion, declared that by means of different virtues a more certain approach to God could be secured, and the greater part of the night had been spent in this enquiry, then the blessed Anthony spoke last of all and gave his reply:

All these things which you have mentioned are indeed needful and in the interests of those who pursue God and desire to approach him. But to make any of these virtues the most important one is impossible, since we have met many [monks], who either exhausted themselves through fasts
 64^v and vigils, or withdrew into solitude, | or utterly deprived themselves of all their goods so thoroughly that they did not license even a day's allowance of food to remain to them, or practised charity to such an extent that nothing was left to them to be given, and yet we have subsequently seen them fall from virtue and lapse into wickedness.

What is then that which caused them to be led astray from the right way? According to my own resolution and opinion, it is nothing other than the fact that they did not possess the gift of discretion. For it is this that instructs a man to walk along the *royal road*,¹⁶⁰ eschewing excess towards either of the two extremes.¹⁶¹ It does not allow [him] either to be hooked by the right side, due to practicing immoderate abstinence, nor [does it allow him] to be dragged by the left side by reason of being enamoured of insensitiveness and slackness.

¹⁵⁸ τῶν πολυπλόκων σχοινίων τῆς κοσμικῆς μερίμνης. I canvass this in endnote 48 (pp. 230–231) to the Greek text, and *RCR*, p. 168.

¹⁵⁹ Matt. 25:34–35.

¹⁶⁰ Num. 20:17; 21:22. Cf. Num. 22:26; Deut. 2:27; 5:32; 17:11; 2 Paralipomenon (Chronicon ii) 34:2; Macc. 5:46; Prov. 4:27.

¹⁶¹ Cf. τὴν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα μέρη ὑπερβολήν, p. 231, endnote 50, and *RCR*, pp. 383–385.

ψυχῆς ἡ διάκρ(ι)σις ὑπάρχει, κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν φωνὴν τὴν λέγου-
 σαν· ὁ λύχνος τοῦ σώματός ἐστιν ὁ ὀφθαλμός· ἐὰν οὖν ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ἀπλοῦς γένη-
 ται, ὅλον τὸ σῶμα σου φωτεινὸν ἔσται· εἰ δὲ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου σκοτεινὸς γένηται, ὅλον
 τὸ σῶμα σου σκοτεινὸν ἐστί.^a Καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει· διότι πάσας τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις καὶ
 τὰς πράξεις τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἡ διάκρ(ι)σις διερευνῶσα, διαστέλλει καὶ διαχωρίζει 5
 πᾶν φαῦλον καὶ ἀπαρέσκ(ο)ν Θεῷ πράγμα καὶ μακρὰν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ποιεῖ πᾶσαν
 πλάνην. Καὶ τοῦτο μάθοι τις ἂν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ἰστορουμένων·
 ὁ γὰρ Σαοὺλ ἐκεῖνος ὁ πρῶτος ἐμπιστευθεὶς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, ἐπει-
 δὴ τοῦτον τῆς διακρ(ι)σεως τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν οὐκ εἶχε, σκοτ(ω)θεῖς⁵² τὴν διάνοιαν
 65^v οὐκ ἔγνω διακρ(ι)ναί | ὅτι μᾶλλον τοῦ προσενέγκαι θυσίας, ἀρεστὸν ὑπῆρχε 10
 Θεῷ τὸ ὑπακοῦσαι αὐτὸν τῷ τοῦ προφήτου Σαμουὴλ παραγγέλλματι· καὶ ἐξ ὧν
 ἐν(ό)μιζε θεραπεύειν Θεόν, ἐξ ἐκείνων προσκρούει Θεῷ καὶ ἀπόβλητος γίνεται
 τῆς βασιλείας,^b οὐκ ἂν τοῦτο παθὼν εἰ τὸ φῶς τῆς διακρίσεως ἔτυχεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ
 κεκτημένος. Ταύτην καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος ἥλιον ὀνομάζει λέγων· ὁ ἥλιος μὴ ἐπιδυ-
 ἔτω ἐπὶ τῷ παροργισμῷ ὑμῶν.^c Αὕτη καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ζωῆς λέγεται κυβέρνησις, 15
 κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, οἷς μὴ ὑπάρχει κυβέρνησις πίπτουσιν ὡς φύλλα.^d Αὕτη βού-
 λευμα^e (ὑπὸ) τῆς γραφῆς λέγεται, οὗτινος χωρὶς οὐδὲν πράττειν ὑπὸ τῆς θείας
 γραφῆς ἐπιτρεπόμεθα, οὕτως ὡς μηδὲ αὐτὸν τὸν πνευματικὸν οἶνον, ὃς εὐφραι-
 νει καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου,^f χωρὶς αὐτῆς συγχωρεῖσθαι πίνειν, | κατὰ τὸ φάσκ(ο)ν 20
 λόγιον, μετὰ βουλῆς οἰνοπότει^g καὶ ἄλλιν φησὶν ὥσπερ πόλις κατεσκαμμένη καὶ
 ἀτείχιστος, οὕτως ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, ὅς οὐ μετὰ βουλῆς πάντα πράττει.^h

1 διάκρ(ι)σις Cod. διάκρησις 3 φωτεινὸν Cod. φωτινόν 5 διάκρ(ι)σις Cod. διάκρησις
 5 διαχωρίζει V121: ἀποχωρίζει 6 ἀπαρέσκ(ο)ν Cod. ἀπαρέσκων 8 ὁ γὰρ Σαοὺλ V104: ὁ
 Σαοὺλ 8 ἐμπιστευθεὶς V121, V104: πιστευθεὶς 9 διακρ(ι)σεως Cod. διακρήσεως 9 εἶχε
 V104: ἔσχε 9 σκοτ(ω)θεῖς Cod. σκοτοθεῖς 10 διακρ(ι)ναί Cod. διακρῆναι 10 προσενέγκαι
 V104: προσενεγκεῖν 10 θυσίας, ἀρεστὸν V121: θυσίαν, εὐάρεστον 11 τοῦ προφήτου Σαμουὴλ
 V121, V104: τοῦ ἁγίου Σαμουὴλ 12 ἐν(ό)μιζε Cod. ἐνώμιζε 13–14 διακρίσεως ἔτυχεν
 ἐν ἑαυτῷ κεκτημένος V121: διακρίσεως ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἦν κεκτημένος 13 ἔτυχεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ V104: ἐν
 ἑαυτῷ ἔτυχεν 14 ὀνομάζει V121, V104: ὀνομάζει κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ 16 οἷς μὴ ὑπάρχει
 V121: οἷς οὐκ ἔστι. V104: οἷς οὐκέτι 16 φύλλα Cf. *supra*, p. 24^v, endnoted iv to the Greek text
 16–17 βούλευμα V121: βούλευμα ὑπὸ 17 τῆς γραφῆς V104: τῆς γραφῆς 19 φάσκ(ο)ν Cod.
 φάσκων 20 οἰνοπότει Cod. οἰνοπότι. V121: μετὰ βουλῆς πάντα ποιεῖ καὶ μετὰ βουλῆς οἰνοπότι.
 V104: οἰνοποτεῖν καὶ ἄλλιν ὡς φησι

^a Matt. 6:22–23, partially paraphrased.

^b 1 Kings (1 Samuel in textu Masoretico), 15.

^c Eph. 4:26.

^d Prov. 11:14, where ὥσπερ for ὡς.

^e Cf. Isaiah 14:24; 46:10–11.

^f Psalm 103:15.

^g Prov. 31:4.

^h Prov. 25:28, where τὰ τεῖχη καταβεβλημένη for κατασκαμμένη.

65^r For discretion happens to be a kind of an eye | and light of the soul, according to the evangelical teaching, which goes thus: *The light of the body is the eye: if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light. But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness.*¹⁶²

This is right indeed; for discretion puts asunder and segregates everything that is wicked and displeasing to God, by probing into the thoughts and actions of a man, thus causing all kinds of falsehood to be driven away. One could also learn this from stories related in the holy scriptures. As a matter of fact, Saul was the man who was the first entrusted with the kingdom of Israel. Since, however, he was lacking in the eye of discretion and his mind was darkened, he was unable to discern

65^v | that obeying prophet Samuel's enjoinder rather than offering sacrifices was [action] more pleasing to God. Consequently, since the acts which he thought to be serving God were actually ones opposing God, he became a cast-out from the kingdom.¹⁶³ He would have never incurred this, had he possessed the light of discretion within himself.

Besides, the apostle styles this [virtue] a *sun*, saying this: *Let not the sun go down upon your wrath.*¹⁶⁴ This is also called *guidance*¹⁶⁵ of our life, after the saying, *Those who have no guidance, fall like leaves.*¹⁶⁶ This is also named *counsel* by Scripture, without which Scripture allows us to do nothing: we are not even permitted to take that spiritual *wine that maketh glad the heart of man*¹⁶⁷ without consulting with it. | For it is said, *Drink your wine with counsel;*¹⁶⁸ and again it says, *Like a city that has its walls destroyed and is not fenced in, so is a man who does everything without counsel.*¹⁶⁹

¹⁶² Matt. 6:22–23.

¹⁶³ 1 Kings (1 Samuel in textu Masoretico) 15.

¹⁶⁴ Eph. 4:26.

¹⁶⁵ Actually Cassian means κυβέρνησις (= government), after the simile of governing the course of a ship, which is one's life. See *OctoVit*, p. 24^v; *ScetPatr*, p. 65^v; endnote 4 (pp. 153–154) to the Greek text. Also, *RCR*, p. 185.

¹⁶⁶ Prov. 11:14, where ὥσπερ for ὥς.

¹⁶⁷ Psalm 103:15.

¹⁶⁸ Prov. 31:4.

¹⁶⁹ Prov. 25:28, where τὰ τείχη καταβεβλημένη for κατασκαμμένη.

Ἐν ταύτῃ σοφία καὶ (φρ)ό(ν)ησις καὶ αἴσθησις συν(ι)σταται, ὧν χωρὶς οὐδὲ ὁ ἐνδότερος ἡμῶν οἶκος⁵³ δύναται κτ(ι)σθῆναι, οὔτε πνευματικὸς πλοῦτος συναθρ(οι)σθῆναι, κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον, μετὰ σοφίας κτ(ι)ζεται οἶκος καὶ μετὰ φρονήσεως ἀνορθοῦται, μετὰ αἰσθήσεως πληροῦται τὰ ταμεία πλούτου.^a Αὕτη εἴρηται καὶ στερεὰ τροφή, κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον, τελείων δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ στερεὰ τροφή τῶν διὰ τὴν ἔξ(ι)ν τὰ αἰσθητήρια γεγυμνασμένα ἐχόντων πρὸς διάκρ(ι)σιν ἀγαθοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ.^b

Διὰ τούτων τοίνυν πάντων προφανῶς ἀποδείκνυται μηδεμίαν ἄνευ τοῦ χαρίσματος τῆς διακρ(ι)σεως ἀρετὴν συνίστασθαι⁵⁴ ἢ βεβαίως⁵⁵ διαμέν(ει)ν | ἕως τέλους· πασῶν γὰρ τῶν ἀρετῶν γεννήτρια καὶ φύλαξ ὑπάρχει.

Οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ ὅρος καὶ ἡ γνώμη τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀντωνίου, ὧν καὶ σύνψηφοι⁵⁶ οἱ λ(οι)ποὶ πατέρες ἐγένοντο. Ἵνα δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νεαρῶν παραδειγμάτων⁵⁷ καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις ἡμῶν γενομένων βεβαιώσωμεν τὸν ὅρον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀντωνίου, ἀναμνήσθητε καὶ ὑμεῖς τοῦ γέροντος Ἡρωνος καὶ τοῦ ἐλε(ει)νοῦ πτώματος ὁ ὑπέστ(η) πρὸ ὀλίγων τούτων ἡμερῶν ἐπ' ὅψεσιν ἡμῶν, ποίῳ τρόπῳ τῇ χλεύ(η) τοῦ διαβόλου ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕψους ἐκείνης τῆς πολιτείας εἰς τὸ βάθος τοῦ θανάτου κατηνέχθη. Τοῦτον γὰρ μεμνήμεθα πεντήκοντα ἔτη ἐν τ(ῇ) (ἐ)ρήμῳ διατρίψαντα, μεγάλη σκληραγωγία καὶ συντόνῳ ἐγκρατείας⁵⁸ κεχρημένον, καὶ τὴν ἀκροτάτην ἔρημον καὶ μόνωσιν ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἐνταῦθα διατρίβοντας μεταδιδώξαντα· ὅς, μετὰ τοσούτους πόνους καὶ ἀγῶνας, ἐμπ(αι)χθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ εἰς βαθυτάτον πτώμα⁵⁹ ὀλισθήσας, πάντας τοὺς ἐν ἐρήμῳ πατέρας τε καὶ ἀδελφοὺς εἰς ἀπαραμύθητον πένθος⁶⁰ ἐνέβαλεν, οὐκ ἂν τοῦτο παθὼν

1 (φρ)ό(ν)ησις Cod. νόησις. But the author must have intended φρόνησις, since he picks up his terms from the ensuing portion Prov. 24:3–4, viz. σοφία, φρόνησις, αἴσθησις. Nevertheless, V121: Ἐν ταύτῃ σοφία ἐν ταύτῃ βούλησίς τε καὶ αἴσθησις. V104: Ἐν ταύτῃ σοφία, ἐν ταύτῃ νοήσις τε καὶ αἴσθησις 1 συν(ι)σταται Cod. συνήσταται 1–2 οὐδὲ V104: οὔτε 2 κτ(ι)σθῆναι Cod. κτησθῆναι 3 συναθρ(οι)σθῆναι Cod. συναθρυσθῆναι 3–4 μετὰ σοφίας ... ταμεία πλούτου A paraphrase of Prov. 24:3–4: μετὰ σοφίας οἰκοδομεῖται οἶκος καὶ μετὰ συνέσεως ἀνορθοῦται· μετὰ αἰσθήσεως ἐμπίμπλαται ταμίεια ἐκ παντός πλούτου τιμίῳ καὶ καλοῦ. V104: μετὰ συνέσεως ἀνορθοῦται, καὶ μετὰ φρονήσεως πληροῦται τὰ ταμεία τοῦ πλούτου 3 κτ(ι)ζεται Cod. κτῆζεται 6 ἔξ(ι)ν Cod. ἔξην. V121: τροφή, τῶν διὰ τὴν ἔξιν 6 διάκρ(ι)σιν Cod. διάκρησιν 7 κακοῦ In V104, the ensuing passage Διὰ τούτων τοίνυν ... πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν (folia 66^r–70^v) is omitted 9 διακρ(ι)σεως Cod. διακρήσεως 9 διαμέν(ει)ν Cod. διαμένην 11 σύνψηφοι In V121, the expression Οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ ὅρος καὶ ἡ γνώμη τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀντωνίου, is absent. A new period goes thus: ᾧ καὶ σύμψηφοι 12 λ(οι)ποὶ Cod. λυποὶ 14 ἐλε(ει)νοῦ Cod. ἐλεηνοῦ 15 ὁ Cod. οὐ. V121: οὐ 15 ὑπέστ(η) Cod. ὑπέσται 15 πρὸ ὀλίγων τούτων V121: πρὸ τούτων τῶν ὀλίγων 16 χλεύ(η) Cod. χλεύει 17 τ(ῇ) Cod. τῷ 17 (ἐ)ρήμῳ Cod. ἀχερήμῳ. V121: ἀχερήμῳ. The word makes no sense, but it is remarkable that in the the two codices the same mistakes occur at the same points, which means that V121 was copied from the present Meteora Codex 19 ἔρημον V121: ἐρημίαν 20 ἐμπ(αι)χθεὶς Cod. ἐμπεχθεὶς 21 ἐρήμῳ Cod. οχερήμῳ

^a Cf. Prov. 24:3–4. ^b Heb. 5:14, where καλοῦ for ἀγαθοῦ.

Herein lies wisdom, herein lies understanding and knowledge, without which our inward house cannot be built, nor can spiritual riches be gathered together, since it is said, *Through wisdom is a house built; and by understanding is it established; and by knowledge shall the chambers be filled with all precious and pleasant riches.*¹⁷⁰ This has also been styled *solid food*, since it is said: *But solid food belongeth to them that are, who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern good and evil.*¹⁷¹

66^v From all this, it is clearly shown that no virtue can possibly either come about or be firmly secured to the end without the gift of discretion. | For this is the source and guardian of all virtues. This is then the resolution and opinion of Saint Anthony, which was unanimously endorsed by the rest of the fathers.

And in order to support the resolution of Saint Anthony also by means of modern instances, which occurred during our own lifetime, you also should recollect the old man Heron and the miserable fall which he incurred only a few days ago before our own eyes, indeed how was he brought down from the height of that conduct to the depths of death because of the devil's deceptive image. For we recall that he lived in the desert for fifty years; he preserved a strict continence with rigid severity and pursued utter seclusion and solitariness, which was unmatched by
67^r any of all those who live here. |

After having endured so many hardships and exertions, this man, who had been deluded by the devil, caused all fathers and brothers who live in the desert an inconsolable mourning. He would never have incurred

¹⁷⁰ A paraphrase of Prov. 24:3–4: μετὰ σοφίας οἰκοδομεῖται οἶκος καὶ μετὰ συνέσεως ἄνθρωποι· μετὰ αἰσθήσεως ἐμπίμπλαται ταμίεια ἐκ παντὸς πλούτου τιμίου καὶ καλοῦ.

¹⁷¹ Heb. 5:14.

εἰ ἔτυχεν ἡσφαλισμένος τῇ τῆς διακρ(ι)σεως ἀρετῇ, ἥτις ἐδίδασκεν ἂν αὐτὸν μὴ τῷ ἰδίῳ λογισμῷ ἀλλὰ τῇ συμβουλίᾳ τῶν πατέρων καὶ ἀδελφῶν πειθεσθαι. Ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γὰρ τῷ ἰδίῳ λογισμῷ ἀκολουθῶν, τὴν νηστείαν καὶ τὸ ἀφιδιάζειν⁶¹ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μετεδίωξεν, ὥς μὴδὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐορτὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πάσχα παρα- γίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἵνα μὴ συνερχόμενος τοῖς πατράσι καὶ ἀδελφοῖς καὶ 5 συνεσθίων αὐτοῖς ἀναγκασθῇ μεταλαβεῖν ὅσπριου ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν προσφε- ρομένων ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ καὶ δόξῃ ἐκπεπτωκέναι τοῦ ἰδίου | σκοποῦ καὶ ὄρου. Οὗτος τοίνυν ὥς ἐπὶ πολὺ τῷ ἰδίῳ θελήματι ἐξαπατ(η)θεῖς, ἄγγελον^a τοῦ σατα- νᾶ ὑποδεξάμενος καὶ τοῦτον ὡς ἄγγελον φωτὸς^b προσκυνήσας, προστάσσεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ μεσονύκτιον εἰς φρέαρ βαθύτατον ῥίψαι ἑαυτόν, ὥστε αὐτὸν 10 γνῶναι διὰ πείρας ὥς οὐδαμῶς κινδύνῳ λοιπὸν τινὶ ὑπόκειται διὰ τὴν προσοῦ- σαν αὐτῷ μεγάλην ἀρετὴν καὶ τοὺς κατὰ Θεὸν καμάτους.⁶² Ὁ δὲ μὴ διακρ(ι)νας τῷ λογισμῷ τὸν ταῦτα συμβουλευόντα, ἀλλὰ σκοτ(ω)θεὶς τὴν διάνοιαν, ἔβα- λεν ἑαυτὸν κατὰ τὸ μεσονύκτιον ἐν τῷ φρέατι. Καὶ μετὰ πολὺ, ἐπιγν(ό)ντες οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τὸ συμβάν, μόλις αὐτὸν μετὰ καμάτου πολλοῦ ἠδυνήθησαν <ἡμιθανῇ> 15 ἀνασπᾶσαι. Μετὰ οὖν τὸ ἀνασπασθῆναι αὐτόν, ἐπιζήσας δύο ἡμέρας τῇ τρίτῃ 68^r ἀπέθανε, πένθος⁶³ | καταλιπὼν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ Παφνουτίῳ, ὅστις φιλανθρωπίᾳ πολλῇ κινούμενος καὶ μεμνημένος τῶν πολλῶν αὐτοῦ καμά- των καὶ πολυαριθμῶν ἐτών,⁶⁴ ὧν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ διεκαρτέρησεν, οὐκ ἐχώρ(ι)σεν αὐτὸν τῆς προσφοράς καὶ τῆς μνήμης τῶν ἀναπαυομένων, ἵνα μὴ συναριθμηθῇ 20 τοῖς βιοθανάτοις.⁶⁵

Τί εἶπω περὶ ἐκεῖνων τῶν δύο ἀδελφῶν, οἵτινες ἔμενον πέραν τῆς ἐρήμου Θηβαΐδος, ὅπου ποτὲ ὁ μακάριος Ἀντώνιος ἔμενε; Οὗτοι γὰρ ἀδιακρίτῳ λογισ- μῷ⁶⁶ κινήθεντες ἔδωκαν ἑαυτοῖς γνώμην πορευθῆναι εἰς τὴν ἐνδοτεράν ἔρη- μον μεγάλην οὖσαν καὶ ἀγεώργητον, κρίναντες παρ' ἑαυτοῖς μὴ λαβεῖν τρο- 25 φὴν παρ' ἀνθρώπου, εἰ μὴ ἦν ἂν αὐτοῖς ὁ κύριος θαυματοποιῶν παράσχοι. 68^v Καὶ πλαν(ω)μένους | τούτους ἀνά τὴν ἔρημον καὶ ἐξατονούντας⁶⁷ λοιπ(όν)

1 διακρ(ι)σεως Cod. διακρήσεως 7 τοῦ ἰδίου σκοποῦ καὶ ὄρου I canvass this point in RCR, pp. 381–382 8 Οὗτος τοίνυν ὥς ἐπὶ πολὺ V121: Οὕτως οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ 8 ἐξαπατ(η)θεῖς Cod. ἐξαπατιθεῖς 11–12 διὰ τὴν ... μεγάλην ἀρετὴν Cf. *infra*, διὰ τὰς προσοῦσας αὐτῷ ἀρετάς. Cf. Cassian's, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, XXXI and EN XXXIf 12 διακρ(ι)νας Cod. διακρήνας 13 σκοτ(ω)θεῖς Cod. σκοτοθεῖς 14 ἐπιγν(ό)ντες Cod. ἐπιγνώντες 15 <ἡμιθανῇ> With V121 17 καταλιπὼν Cod. καταλειπών 18 μεμνημένος V121: μνήμη 19 ἐχώρ(ι)σεν Cod. ἐχώρησεν 20 ἀναπαυομένων V121: ἀναπεπαυμένων 26 αὐτοῖς ὁ κύριος V121: ὁ κύριος αὐτοῖς 27 πλαν(ω)μένους Cod. πλανομένους 27 τούτους V121: αὐτούς 27 λοιπ(όν) Cod. λοιπών

^a Cf. 2 Cor. 12:7; Rev. 12:9. ^b Cf. 2 Cor. 11:14.

this, had he been safeguarded by the virtue of discretion, which would have taught him to trust not in his own considerations, but the counsel of the fathers and brothers. For relying too much on his own mentation, he pursued fasting and isolation from all men. So much so, that he used to refrain from going to church even on the feast-day of the Holy Easter, so as not to mingle with the fathers and brothers, which would compel him to partake of some pulse, or of any other food of those offered on the table, which he thought would cause him to fall from his | personal intent and
 67^v aim.¹⁷²

This man, therefore, having been largely deceived by his reliance on his own will, received an angel of Satan and prostrated to him as an *angel of light*.¹⁷³ He was subsequently enjoined by him to cast himself into a very deep well at midnight, so as to learn by experience that he is no longer subject to danger, on account of the virtue inherent in him and the exertions he had performed according to the will of God. He [viz. Heron] did not discern through proper discretion who the one who gave him this instruction actually was; consequently, with his mind darkened, he threw himself into the well at midnight. Once the brethren after a long while realised what had happened, it was only with a great deal of toil that they managed to get him out half-dead. Yet, after he was dragged out, he lived
 68^r for only two days and on the third day he expired leaving | the brethren and presbyter Paphnutius in mourning. The latter [presbyter], driven by a great deal of clemency and recalling the great labours over so many years that [Heron] had endured in the desert, did not banish him either from allotting him a piece of consecrated bread [during oblation] or from the commemoration of the dead, so that he [viz. Heron] should not be reckoned among suicides.

What should I say of those two brethren who lived beyond the desert of the Thebais, where once the blessed Anthony dwelt? For being driven by considerations which were bereft of discretion, they resolved for themselves to move deep into the desert, which was vast and untilled. They [also] resolved to receive no food from any man, unless God gave it to
 68^v them by some miracle. And when, as they wandered | through the desert

¹⁷² ἐχπεπτωκέναι τοῦ ἰδίου σκοποῦ καὶ ὄρου, I discuss this point on *RCR*, pp. 381–382.

¹⁷³ Cf. 2 Cor. 11:14.

τῇ π(ε)ί(ν)ῃ, πόρρωθεν οἱ Μάζικες⁶⁸ ἐθεάσαντο, ὅπερ ἔθνος πάντων σχεδ(ὸ)ν τῶν ἀπηγριωμένων⁶⁹ ἐθνῶν ἀγριώτερον καὶ ὠμότερον καθέστ(η)κεν,⁷⁰ μεταβαλόντες ἐκ θείας προνοίας τὴν σύντροφον⁷¹ ἀγρι(ὸ)τητα εἰς φιλανθρωπίαν, μετ' ἄρτων αὐτοῖς (ὕ)πῃντησαν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς τῶν προειρημένων ἀδελφῶν, διακρ(ι)σεως αὐτῷ ὑπελθούσης, μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ εὐχαριστείας ὑποδεξάμενος τοὺς ἄρτους, ἐλογίσατο ὡς οὐκ ἂν οἱ οὕτως ὦμοι καὶ ἄγριοι καὶ αἰεὶ χαίροντες τῷ αἵματι τῶν ἀνθρώπων συνεπάθουν αὐτοῖς ἐξητονηκόσιν ἤδη καὶ τροφὴν προσήνεγκαν), εἰ μὴ ὁ Θεὸς τούτους ἐκίνησεν· ὁ δὲ ἄλλος τὴν τροφὴν παραιτησάμενος ὥσανει ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων αὐτῷ προσενεχθεῖσαν καὶ ἐμμεῖνας τῇ ἀδι-
69^ρ ακρίτῳ βουλή τῇ ἀτονίᾳ τῆς ἀσιτίας ἐξέλειπεν. | Εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τοίνυν τὴν ἀρχὴν κακῶς ἀμφ(ὸ)τεροι βουλευσάμενοι ἀλόγιστον καὶ ὀλεθρίαν γνώμην ἑαυτοῖς παρέσχ(ο)ν, ὅμως ὁ εἰς, ἐπεισελθούσης αὐτῷ διακρ(ι)σεως, τοῦτο δ' προπε-
10 τῶς καὶ ἀπαραφυλάκτως⁷² ὦρ(ι)σεν καλῶς ἐπαν(ω)ρθώσατο· ὁ δὲ ἄλλος, ἐν τῇ ἄφρονι προλήψει διακαρτερήσας καὶ διακρ(ι)σεως ἐκτὸς εὐρεθείς, θάνατον δὴ ὁ Κύριος ἀποστρέφειν ἡβουλήθη αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἐπεσπάσατο.
15 Τί δὲ εἶπω καὶ περὶ ἐκείνου, οὐτινος τὸ ὄνομα οὐ βούλομαι εἰπεῖν διότι περίεστιν, ὅστις δαίμονα πολλάκις ὡς ἄγγελον ὑποδεχόμενος καὶ ἀποκαλύψεις τινὰς δι' αὐτοῦ λαμβάνων καὶ φῶς λυχνιαῖον⁷³ συνεχῶς ἐν τῇ κέλλ(η) αὐτοῦ
69^ν βλέπων, ὕστερον προσετάσσετο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν συμμένοντα | αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ θυσίαν προσενέγκαι τῷ Θεῷ, ὡς ἐκ τούτου τῆς τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἀβραάμ τιμῆς ἀξιωθῇσ(ό)μενος; Οὐτινος τῇ συμβουλίᾳ εἰς τοσοῦτον ὑπήχηθ, ὥστε ἔργῳ τὴν τοῦ (ἰδίου) υἱοῦ σφαγὴν ἂν ἐξετέλεσεν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτον ὁ υἱὸς θεασάμενος παρὰ τὴν συνήθειαν μάχαιραν ἀκον(ῶ)ντα καὶ δεσμὰ ἐτοιμάζοντα, οἷς τοῦτον ὡς πρὸς ὀλοκαύτωμα συσφίγγ(ε)ιν ἤμελλεν, φυγῇ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐκομ(ι)σατο.
25

1 π(ε)ί(ν)ῃ Cod. πίνει 1 σχεδ(ὸ)ν Cod. σχεδῶν 2 καθέστ(η)κεν Cod. καθέστηκεν
3 ἀγρι(ὸ)τητα Cod. ἀγριώτητα. V121: τὴν ἀγριότητα 4 (ὕ)πῃντησαν Cod. ἀπῃντησαν
4 προειρημένων V121: προειρημένων δύο 5 διακρ(ι)σεως Cod. διακρήσεως 5 ὑπελθούσης
V121: ὑπείσελθούσης 5 ὑποδεξάμενος V121: ὑπεδέξατο 6 ἐλογίσατο V121: λογισάμενος
6–7 χαίροντες τῷ αἵματι τῶν ἀνθρώπων V121: χαίροντες αἵμασιν ἀνθρώπων 7–8 ἐξητονηκόσιν
ἤδη καὶ τροφὴν προσήνεγκαν) With V121 8 ἐκίνησεν Cod. ἐκίνησεν 10 ἀσιτίας Cod.
ἀσιτείας 10 ἐξέλειπεν Cod. ἐξέλειπεν 11 ἀμφ(ὸ)τεροι Cod. ἀμφώτεροι. V121: ἀμφοτέροι
κακῶς 12 παρέσχ(ο)ν Cod. παρέσχων 12 διακρ(ι)σεως Cod. διακρήσεως 13 ὦρ(ι)σεν Cod.
ὠρησεν. V121: ὁ προπετῶς ὠρισε 13 ἐπαν(ω)ρθώσατο Cod. ἐπανορθώσατο 14 ἄφρονι Cod.
ἄφρονοι 14 διακρ(ι)σεως Cod. διακρήσεως 18 κέλλ(η) Cod. κέλλει 19 προσετάσσετο V121:
προσετάττετο 21 ἀξιωθῇσ(ό)μενος; Cod. ἀξιωθῇσώμενος. V121: ἀξιωθῇσόμενος; 21 ὑπήχηθ
V121: ἀπῃχηθ 22 (ἰδίου) With V121 23 ἀκον(ῶ)ντα Cod. ἀκονοῦντα 24 συσφίγγ(ε)ιν Cod.
συσφίγγιν 24 ἤμελλεν V123: ἔμελλεν. Both forms are acceptable, but ἔμελλεν is technically
the correct one 25 ἐκομ(ι)σατο Cod. ἐκομήσατο

and were already fainting from hunger, they were seen at a distance by the Mazikes (a race which exceeds in savageness and cruelty almost all the other wild nations). By an act of Divine Providence, their inherent ferocity had been transformed to clemency, so they met them [sc. the two brethren] with bread. One of the aforementioned two brothers, as he came under the inspiration of discretion, received it with delight and thankfulness. He thought that unless God had impelled them, those cruel and savage people, who always delighted in bloodshed, would never have sympathised with these people who were already utterly exhausted, and would never have supplied them with food. But the other refused the food, regarding this as having been offered to him by men. Since then he abode by his own counsel which lacked discretion, he died of weakness caused by want of food. |

69^r

So, although in the first place definitely they both reflected culpably and made a decision which was both unthoughtful and destructive to themselves, yet one of them, once discretion came into his mind, rectified properly that for which he initially resolved presumptuously and carelessly. But the other, persisting in his obstinate folly, and being bereft of discretion, brought upon himself that death which the Lord had willed to avert.

Furthermore, what should I possibly say about that one (whose name I do not wish to pronounce, since he is still around), who oftentimes received [into his cell] a devil in the form of an angel, and obtained certain revelations from him, and every night he was continually seeing a light in his cell? He was subsequently ordered by him [viz. the devil] to offer up his own son who was living with him | in the monastery as a sacrifice to God, in order that by this sacrifice he could be granted honour equal to that of patriarch Abraham. He was so subdued to the counsel of this [devil] that he would have actually committed the slaughter of his own son, unless his son had seen him sharpening a knife (which was outside his [father's] habits) and preparing chains, with which he meant to tie him up for the whole-burnt offering, and had fled away, thus securing salvation to himself.

69^v

Μακρόν ἄν εἷη τὴν ἀπάτην ἐκείνου τοῦ Μεσοποταμινοῦ⁷⁴ διηγῆσασθαι, ὅς τοσαύτην ἐγκράτειαν ἐπιδειξάμενος καὶ ἐν κελλίῳ ἀποκεκλεισμένος ἐπὶ ἔτη πολλά, οὐτ(ω)ς εἰς ὕστερον διαβολικαῖς ἀποκαλύψεσιν καὶ ἐνυπνίοις ἐνε-
 70^r π(αί)χθη, (ῶ)ς μετὰ τοσούτους καμάτους τε καὶ ἀρετάς, αἷς πάντας ὑπερέ-
 βαλ|λε τοὺς ἐκείσε μοναχοὺς, πρὸς ἰουδαϊσμόν καὶ περιτομὴν τῆς σαρκὸς κατα-
 πεσεῖν. Καὶ γὰρ βουλόμενος αὐτόν ὁ διάβολος ἀπατήσαι, πολλάκις αὐτῷ ἔδειξεν
 ἀληθὴ ἐνύπνια, ἵνα διὰ τούτων εὐπαράδεκτον ποιήσ(η) ἦν ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ ἐπ'
 ἐσχάτων ὑποτιθεσθαι πλάνην. Δείκνυσι τοίνυν αὐτῷ ἐν μιᾷ νυκτὶ τ(ὸ)ν δῆμον
 τῶν Χρ(ι)στιανῶν μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ μαρτύρων σκοτ(ε)ινόν τε καὶ πά-
 10 σης αἰσχύνης πεπληρωμέν(ο)ν· καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου, τὸν Ἰουδαίων τὸν δῆμον
 μετὰ Μωσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν λαμπρῷ φωτὶ περιαυγαζόμενον⁷⁵ καὶ ἐν χαρᾷ
 καὶ ἱλαρ(ό)τητι διάγοντα. Καὶ συνεβούλευεν ὁ ἀπάτε(ῶ)ν ὥς, (εἰ) βούλοιο τῆς
 μακαρι(ό)τητος καὶ χαρᾶς τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἰουδαίων μετασχεῖν, περιτομὴν αὐ-
 70^v τὸν λαμβάνειν. Ὁ δὲ καὶ ἀπατ(η)θεὶς ἐποίησε. |

Πρόδῃλον οὖν ἐκ πάντων τῶν εἰρημένων ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἐνεπ(αί)χθησαν οἱ εἰρη-
 μένοι πάντες οὕτως ἔλε(ει)ν(ῶ)ς καὶ ἀθλίως, εἰ τὸ χάρισμα τῆς διακρ(ί)σεως
 ἔτυχον κεκτημένοι.

Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Γερμανὸς εἶπεν:

Καὶ νέοις παραδείγμασιν καὶ ὅροις τῶν ἀρχαίων πατέρων ἱκανῶς ἀπεδείχθη
 τὴν διάκρ(ι)σιν πηγὴν καὶ ρίζαν καὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ σύνδεσμον εἶναι πασῶν τῶν
 20 ἀρετῶν. Ποίῳ δὲ τρόπῳ δυνάμεθα ταύτην κτήσασθ(αι) ἐπιθυμοῦμεν μαθεῖν, καὶ
 πῶς ἐπιγινῶναι τὴν ἀλ(η)θῆ καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ διάκρ(ι)σιν καὶ τὴν ψευδ(ῶ)νυμον καὶ
 ἐπίπλαστον καὶ διαβολικὴν.

1 Μεσοποταμινοῦ V121: Μεσοποταμηνοῦ 2 ἐπιδειξάμενος Cod. ἐπειδειξάμενος 3 οὐτ(ω)ς Cod. οὐτοσ 3-4 ἐνεπ(αί)χθη Cod. ἐνεπέχθη 4 (ῶ)ς Cod. ὅς 5 ἐκείσε V121: ἐκείσε καθημένους 5 ἰουδαϊσμόν καὶ περιτομὴν τῆς σαρκὸς V121: ἰουδαϊσμόν καταπεσεῖν καὶ περιτομὴν τῆς σαρκὸς 6 βουλόμενος αὐτόν ὁ διάβολος ἀπατήσαι V121: βουλόμενος ὁ διάβολος πλανῆσαι 7 ποιήσ(η) Cod. ποιήσει 8 τ(ὸ)ν Cod. τῶν 9 χρ(ι)στιανῶν Cod. χρηστιανῶν 9 σκοτ(ε)ινόν Cod. σκοτινόν 10 πεπληρωμέν(ο)ν Cod. πεπληρωμένων 11 Μωσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν V121: Μωσέως καὶ Ἀαρῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν προφητῶν 12 ἱλαρ(ό)τητι Cod. ἱλαρώτητι 12 συνεβούλευεν V121: συνεβούλευσεν 12 ἀπάτε(ῶ)ν Cod. ἀπατεόν 12 (εἰ) Cod. ἦ 13 μακαρι(ό)τητος Cod. μακαριώητος 14 ἀπατ(η)θεὶς Cod. ἀπατιθεὶς 15 ἐνεπ(αί)χθησαν Cod. ἐνεπέχθησαν 16 ἔλε(ει)ν(ῶ)ς Cod. ἔλεηνός. V121: ἐλεεινῶς οὕτως 16 διακρ(ί)σεως Cod. διακρήσεως 19 τῶν ἀρχαίων πατέρων Reference to the 'ancient fathers' implies hardly known hermits, not renowned theologians. V121: τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων 20 διάκρ(ι)σιν Cod. διάκρησιν 21 κτήσασθ(αι) Cod. κτήσασθε 22 ἀλ(η)θῆ Cod. ἀλιθῆ 22 διάκρ(ι)σιν Cod. διάκρησιν 22 ψευδ(ῶ)νυμον Cod. ψευδόνυμον

It is a long business to set out in detail the story of deception upon that monk of Mesopotamia, who observed so much of abstinence and remained for many years secluded in his cell. Yet at last he was so deceived by devilish revelations and dreams, that after so many labours and practice of virtues, in which he had surpassed | all the monks who dwelt in the same region, he actually fell into Judaism and circumcision of the flesh. For the devil caused him many times to see dreams, which turned out true [according to the monk's interpretation]: through them [the devil's purpose was] to make the monk prone to believe easily in such dreams [as being omens], so that he [sc. the monk] would easily accept the deceit that he [sc. the devil] planned to instill finally [in the monk]. During one night, then, he displays to him [sc. the monk] all the Christian people, along with the Apostles and martyrs, being dark and full of shame. On the other side, the people of the Jews, along with Moses and the prophets, was illuminated by a bright light, and stood in joy and cheerfulness. And the crook admonished [the monk] that, if he wished to share the bliss and joy of the Jewish people, he should have himself circumcised. Which the
 70^v deceived [monk] actually did. |

From what has been said, it is quite plain that all the foregoing persons could never have been deluded so miserably and wretchedly, had they secured the gift of discretion in themselves.

To this Germanus said:

It has been fully shown both by recent instances and by the resolutions of the ancient fathers that discretion is the source and root and head and bond of union of all virtues. Subsequently, we want to learn how we can procure this for ourselves, and how we can discern the true discretion which comes from God from the spurious and feigned and diabolical one.

Τότε ὁ Μωϋσῆς εἶπεν:

Ἦ ἀλ(η)θῆς διάκρ(ι)σις οὐ προσγίνεται, εἰ μὴ ἐξ ἀληθ(ι)νῆς ταπεινώσεως. Δεῖγμα δὲ καὶ δοκιμασία ἀλ(η)θ(ι)νῆς ταπεινώσεως τὸ μὴ μόνον ἅπερ πράττο-
 71^τ μεν | ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅπερ ἐνθυμούμεθα ἀποκαλύπτει τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν καὶ μηδὲν
 τῷ ἰδίῳ λογισμῷ πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάντα τοῖς λογισμοῖς τῶν γερόντων ἀκο- 5
 λουθεῖν καὶ ἐκεῖνο καλὸν ἢ κακὸν πιστεύειν, ὅπερ ἂν αὐτοὶ δοκιμάσωσιν. Αὕτη
 δὲ ἡ ἐργασία οὐ μόνον διὰ τῆς ἀληθοῦς διακρ(ι)σεως καὶ ὁρθῆς ὁδοῦ τὸν μοναχὸν
 διαβαίνειν παρασκευάζει, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν παγίδων τοῦ διαβό-
 λου ἀβλαβὴ τοῦτον διαφυλάττει. [Ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὸν κρ(ι)σει καὶ γνώμῃ τῶν
 προβεβηκότων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ρυθμίζοντα βίον ἀπάτη δαιμόνων παρασκευάζει(ν). 10
 Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν παγίδων τοῦ διαβόλου ἀβλαβὴ τοῦτον διαφυ-
 λάττει.] Ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὸν κρ(ι)σει καὶ γνώμῃ τῶν προβεβηκότων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ
 71^ν ρυθμίζοντα βίον ἀπάτη δαιμόνων | περιπεσεῖν. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ πρ(ι)ν ἀξι(ω)θῆναι
 τ(ι)να τοῦ χαρίσματος τῆς διακρ(ι)σεως, αὐτὸ τὸ φανεροῦν καὶ ἀποκαλύπτειν
 τὰς φαύλας ἐνθυμήσεις τοῖς πατράσι μαραίνει αὐτάς καὶ ἀσθενεστέρας ποιεῖ. 15
 Ὡςπερ γὰρ ὄφεις ἀπὸ σκοτ(ε)ινῆς τρυμαλιᾶς ἐξενεχθεῖς εἰς φῶς σπουδάζει φυγῇ
 χρήσασθαι καὶ ἀφανισμῷ, οὕτως οἱ πονηροὶ λογισμοὶ διὰ τῆς ὁμολογίας καὶ ἐξα-
 γορεύσεως⁷⁶ φανερωθέντες σπουδάζουσι φεύγειν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Καὶ ὅπως
 τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην ἀκριβέστερ(ο)ν καὶ ἀπὸ παραδείγματος μάθ(η)τ(ε), τοῦ ἀβ-
 βᾶ Σαραπίωνος ἔργον, ὅπερ ἐκεῖνος συνεχῶς τοῖς παραβάλλουσι φυλακῆς χάριν 20
 προσέφερεν, διηγῆσομαι.

Φησὶν οὖν οὗτος· ὅταν ὑπῆρχον νε(ώ)τερος καὶ συνέμενον ἀββᾶ Θε(ω)νᾶ, ὡς
 72^τ ἡσθίομεν, ἀνιστάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τροφῆς | κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ δαίμονος ἐκλεπτον

1 ὁ Μωϋσῆς V104: ὁ ἀββᾶς Μωϋσῆς 2 ἀλ(η)θῆς Cod. ἀλιθῆς. V104: Ἀληθῆς 2 διάκρ(ι)σις Cod. διάκρησις. V121: Ἀληθῆς διάκρ(ι)σις οὐ γίνεται 2 ἀληθ(ι)νῆς Cod. ἀληθηνῆς 3 ἀλ(η)-θ(ι)νῆς Cod. ἀλιθηνῆς 4-5 τοῖς πατράσιν ... ἰδίῳ λογισμῷ V121: τοῖς πατράσι καί. V104: πατράσι καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἰδίων λογισμῶν 5 τοῖς λογισμοῖς τῶν γερόντων V121: τοῖς λόγοις τῶν πατέρων καὶ γερόντων. V104: λόγοις τῶν γερόντων 6-7 πιστεύειν, ὅπερ ... Αὕτη δὲ V121: πιστεύειν. Αὕτη δὲ 7 ἀληθοῦς V121: ἀληθινῆς 7 διακρ(ι)σεως Cod. διακρήσεως 7 μοναχὸν V104: μοναχὸν ἀβλαβὴ 9-12 [Ἀδύνατον γὰρ ... τοῦτον διαφυλάττει] I put this portion in brackets. At this point, the scribe felt he had made a mistake and asked for the text to be recited all over again. Since it was not easy to erase this portion at that moment, he went on with writing the correct text subsequently. Naturally, this portion does not transpire in V121 9 τὸν Cod. τοῦ 9 κρ(ι)σει Cod. κρήσει 10 παρασκευάζει(ν) Cod. περασκευάζει 12 τὸν Cod. τοῦ 12 κρ(ι)σει Cod. κρήσει 13 πρ(ι)ν Cod. πρῆν 13 ἀξι(ω)θῆναι Cod. ἀξιοθῆναι 14 τ(ι)να Cod. τῆνᾶ 14 διακρ(ι)σεως Cod. διακρήσεως 15 αὐτάς V104, V121: ταύτας 16 σκοτ(ε)ινῆς Cod. σκοτινῆς 17-18 διὰ τῆς ... ἐξαγορεύσεως φανερωθέντες V121: διὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ὁμολογίας καὶ ἐξαγορεύσεως φανερούμενοι 19 ἀκριβέστερ(ο)ν Cod. ἀκριβεστέραν. V121: Ὅπως τοίνυν τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην ἀκριβέστερον 19 μάθ(η)τ(ε) Cod. μάθεται. V104: μάθετε 20 Σαραπίωνος ἔργον, ... τοῖς παραβάλλουσι V121: παραβάλλουσιν αὐτῷ. V104: Σαραπίωνος τὸ ἔργον, ὅπερ αὐτὸς τοῖς 21 προσέφερεν V104: προσέφερεν συνεχῶς 22 νε(ώ)τερος Cod. νεότερος 22 ἀββᾶ Θε(ω)νᾶ Cod. ἀββᾶ Θεονᾶ. V104: ἀββᾶ μου 23 τροφῆς V104: τραπέζης

Then Moses said:

Real discretion cannot be obtained, unless as a result of genuine humility. And a token and test of genuine humility is to reveal to our elders
 71^f not only the things that we do, | but also those which cross our mind. We should not trust our own judgment, but we ought to comply with that of the elders in all respects: we should deem everything to be either good or bad only in the light of their experience. This habit not only prepares a monk to advance through the true way of discretion, but also keeps him unhurt by all the snares of the devil. For it is impossible for anyone who regulates his life according to the judgement and considerations of the
 71^v elders to be deluded by the deceit of daemons. |

For indeed, even before one is found worthy of the gift of discretion, the very act of disclosing and revealing wicked thoughts to the elders withers them and makes them more feeble. For in the same way a snake which is taken to the light out of its dark hole seeks to flee and disappear, likewise, evil thoughts, which have been disclosed through confession and telling out, seek to get away from a man. And that you may learn still more precisely the power of this virtue by means of an example, I will relate you what abba Sarapion did, which he used often to tell to his visitors, so that they might safeguard themselves.

While, said he, I was younger and lived with abba Theonas, after we had supped, and while I was getting up after having finished with eat-
 72^f ing, | I used to steal a small loaf,¹⁷⁴ which I used to eat on the sly later,

¹⁷⁴ See endnote 77 (p. 242) to the Greek text.

παξαμᾶν⁷⁷ καὶ τοῦτον ἔτρ(ω)γον λάθρᾳ τοῦ ἀββᾶ μου. Ὡς οὖν ἔμεινα τοῦτο ποιῶν ἐπὶ χρόνον κατακυριευθεὶς, οὐκ ἠδυνάμην ἑαυτοῦ περιγενέσθαι, μόνον δὲ ἐκρινόμενην ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας συνειδήσεως, τῷ δὲ γέροντι (ἡ)συχνόμην εἰπεῖν. Συνέβη δὲ κατ' οἰκονομίαν Θεοῦ τοῦ φιλανθρ(ώ)που ἐλθεῖν τινὰς πρὸς τὸν γέροντα ὠφελείας χάριν καὶ ἐρωτᾶν αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν ἰδίων λογισμῶν. Ἀπεκρίθη δὲ ὁ γέρον 5
 ὡς οὐδὲν οὕτως βλάπτει τοὺς μοναχοὺς καὶ χαροποιεῖ τοὺς δαίμονας ὥς τὸ κρύπτειν τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἀπὸ πνευματικῶν πατέρων. Ἐλάλησε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ περὶ ἐγκρατείας. Τούτων δὲ λεγομένων, εἰς ἑμαυτὸν ἐλθ(ώ)ν καὶ λογισάμενος 72^v
 ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἀπεκάλυψε τῷ γέροντι τ(ὸ) πταίσμα μου, κατακυριεύεις | ἡρξάμην κλαίειν καὶ ἐξέβαλον τὸν παξαμᾶν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου μου, ὃν κακῶς εἰώθ(ειν) κλέπτειν, 10
 ῥίψας δὲ ἑμαυτὸν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος ἤτουν συ(γ)γνώμην περὶ τῶν παρελθόντων καὶ εὐχὴν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τῶν μελλόντων. Τότε λέγει ὁ γέρων ὦ τέκνον, ἡλευθέρωσέν σε καὶ ἐμοῦ σιωπῶντος ἡ σὴ ἐξομολόγησις καὶ τὸν τιτρώσκοντά σε δαίμονα διὰ τῆς σιωπῆς ἐξειπῶν τὰ κατὰ σεαυτὸν ἔσφαξας, ὃν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν κατακυριεύσ(αί) σου ἐποίησας, μήτε ἀντιλέγων μήτε ἐλέγχων αὐτόν. Οὐκέτι δὲ ἀπὸ 15
 τοῦ νῦν τόπον^a ἔξει ἐν σοί, ἐκ τῆς καρδίας σου εἰς τὸ φανερὸν ἐξενεχθεῖς. Οὕτω δὲ συνετέλεσεν ὁ γέρων λαλῶν, καὶ ἰδοῦ, ἡ ἐνέργεια ὥφθη ὥς λαμπὰς πυρὸς 73^r
 ἐξερχομένη ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου μου καὶ ἐπλήρωσεν τὸν οἶκον δυσωδίας, | ὥστε νομίζειν τοὺς παρεστώτας ὅτι πληθὸς θεαφίου⁷⁸ ἐστὶ καιόμενον. Τότε εἶπεν ὁ γέρων ἴδε, τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων καὶ τῆς σῆς ἐλευθερώσεως παρέσχεν ὁ Κύριος τὴν ἀπόδειξ(ι)ν διὰ τοῦ γενομένου σημείου. Οὕτως οὖν ἀπέστ(η), φησὶν, ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ πάθος τῆς γαστριμαργίας καὶ ἡ διαβολικὴ ἐκείνη ἐνέργεια, ὥς (μηκέτι) μηδὲ 20
 εἰς ἔννοιάν με ἐλθεῖν τοῦ λ(οι)ποῦ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιθυμίας.

1 ἔτρ(ω)γον Cod. ἔτρογον 3 (ἡ)συχνόμην Cod. ἰσυχνόμην 4 Θεοῦ τοῦ ... τινὰς πρὸς V121: τινὰς ἐλθεῖν. V104: τοῦ φιλανθρ(ώ)που Θεοῦ ἀνθρώπους τινὰς ἐλθεῖν πρὸς 4 φιλανθρ(ώ)που Cod. φιλανθρώπου 5 ἐρωτᾶν V104, V121: ἡρώτων 6 οὐδὲν οὕτως V104: οὕτως οὐδὲν 7 τοὺς λογισμοὺς V104: τοὺς ἰδίους λογισμοὺς 8 ἐλθ(ώ)ν Cod. ἐλθόν 9 τ(ὸ) Cod. τῷ. V104: τὰ πταίσματα 10 εἰώθ(ειν) Cod. εἰώθα. V104, V121: εἰώθειν 11 ῥίψας δὲ V121: ῥίψας τε 11 συ(γ)γνώμην Cod. συγνώμην 14 ἔσφαξας V104: κατέσφαξας 14–15 κατακυριεύσ(αί) Cod. κατακυριεύσε 16 νῦν V121: λοιποῦ 17 ὁ γέρων λαλῶν V121: λαλῶν ὁ γέρων 18 δυσωδίας Cod. δυσωδείας 19 παρεστώτας V104, V121: παρόντας 19 Τότε εἶπεν V104, V121: Τότε οὖν εἶπεν 20 ἴδε V104: ἰδοῦ 20–21 ἀπόδειξ(ι)ν Cod. ἀπόδειξην 21–22 Οὕτως οὖν ἀπέστ(η), φησὶν, ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ πάθος τῆς γαστριμαργίας V121: Οὕτως οὖν φησὶν, ἀπέστη ἀπ' ἐμοῦ διὰ τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως τὸ πάθος 21 ἀπέστ(η) Cod. ἀπέσσει. V104: φησιν ἀπέστη 22 μηδὲ V121: μηκέτι. V104: ἐνέργεια ἐκείνη, ὥς μηκέτι μηδὲ εἰς 23 εἰς ἔννοιάν ... τοιαύτης ἐπιθυμίας V121: εἰς ἔννοιάν με ἐλθεῖν τῆς τοιαύτης ἐνεργείας. V104: εἰς ἔννοιάν με ἐλθεῖν τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιθυμίας 23 λ(οι)ποῦ Cod. λυποῦ

^a Cf. Eph. 4:27.

escaping notice of my abba. I went on with doing this for quite some time and I was so overwhelmed [by this habit] that I could not discipline myself. Nevertheless, although I was reprimanded by my own conscience, I was ashamed to disclose this to the old man.

It then came to pass by dispensation of the merciful God, that some people paid a visit to the old man with the object of gaining [spiritual] profit and of asking him about the question of [secret] individual thoughts. To them the old man replied that nothing hurts monks more and gives joy to daemons, as concealing their personal thoughts from their spiritual fathers. He also taught them about the question of continence.

72^v And while he was saying all this, I came to my senses and thought that it was God who revealed my fault to the old man. Consequently, my heart's compunction increased, | I burst into tears, and produced from the folds of my dress the small loaf, which I malapropos used to steal, and prostrating on the ground, I begged for forgiveness of the past faults and for blessing to secure proper future conduct.

Then the old man said: My child, silent though I have been, your confession has set you free. You have indeed slaughtered the daemon, by confessing the secrets of your heart, even though you did not actually speak them out. So far, you allowed this daemon to take hold of you, since you neither contradicted nor reproved him. But as of now he will no longer have any *place*¹⁷⁵ within you.

73^f The old man had not finished speaking when, lo! a burning lamp appeared, proceeding from the folds of my dress, which filled the cell with a repulsive odour, | so that those who were present thought that a large quantity of sulphur was burning. Then the old man said: Lo! By this miracle, the Lord has confirmed both my words and your deliverance.

And so, as the old man declared, both the passion of gluttony and that diabolical energy were driven away from myself, so that thereafter not even the slightest hint of this desire did ever occur to me.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Eph. 4:27.

Ἰδοὺ τοίνυν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Σαραπίωνος μανθάνομεν ὅτι τότε ἀξιούμεθα τοῦ χαρίσματος τῆς ἀλ(η)θ(ι)νῆς διακρ(ι)σεως, ὅταν μὴ τῷ κριτηρίῳ τῆς ἐαυτ(ῶ)ν καρδίας καταπιστεύσωμεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ διδασχῇ καὶ διατυπώ-
 73^v σε⁷⁹ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν. Καὶ γὰρ οὐ δι' ἄλλου τινὸς ἐλαττώματος ὁ διάβολος κατὰ κρ(η)μν(ῶ)ν φέρε⁸¹ | τὸν μοναχόν, ὡς διὰ τοῦ πείσαι αὐτὸν ἀθετεῖν μὲν τὰς 5
 τῶν πατέρων νοουθεσίας, ἀκολουθεῖν δὲ τῇ ἐαυτοῦ κρ(ι)σει καὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ θελή-
 ματι.

Ἐχρῆν δὲ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν τὰ παραδείγ-
 ματα λαμβάνοντας παιδεύεσθαι. Εἰ γὰρ ταύτας καὶ χερσὶν ψηλαφούντες καὶ
 ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρῶντες καὶ ὣσιν ἀκούοντες ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν κατορθῶσαι ἀδυνατοῦμεν, 10
 δεόμεθα δὲ τοῦ καλῶς διδάσκ(ο)ντος, πῶς οὐκ ἄτοπον καὶ μωρὸν τὴν πνευ-
 ματικὴν τέχνην,⁸⁰ τὴν πασῶν τῶν τεχνῶν δυσχερεστέραν, νομίζειν μὴ δεῖσθαι
 διδασκάλου, ἥτις καὶ ἀόρατος καὶ κεκρυμμένη ὑπάρχει καὶ μόνῃ καθαρ(ω)τάτῃ
 74^r καρδίᾳ θε(ω)ρουμένη, ἥστις τεχνῆς ἡ ἀποτυχία οὐ πρόσκαιρον ζημίαν, ἀλλὰ
 ψυχῆς ἀπώλειαν τίττει καὶ θάνατον αἰώνιον; | 15

Ὁ Γερμανὸς εἶπεν:

Πρόφασιν ἡμῖν αἰσχύνῃς καὶ προκαλύμμα ἐπιβλαβοῦς εὐλαβείας τίττειν
 εἶωθεν τὸ πολλάκις τινὰς τῶν γερόντων ἀκούσαντας παρὰ ἀδελφῶν λογισμούς,
 μὴ μόνον (μὴ) θεραπεῦσαι τούτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταγν(ό)ντας αὐτῶν εἰς ἀπό-
 γνωσιν ἐμβαλεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ τοῦτο ἔγνωμεν συμβᾶν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι 20
 Συρίας. Ἀδελφός γάρ τις τινὶ τῶν ἐκείσε γερόντων ἐξεῖπεν τοὺς ἰδίους логи-
 σμούς μετὰ πάσης ἀπλότητος καὶ ἀληθείας, ἀνεπ(αι)σχύντως ἀπογυμνώσας
 τὰ κρυπτά τῆς ἐαυτοῦ καρδίας· ὁ δὲ πάραυτα τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι ἤρξατο ἀγανακτεῖν

1 ἐκ V104: καὶ ἐκ 1 Σαραπίωνος V104: Σεραπίωνος 2 ἀλ(η)θ(ι)νῆς Cod. ἀλιθηνῆς. V121: ἀξιούμεθα τῆς ἀληθινῆς 2 διακρ(ι)σεως Cod. διακρήσεως 3 ἐαυτ(ῶ)ν Cod. ἐαυτὸν 3 τῇ διδασχῇ καὶ V121: καὶ τῇ 4 τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν. Καὶ V104, V121: τῶν πατέρων. Καὶ 5 κρ(η)μν(ῶ)ν Cod. κριμνον 6 κρ(ι)σει Cod. κρήσει. V104: τῇ ἰδίᾳ διακρίσει καὶ τῷ ἐαυτοῦ θελήματι 11 διδάσκ(ο)ντος Cod. διδάσκωντος. V121: διδάσκοντος, καὶ κανονίζοντος πῶς οὐ μόνον τὴν πνευματικὴν. V104: διδάσκοντος καὶ κανονίζοντος, πῶς οὐ μωρὸν τὴν πνευματικὴν 12 δυσχερεστέραν, νομίζειν μὴ V121: δυσχερεστέραν, μὴ 13 ὑπάρχει Cod. ὁ ὑπάρχει 13 καθαρ(ω)τάτῃ Cod. καθαροτάτῃ 14 θε(ω)ρουμένη Cod. θεωρουμένη 15 αἰώνιον; From this point, down to ἐπερωτᾶν τοὺς προ(ω)δευκότας (folio 77^v), in V121 the text is omitted 19 μὴ μόνον (μὴ) θεραπεῦσαι τούτους, ἀλλὰ V121: μόνον τούτους μὴ θεραπεύσαι, ἀλλὰ 19 καταγν(ό)ντας Cod. κατὰγνώντας 20 ἐμβαλεῖν Cod. ἐμβαλλεῖν 20 συμβᾶν V121: συμβαίνειν 20 μέρεσι Cod. μέρεσιν 22 ἀνεπ(αι)σχύντως Cod. ἀνεπενσχύντως

^a Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 32^v: ὥσπερ ἵππος σκληρότατος κατὰ κρημνῶν φέρεται.

And lo! from what abba Sarapion said, we are instructed that we may be found worthy of the gift of true discretion only once we do not trust in the judgement of our own mind, but in the teaching and ordinances set forth by our own elders. For by no other fault does the devil destroy
 73^v a monk, | as when he persuades him to decline the counsel of the elders and to rely on his own judgment and will.

Besides, it is necessary for us to be instructed by pondering on instances from human arts and sciences. For though they can be felt with the hand and seen with the eye and heard with the ear, it is impossible for them to be mastered by anyone without [instruction] from a good teacher, how absurd and foolish it is to fancy that there is no need for an instructor in the spiritual art,¹⁷⁶ which is the most difficult of all arts, indeed an invisible and secret one, and it can only be seen by the most pure of hearts, of which art, possible failure brings about not mere temporary loss, but destruction
 74^r of the soul and eternal death? |

Germanus said:

An occasion generating into us a pretext of decency and a pretense of hurtful piousness is this: It has many times come to pass that certain elders, after having listened to thoughts [confessed to them] by the brethren, not only did they not heal them, but after they had castigated them, they threw [these brethren] into despair. This event we ourselves have witnessed at the region of Syria.¹⁷⁷ As a matter of fact, a certain brother spoke out his thoughts to one of the old men who lived there. He did so with sheer simplicity and sincerity, and duly laid bare all the secrets of his heart. But once [the old man] heard this, he immediately started to

¹⁷⁶ 'the spiritual art' (πνευματικὴ τέχνη). See Greek text, p. 243, endnote 80. Its meaningful history notwithstanding, the notion of 'spiritual art' has disappeared from the Latin text. Cf. *Collationes*, II.12: PL.49.541B: Etenim cum omnes artes ac disciplinae humano ingenio repertae, et quae nihil amplius quam vitae huius temporariae commodis prosunt, licet manu palpari queant et oculis pervideri, recte tamen a quoquam sine instituentis doctrina nequeant comprehendi; quam ineptum est credere hanc solam non egere doctore, quae et invisibilis et occulta est, et quae non nisi corde purissimo pervidetur, cuius error non temporale damnum, nec quod facile reparatur, sed animae perditionem parit, mortemque perpetuam! Nevertheless, we come upon the notion 'spiritual science' or 'science of the spirit': scientia spiritalis: Cf. *Collationes*, VI.1, PL.49.268A; 12, XIV.13, PL.49.980A. De spiritali scientia: *Collationes*, I.14, PL.49.499B; XIII.13, PL.49.953AB; XIV.8, 962B.

¹⁷⁷ Cassian's birthplace Syria is here implied clearly. Cf. the testimony of him coming from Syria, *RCR*, pp. 26; 222.

καὶ συγκινεῖσθαι⁸¹ κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, μεμφόμενος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις
 74^v φαύλαις ἐνθυμήσεσιν, ὡς ἐκ τούτου πολλοὺς ἀκούσαντας ἐρυθρίαν λοιπὸν
 ἐξαγγέλειν τοὺς ἰδίους | λογισμοὺς τοῖς γέρουσιν.

ἽΟ Μωσῆς εἶπεν.⁸²

Καλὸν μὲν γάρ ἐστι, καθ' ἃ προεῖπον, μὴ ἀποκρύπτειν τοὺς ἰδίους λογισμοὺς
 ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων· οὐ μέντοι τοῖς τυχοῦσιν λέγειν, ἀλλὰ γέρουσιν πνευματικοῖς
 καὶ διακρ(ι)τικοῖς τούτους ἐξαγγέλειν. Οὐχὶ τοῖς διὰ χρόνον μόνον πεπολιωμέ-
 νοις, ἐπειδὴ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀποβλέποντες, ἀντὶ θεραπείας εἰς ἀπό-
 γνωσιν, διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τοῦ ἀκούοντος, περιέπεσ(ο)ν.

Ἦν γάρ τις ἀδελφὸς τῶν πάνυ σπουδαίων⁸³ καὶ σφοδρῶς ὀχληθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ
 δαίμονος τῆς πορν(ε)ίας ἦλθεν πρὸς τινὰ γέροντα καὶ ἀνήγγειλεν αὐτ(ῷ) τοὺς
 75^f ἰδίους λογισμοὺς. Ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἀκούσας, ἀπειρος ὢν, ἀγανακτῶν ἄθλιον ἔλεγεν
 τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ ἀνάξιον τοῦ μοναχικοῦ σχήματος⁸⁴ ὡς τοιοῦτο(ις) δεδμεμένον
 λογισμο(ι)ς.

Ταῦτα οὖν ἀκούσας ὁ ἀδελφός, ἀπογνοὺς ἑαυτο(ῦ) καὶ καταλείψας τὸν ἴδιον
 15 τόπον, ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον ἐπανήρχετο. Κατὰ δὲ Θεοῦ οἰκονομίαν, ἀπαντᾷ αὐτῷ
 ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἀπολλῶς, τῶν γερόντων ὁ δοκιμώτατος.⁸⁵ Καὶ βλέπων αὐτὸν τετα-
 ραγμένον καὶ πάνυ σκυθρωπάζοντα ἠρώτα αὐτὸν λέγων: Τέκνον, τίς ἡ αἰτία
 τῆς τοιαύτης στυγν(ό)τητος; Ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς ἀθυμίας οὐδέν
 ἀπεκρίθη. Ὑστερον δὲ πολλὰ παρακληθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ γέροντος τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν
 20 ἐξεῖπεν, λέγων ὅτι λογισμοὶ πορν(ε)ίας ὀχλοῦσίν μοι καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἀνήγγειλα
 τῷδε τῷ γέροντι καὶ κατὰ τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν μοι σωτηρίας ἐλπίς· ἀπο-
 75^v γνοὺς οὖν ἑμαυτοῦ ἀπέρχομαι εἰς τὸν κόσμον. | Ταῦτα ὁ πατὴρ Ἀπο(λ)λῶς
 ἀκούσας, πολλὰ παρεκάλει καὶ ἐνουθέτ(ε)ι αὐτὸν λέγων: Μὴ ξεν(ι)ζου, τέκνον,

5 Καλὸν μὲν γάρ From this point onwards, the text appears in the *AP* (*collectio systematica*) (*cap.* 1–9), 5.4f 7 διακρ(ι)τικοῖς Cod. διακρητικοῖς 8 ἐπειδὴ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡλικίαν V121: ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὴν ἡλικίαν πολλοὶ 8 ἀποβλέποντες ἀντὶ V121: ἀποβλέποντες καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν λογισμοὺς ἐξειπόντες ἀντὶ 9 ἀπειρίαν Cod. ἀπειρίαν. V121: ἀπορίαν (but *infra*: ἀπειρος) 9 περιέπεσ(ο)ν Cod. περιέπεσαν 11 πορν(ε)ίας Cod. πορνίασ 11 αὐτ(ῷ) Cod. αὐτό 13 τοιοῦτο(ις) Cod. τοιοῦτον 14 λογισμο(ι)ς Cod. λογισμοῦς. V121 and *AP* (*collectio systematica*) (*cap.* 1–9), 5.4: ὡς τοιοῦτους δεξάμενον λογισμοὺς 15 Ταῦτα οὖν ἀκούσας V121: Ταῦτα ἀκούσας 15 ἑαυτο(ῦ) Cod. ἑαυτόν 19 στυγν(ό)τητος; Cod. στυγνώτητος 21 πορν(ε)ίας Cod. πορνίασ 21 ὀχλοῦσίν V121: ἐνοχλοῦσι 23 Ἀπο(λ)λῶς Cod. Ἀπωλῶς 24 ἀκούσας *AP*: ἀκούσας ὡς σοφὸς ἱατρός 24 ἐνουθέτ(ε)ι Cod. ἐνουθέτι 24 ξεν(ι)ζου Cod. ξενήζου

74^v react indignantly and to scold the brother, excoriating him on his wicked thoughts. As a result, many others who heard [the old man] were ashamed of confessing their own | thoughts to the elders.

Moses said:

As I said earlier, it is good not to conceal our thoughts from the elders. This, however, does not mean disclosing them to any elder, but speaking them out to those who are men endowed with spirit and discretion. Moreover, this does not suggest men of grey hairs due to age. For many people [confessed their secret thoughts to elders] on account of age only, which caused them to fall in despair owing to inexperience of the man who heard their confession.

As a matter of fact, there was a brother, who was one of the most eminent ones, and, since he was harassed by the daemon of fornication, he visited a certain elder and confessed his personal thoughts to him. Since the latter was inexperienced, once he heard the confession, he felt a violent irritation and said to the brother that once he was bound by such
75^f thoughts he was unworthy of the monastic dress. |

When the brother heard this, he gave up all hope, then abandoned his place, and was on his way back to the world. However, by God's dispensation, abba Appolos, the most proficient among the Fathers, came upon him; and since he saw [the brother] embarrassed and utterly downhearted, he asked him this question: Child, what is the reason for you to look so sad? He initially did not respond, due to his despondency. But after he was intensively implored by the old man, he spoke out his inner thoughts saying this: thoughts of fornication harass me and I went to this elder and made a confession of them; but according to his statement there is no hope of salvation. Since therefore I have given up all hope, I am going
75^v back to the world. |

Once father Apollos heard this, he entreated him heart and soul, and admonished him saying this: Child, you should not be surprised, neither

μηδὲ ἀφελπίσης (σ)εαυτόν. Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ πολιᾷ σφόδρα ὑπὸ
 τούτων ὀχλοῦμαι τῶν λογισμῶ(ν). Μὴ οὖν ἀθυμήσης ἐπὶ τῇ τοσαύτῃ πυρῶσει,
 ἥτις οὐ τοσοῦτον ἀνθρωπίνῃ σπουδῇ θεραπεύεται ὅσον τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρω-
 πίᾳ. Μόνον δὲ τῇ(ν) σήμερον χάρισαί μοι καὶ ὑπόστρεψον εἰς τὸν τόπον σου.
 Ἐποίησεν δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς οὕτως. Καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἀπο(λ)λῶς 5
 ἐπορεύθ(η) εἰς τὸ κελλίον τοῦ ἀπαγορεύσαντος τὸν ἀδελφὸν γέροντος. Καὶ στάς
 ἔξω ἐδεήθη τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ δακρύων λέγων: Κύριε, ὁ τοὺς πειρασμοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 συμφέροντος ἐπάγων, μετὰστρεψον τὸν πόλεμον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ εἰς (τοῦτον) τὸν 76^r
 γέροντα, ἵνα διὰ πείρας | εἰς τὸ γήρας αὐτοῦ μάθῃ ὅπερ ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ
 οὐκ ἐδιδάχθη, ὅπως συμπάσχ(η) τοῖς πολεμουμένοις. Ὡς δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν ἐτέλε- 10
 σεν, ὁρᾷ Αἰθί(ο)πα στ(ή)κοντα πλησίον τοῦ κελλίου καὶ βέλη ἀφιέντα κατὰ τοῦ
 γέροντος, ὕφ' ὧν τραθεῖς εὐθέως ὡς ἐκ μέθης ὧδε κακέισε περιεφέρετο. Μὴ
 δυνάμενος δὲ καρτερῆσαι, ἐξελθὼν τοῦ κελλίου τῇ αὐτῇ ὁδῷ ἦ καὶ (ὁ νε)ώτερος
 ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον ἐχώρει.
 Ὁ δὲ ἀββᾶς Ἀπο(λ)λῶς νοήσας τὸ γεγρον(ὸς) ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ καὶ προ- 15
 σελθὼν λέγει: Ποῦ πορεύῃ; τίς δὲ ἡ αἰτία ταύτης τῆς κατεχούσης σε ταραχῆς;
 Αἰσθηθεὶς δὲ ὅτι ἐγνώσθη τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν τῷ ἀγίῳ, ὑπὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης οὐδὲν
 ἔλεγεν. Εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ἀββᾶς Ἀπο(λ)λῶς: Ὑπόστρεψον εἰς τὸ κελλίον σου, καὶ

1 ἀφελπίσης Cod. ἀφελπίσης, which is an interesting colloquialism. One might be tempted to emend to the normal ἀπελπίσης. However, the colloquial form does in fact exist in authors of interest to us. Archimedes (geometrician, third cent. BC), *Fragmenta*, Fr. 23 (ἀφελπίζω). Septuaginta, Ecclesiasticus 22:21 (ἀφελπίσης). *Vitae Aesopi* (first cent. AD), Vita G (e cod. 397 *Bibliothecae Pierponti Morgan*) (recensio 3), 84 (ἀφελπίσας). *Apocalypsis Apocrypha Joannis (versio tertia)*, p. 320, line 31 (ἀφελπής). Hippolytus, *Commentarium in Daniele*, 3.4.6 (ἀφελπίσας). Didymus, *comPs* 20–21, Cod. p. 26 (ἀφελπισθεῖς); *comPs* 20–21, Cod. p. 27 (ἀφελπιζουσιν); *comPs* 29–34, Cod. p. 142 (ἀφελπίζει). Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographia Christiana*, 2.86 (ἀφελπιστίαν); 5.61 (ἀφελπιστίαν); 5.73 (ἀφελπιστίαν). *AP (collectio anonyma)* (e cod. Coislin. 126), p. 413 (ἀφελπίζειν); or. cit. (*collectio systematica*) (cap. 1–9), 7.51 (ἀφελπίσαι & ἀφελπίζειν); or. cit. (*collectio systematica*) (cap. 10–16), 10.68 (ἀφελπίσης). Pseudo-Caesarius, *QR*, 191 (ἀφελπιζών). Pseudo-Methodius (seventh cent. AD), *Apocalypsis (redactio 3)*, 12 (ἀφελπίσῳσι) 1 (σ)εαυτόν Cod. εαυτον. V121: ἀπελπίσης εαυτόν 1 πολιᾷ V121: πολιτεῖα 2 λογισμῶ(ν) λογισμῶ 3 ὅσον τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ AP: ὅσον ἔλεε Θεοῦ 4 τῇ(ν) Cod. τῇ 4 εἰς τὸν τόπον σου AP: εἰς τὸ κελλίον σου 5 Ἀπο(λ)λῶς Cod. Ἀπωλῶς 6 ἐπορεύθ(η) ἐπορεύθει. V121: ἀπῆλθε 8–9 (τοῦτον) τὸν γέροντα AP: τὸν γέροντα τοῦτον 8 (τοῦτον) With V121 9 ἵνα διὰ πείρας AP: ἵνα πειρασθῇ 9 αὐτοῦ μάθῃ AP: (τοῦ) μαθεῖν 10 ὅπως AP: ἵνα 10 συμπάσχ(η) Cod. συμπάσχει 11 Αἰθί(ο)πα Cod. αἰθίωπα 11 στ(ή)κοντα Cod. στίκοντα 13 καρτερῆσαι V121: περικαρτερῆσαι 13 τῇ αὐτῇ ὁδῷ V121: τῇ αὐτοῦ ὁδῷ AP: αὐτῇ τῇ ὁδῷ 13 (ὁ νε)ώτερος Cod. ώ.τερος. AP: ὁ νεώτερος 15 Ἀπο(λ)λῶς Cod. Ἀπολῶς 15 γεγρον(ὸς) Cod. γεγρονῶς 15 αὐτῷ Cod. αὐτῶν 15–16 αὐτῷ καὶ προσελθὼν λέγει V121: αὐτῷ καὶ λέγει. AP: προσελθὼν λέγει 16 ταύτης τῆς κατεχούσης σε ταραχῆς; V121: τῆς κατεχούσης σε ταύτης ταραχῆς; 17 Αἰσθηθεὶς An infrequent participle favourite to Didymus, also used by Origen 18 Εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ἀββᾶς V121: Εἶπεν δὲ ὁ ἀββᾶς 18 Ἀπο(λ)λῶς Cod. Ἀπολῶς

should you let yourself fall into despair. For at this age and in these grey hairs, I am myself enormously harassed by such thoughts. Do not therefore grow fainthearted because of this burning, which can be healed by God's mercy rather than by human zeal. I am just asking you to donate¹⁷⁸ this day to me and to return to your place. And so the brother did. Consequently, and after he had left him, abba Apollos went to the cell of that elder who had castigated the brother. And standing outside [the cell], he prayed in tears saying this: O Lord, you who send temptations to the benefit [of men], turn the assault from the young man upon this
 76^r old man, that he may learn now, in his old age and by experience, | what he has not been taught during so long a time, namely, to suffer together with those who are under attack. And upon concluding his prayer, he sees an Ethiopian standing over against the cell and hurling darts at the elder, with which he was straightway wounded, and came out of his cell and ran about hither and thither like a drunken man. And since he could no longer restrain himself in it, he got out of the cell and began to walk along the same road, which the other [former monk] had gone.

Having comprehended what was going on, Abba Apollos went to meet him and standing by him he said: Where are you going? and what is the reason for you to be so embarrassed? And when he fancied that the secrets of his heart were known to the saintly man, he returned no answer out of shame. Subsequently, abba Apollos said to him: Return to your cell,

¹⁷⁸ Apollos asks the monk to put off his intention just for one day, which postponement the elder sees as a favour, indeed as a present to Apollos himself.

- 76^v τοῦ λ(οι)ποῦ ἐπίγνωθι τὴν ἀσθέν(ε)ιάν σου | καὶ ἔχε σαυτὸν ἢ ἀγνοηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου ἢ καὶ καταφρονηθέντα· δι' ὃ οὐκ ἤξι(ώ)θης κατὰ τοὺς σπουδαίους τῆς πρὸς αὐτ(ὸ)ν πάλης. Τί δὲ λέγω πάλης; Προσβολὴν αὐτοῦ ἕως μιάς ἡμέρας ἐνεγκεῖν οὐκ ἡδυνήθης. Τοῦτο δέ σοι συνέβη ὅτι νεώτερον ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἔχθρου πολεμούμενον δεξάμενος, ἀντὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα⁸⁶ ἀλείψαι, εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν ἐνέβαλες, μὴ λογ(ι)σάμενος τὸ σοφὸν ἐκεῖνο παράγγελμα τὸ λέγ(ο)ν· Ῥῦσαι ἀγ(ο)μένους εἰς θάνατον καὶ ἐκπρί(ου) κτ(ει)νομένους, μὴ φ(εῖ)σ(η),^a ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ Σωτήρος ἡμῶν τὴν λέγουσαν κάλαμον τεθλασμένον μὴ συντρίβ(ει)ν καὶ λίνον καπνιζόμενον μὴ σβεννύειν.^b Οὐδεὶς γάρ τοῦ ἔχθρου ἡδύνατο (ἂν) φέρειν τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸν ἔμπυρον τῆς | φύσεως βρασμὸν σβέσαι, εἰ μὴ ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάρις ἐφρούρ(ει) τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν. Τοιγαροῦν συμπληρωθ(εῖ)σης τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς σωτηριώδους ταύτης οἰκονομίας, κοιναῖς εὐχαῖς τὸν Θεὸν ἱκετεύσωμεν, ὅπως καὶ τὴν κατὰ σοῦ ἀφεθείσαν μάστιγα παραγάγῃ. Αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖ καὶ πάλιν ἀποκαθίστησιν· ἔπ(αι)σεν καὶ αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ ἰάσαντο·^c ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἀνυψοῖ· θανατοὶ καὶ ζωογονεῖ, κατάγει εἰς ἄδου καὶ ἀνάγει.^d Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ ἐπευξάμενος, παραχρῆμα τοῦ ἐπενεχθέντος αὐτῷ πολέμου ἀπήλλαξεν, παραινέσας αὐτῷ αἰτεῖν παρὰ Θεοῦ δοθῆναι αὐτῷ γλῶσσαν παιδείας τοῦ γνῶναι ἐν καιρῷ ἡνίκα δεῖ εἰπεῖν λόγον.^e
- 77^v Ἐκ πάντων τοῖνυν τῶν εἰρημένων μαρθάνομεν ὅτι οὐκ ἄλλη εὐρεθήσεται ὁδὸς σωτηρίας | ἀσφαλῆς ὡς τὸ ἐξαγγεῖλαι τοὺς ἰδίους λογισμοὺς τοῖς διακρ(ι)τικοῖς καὶ δ(ο)κιμωτάτοις τῶν πατέρων, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων πρὸς ἀρετὴν κανονίζεσθαι καὶ μὴ τῷ ἰδίῳ λογισμῷ ἀκολουθεῖν. Οὔτε γάρ, εἰ κατὰ τὸ συμβαῖνον περιτύχοι τις ἐν(ι) γέροντι ἀπλουστέρῳ ἢ ὀλίγοις ἀπείροις, ἐκ τούτου δεῖ φεύγειν ἐξαγγέλειν τοὺς ἰδίους λογισμοὺς τοῖς δοκιμωτάτοις τῶν πατέρων.⁸⁷ Ὅτι γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἄφ' ἐαυτῶν κινούμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν τοῦτο παραδεδώκασιν τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις.

1 λ(οι)ποῦ Cod. λυποῦ 1 ἀσθέν(ε)ιάν Cod. ἀσθένειαν 2 ἤξι(ώ)θης Cod. ἡξιαθῆσ
2-3 ἤξι(ώ)θης κατὰ τοὺς σπουδαίους τῆς V121: ἡξιώθης τῆς 3 αὐτ(ὸ)ν Cod. αὐτῶν
3 Προσβολὴν V121: Προσβολῆς 4 ἐνεγκεῖν V121: ὑπενεγκεῖν 5 ἀλείψαι AP: ἐπαλείψαι
6 λογ(ι)σάμενος Cod. λογησάμενος 6 λέγ(ο)ν Cod. λέγων 7 ἀγ(ο)μένους Cod. ἀγμένους
7 ἐκπρί(ου) Cod. ἐκπρίων 7 κτ(ει)νομένους Cod. κτηνομένους 7 φ(εῖ)σ(η) Cod. φῆσει
9 συντρίβ(ει)ν Cod. συντρίβην 9-10 ἔχθρου ἡδύνατο (ἂν) φέρειν V121: ἔχθρου φέρειν ἡδύνατο
11 σβέσαι AP: σβέσαι ἢ ἐπισχεῖν 11 ἐφρούρ(ει) Cod. ἐφρούρη. V121: ἡ Θεοῦ χάρις ἐφρούρει
12 συμπληρωθ(εῖ)σης Cod. συμπληρωθήσῃς 14 ἔπ(αι)σεν Cod. ἔπεσεν 16 ταῦτα εἰπὼν V121: Ταῦτα εἰπὼν 19 μαρθάνομεν V121: γινώσκομεν 20 ἐξαγγεῖλαι V121: ἐξαγγέλλειν
20 διακρ(ι)τικοῖς Cod. διακρητικοῖς 21 δ(ο)κιμωτάτοις Cod. δοκιμωτάτοις 21 καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων V121: καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν 22 λογισμῷ V121: λογισμῷ καὶ κρητηρίῳ 22 περιτύχοι Cod. περὶ τύχη 23 ἐν(ι) Cod. ἐνῇ 24 τοὺς ἰδίους V121: τοὺς ἐαυτῶν

^a Prov. 24:11. ^b Isaiah 42:3. Cf. Matt. 12:20. ^c Job 5:18. ^d 1 Kings (1 Samuel, in textu Masoretico) 2:6. ^e Isaiah 50:4. AP have it εἰπεῖν λόγον ἐν ἀνοίξει τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, which is the implicit quotation of this portion of Isaiah by Paul in Eph. 6:19.

76^v and as of now realise your weakness | and consider yourself as having been either ignored or despised by the devil. This is why you have not been deemed worthy of being roused to fight against him, as happens with the preeminent [monks].

And why am I talking about ‘fighting’? You have not been able to endure an attack by him even for a single day; which you incurred because once you received a younger man who was attacked by our common enemy, instead of encouraging him, you threw him into despair. You did not take into account the wise ordinance which enjoins this: *Deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain.*¹⁷⁹ Nor did you observe the parable by our Saviour bidding neither *to break a bruised reed* nor *to quench a smoking flax.*¹⁸⁰ For no one is able either to endure the assaults by the enemy, or to quench the fiery | turmoil of our nature, unless
77^f human frailty is guarded by the grace of God.

Since therefore the events which made up this saving dispensation for our sake are now complete, let us together implore God to remove the scourge, which he allowed to be laid upon you. *For he causes a man to be in pain, and restores him again; he beat up and his hands healed.*¹⁸¹ *He brings low and lifts up; he brings down to Hades and brings up.*¹⁸² After he had both said these words and prayed, he released [the elder] from the war which had been imposed upon him, urging him to ask God to grant him *a tongue of instruction, to know when it is fit to speak a word.*¹⁸³

77^v We can learn therefore from the foregoing account that there is no safe way of salvation | other than speaking out our inner thoughts to those elders who are most proficient and endowed with discretion. We should not trust in our own judgement, but we should pursue virtue according to their instruction. And one should not avoid imparting his inner thoughts to the most proficient of fathers, only because he happened to stumble either upon an uninformed old man, or on a few ones that are inexperienced. For what they [viz. the fathers] handed down to subsequent generations is not a teaching of their own, but a teaching derived from God and the divinely inspired scriptures.

¹⁷⁹ Prov. 24:11.

¹⁸⁰ Isaiah 42:3. Cf. Matt. 12:20.

¹⁸¹ Job 5:18.

¹⁸² 1 Kings (1 Samuel, in textu Masoretico) 2:6.

¹⁸³ Isaiah 50:4. AP have it εἰπεῖν λόγον ἐν ἀνολξεί τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, which is the implicit quotation of this portion of Isaiah by Paul in Eph. 6:19.

Τὸ ἐπερωτᾶν τοὺς προ(ω)δευκότας ἔξεστιν μὲν καὶ ἀπὸ ἄλλων πολλῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ θεοπνεύστῳ γραφῇ κειμένων μαθεῖν, ἐξ(αι)ρέτως δὲ ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἄγιον Σαμουήλ ἱστορίας, ὃς ἐκ ν(η)πίας ἡλικίας ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνατεθείς τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἀξιωθείς (θείας) ὁμ(ι)λίας οὐ κατεπίστευσεν τῷ ἰδίῳ | λογισμῷ, ἀλλ' ἅπαξ καὶ δις κλ(η)θείς ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀνατρέχει πρὸς τὸν γέροντα Ἑλ(ε)ῖ^{1a} καὶ τῇ τούτου διδαχῇ τυποῦτ(αι) καὶ κανονίζεται πῶς δεῖ ἀποκρίνεσθαι Θεῷ, καὶ ὃν τῇ ἰδίᾳ κλήσει ἄξιον αὐτοῦ ὁ Θεὸς ἐψ(η)φ(ι)σατο. Τοῦτον βούλεται τῇ διατυπώσει καὶ διδαχῇ τοῦ γέροντος παιδαγωγεῖσθαι, ὡς ἐκ τούτου δηλαδὴ πρὸς ταπεινώσιν ὀδηγηθῇσ(ό)μενον.

Καὶ τὸν Παῦλον δὲ δι' ἑαυτοῦ καλῶν καὶ προσδιαλεγόμενος ὁ Χριστός, δυνάμενος εὐθὺς ἀνοίξαι αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τῆς τελει(ό)τητος τὴν ὁδὸν γνωρίσαι, πρὸς Ἀνανίαν παραπέμπει καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ κελεύει μαθεῖν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς ἀληθείας, λέγων: Ἐγείρου, εἰσελθε εἰς τὴν πόλιν, κάκει σοι λεχθήσεται τί σε δεῖ ποιεῖν,^b διδάσκων ἡμᾶς διὰ τούτων τῇ ὁδηγίᾳ τῶν προ(ω)δευκόντων ἀκολουθεῖν, ἵνα μήποτε τὸ ἐπὶ Παύλῳ καλῶς γενόμενον κακῶς νοηθῇ καὶ παράδειγμα | πρὸς αὐθάδειαν γένηται τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις, ἐκάστου βουλομένου παραπλησίως τῷ Παύλῳ ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ μὴ διὰ τῶν πατέρων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὀδηγεῖσθαι.

Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, ἔξεστιν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων μόνον μαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἔργοις αὐτὸς ἔδειξεν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἐν οἷς γράφ(ει) λέγων ὅτι, ἀνήλθον⁸⁸ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἰδεῖν Πέτρον καὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ κηρύσσω μὴ πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον,^c καίτοι συνοδευούσης αὐτῷ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν σημείων^d (ἃ) ἐποίει.

1 προ(ω)δευκότας Cod. προοδευκότας 2 ἐξ(αι)ρέτως Cod. ἐξερέτως 3 ἱστορίας V121: προφητείας 3 ν(η)πίας Cod. νιπίας. V121: ἐκ νηπίου ὑπὸ. V104: ἐκ νηπίου ἀνατεθείς τῷ Θεῷ ὑπὸ 4 (θείας) With V104, V121 4 ὁμ(ι)λίας Cod. ὁμηλίας 4 οὐ κατεπίστευσεν V104: οὐκ ἐπίστευσε 5 δις Cod. δεῖς. V121: καὶ δις ἀνατρέχει 5 κλ(η)θείς Cod. κλιθεῖς 5 Ἑλ(ε)ῖ Cod. ἡλί 6 τυποῦτ(αι) Cod. τυποῦτε 7 ἐψ(η)φ(ι)σατο Cod. ἐψιφήσατο. 104, V121: κλήσει ὁ Θεὸς ἄξιον ἑαυτοῦ ἐψηφίσατο 8 παιδαγωγεῖσθαι V121: τυποῦσθαι 9 ὀδηγηθῇσ(ό)μενον Cod. ὀδηγηθῇσόμενον 11 εὐθὺς ἀνοίξαι αὐτοῦ V121: εὐθέως αὐτοῦ ἀνοίξαι 11 τελει(ό)τητος Cod. τελειώτητος 12–13 μαθεῖν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς ἀληθείας V121: μαθηθῆναι τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς σωτηρίας 14 προ(ω)δευκόντων Cod. προοδευκόντων 15 ἵνα V104: ἵνα δέ 15 κακῶς νοηθῇ καὶ παράδειγμα V104: κακῶς νοηθὲν παράδειγμα 16 βουλομένου V121: γενομένου 19 γράφ(ει) Cod. γράφη 20 ἀνήλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἰδεῖν Πέτρον V121: ἀνελθὼν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἶδον. V104: ἀνήλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἱστορήσαι Πέτρον 22 (ἃ) Cod. ὧν. In V104 there is no pronoun at all

^a Cf. 1 Kings 2:11 f. ^b Acts 9:6. ^c Gal. 2:2. ^d Cf. Rom. 15:19.

To seek instruction by those who are advanced in progress is [a conduct which is] possible to learn from many points of the divinely inspired Scripture, and par excellence so, from the story concerning saint Samuel.¹⁸⁴ His mother had consecrated him to God since he was a baby; once he was honoured with conversing with God, he laid his trust not on his own judgement, | but, after he had been summoned by God once and twice, he ran to elder Eli: his opinion and conduct were formed according to the instruction by the elder, namely, how he should respond to God, even though he had been found worthy to be called by God himself through a divine colloquy. God willed this lad to be tutored by the old man, whereby he could be taught humility.

Likewise did Christ, who personally called Paul and conversed with him: although he could have forthwith opened his eyes and shown him the way of perfection, he instead sent him to Ananias, enjoining him [viz. Paul] to learn the way of truth from him, saying: *Arise and go into the city and there it shall be told thee what thou must do.*¹⁸⁵ He thus teaches us to observe the tutoring by those advanced in progress, lest what had been rightly done in the case of Paul might be improperly understood and set a bad example | inciting arrogance in younger [monks]. For each one of them might fancy himself able to be led to truth not by means of instruction by the fathers, but in the same manner as Paul was.

It is possible to confirm that this is the right way of doing things not only from what we have said thus far, but also from what Paul indicated through deeds, by writing this: *And I went up to Jerusalem in order to see Peter and James and communicated unto them the gospel which I preach, lest by any means I should run, or had run, in vain.*¹⁸⁶ [He thought this way] even though he was accompanied by the grace of the Holy Spirit [demonstrated] through the *mighty signs*¹⁸⁷ he worked.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. 1 Kings 2:11 f.

¹⁸⁵ Acts 9:6.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Gal. 1:17&2:2.

¹⁸⁷ Rom. 15:19.

Τίς τοίνυν οὕτως ὑπερήφανος καὶ ἀλαζών ὑπάρχει, ὥστε τῇ ἰδίᾳ διακρ(ι)σει καὶ γνώμῃ στ(οι)χεῖν, ὅταν τὸ σκεῦος τῆς ἐκλογῆς^a δεῖσθαι τῆς συμβουλίας τῶν
79^r πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἀπο|στόλων ὁμολογεῖ;

Προφανῶς οὖν καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀποδεδείκναι ὅτι οὐδενὶ ὁ Κύριος ὁδὸν τελειώσεως ἀποκαλύπτει εἰ μὴ τοῖς διὰ πνευματικῶν πατέρων ἐπὶ ταύτην ὁδηγου-
5 μένοις, καθὼς καὶ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγει· ἐπερώτησον τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ ἀναγελεῖ σοι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους σου καὶ ἐροῦσίν σοι.^b

Πάσῃ τοίνυν δυνάμει καὶ σπουδῇ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τῆς διακρ(ι)σεως χάρισμα ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ὀφειλομεν κήσασθαι, ὅπερ δυνήσεται ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἐκατέρας ὑπερβολῆς ἀβλαβεῖς διαφυλάττειν. Καὶ γὰρ καθὼς λέγουσιν οἱ πατέρες, αἱ ἀκρότητες τῶν
10 ἐκατέρων μερῶν ἐφ' ἴσης βλάπτουσιν, καὶ ἡ τῆς νηστείας ὑπερβολὴ καὶ ἡ τῆς γαστροῦ χορτασία, καὶ ἡ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας ἀμετρία καὶ ὁ τοῦ ὕπνου κόρος, καὶ αἱ λ(οι)παὶ ὑπερβολαί.

Καὶ γὰρ ἔγνωμέν τινας διὰ γαστριμαργίαν | (μὲν) μὴ ἡττηθέντας, διὰ δὲ ἀμέτρου νηστείας καταβληθέντας καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ πάθος τῆς γαστριμαργίας
79^v ὀλισθήσαντας διὰ τὴν προσγενομένην ἐκ τῆς ἀμετρίας ἀσθένειαν. Κἀγὼ δὲ μέμνημαί ποτε τοιοῦτον τι πεπονθὼς καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐγκρατευσάμενος, ὥστε με ἐπιλαθέσθαι τῆς ὀρέξεως τῆς τροφῆς καὶ ἐπὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας μένοντα
15 ἄσιτον καὶ μὴδὲ ὅλως τροφῆς ἐπιθυμοῦντα ἄλλοι ἐπὶ ταύτη(ν) διηγείρον. Καὶ

1–2 τῇ ἰδίᾳ διακρ(ι)σει καὶ γνώμῃ V121: τῇ ἰδίᾳ γνώμῃ καὶ κρίσει 1 διακρ(ι)σει Cod. διακρήσει. V104: κρίσει 2 στ(οι)χεῖν Cod. στυχεῖν 2 συμβουλίας Cod. συμβουλείας 3 ὁμολογεῖ; V104: ὁμολογῇ. V121: ὁμολογεῖ 4 τούτων V121: τούτου 4–5 οὐδενὶ ὁ Κύριος ὁδὸν τελειώσεως V104: οὐδενὶ ὁδὸν τελειώσεως ὁ Κύριος 7 σ(οι) Cod. σε 8 Πάσῃ τοίνυν δυνάμει καὶ σπουδῇ V121: καὶ πάσῃ σπουδῇ 8 διακρ(ι)σεως Cod. διακρήσεως 9 ἐξ ἐκατέρας ὑπερβολῆς Again, in line with the Aristotelian ethics. The corresponding Latin translation is a revealing one. See RCR, pp. 384–385 10 λέγουσιν οἱ πατέρες *Constitutio Monasteri Προδρόμου τοῦ Φοβεροῦ*, chapter 5, p. 14, adds this: καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς πείρας αὐτῆς ἐμάθομεν ('and we ourselves have learnt from our own experience') 11 ἐφ' ἴσης Cf. the same adverb ἐφ' ἴσης used also on Cod. pp. 33^v; 39^v; 89^v. V121: ἐπίσης. V104: ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν ἐπίσης 11–12 βλάπτουσιν, καὶ ... ἀγρυπνίας ἀμετρία V121: βλάπτουσι, καὶ ἡ τῆς γαστροῦ χορτασία, καὶ ἡ τῆς ἀμετρίας ἀγρυπνία 13 λ(οι)παὶ Cod. λυπαί 14 (μὲν) *apud Constitutio Monasteri Προδρόμου τοῦ Φοβεροῦ*, loc. cit 14–15 δὲ ἀμέτρου νηστείας Cod. ἀμέτρου νημέτρου. V104, V121: δι' ἀμέτρου δὲ νηστείας 15 ἀμέτρου νηστείας V104: ἀμέτρου νηστείας 16 προσγενομένην V121: προσγινομένην 19 (ἔως οὖ) With V104 19 ταύτη(ν) Cod. ταύτη. The text exists also in *Constitutio Monasteri Prodomi τοῦ Φοβεροῦ*, chapter 5, p. 14. This is a portion from PG.28.872f canvassing the 'evil thought of gluttony' (greed, γαστριμαργία), to which this portion (from Καὶ γὰρ καθὼς λέγουσιν οἱ πατέρες το τῇ καρῶσει τοῦ ὕπνου) has been added, to be followed by the conclusion of discussion on this 'evil thought'. In the monastic constitution, Cassian is not mentioned by name, but the text is attributed to 'the fathers' (καθὼς λέγουσιν οἱ πατέρες). However, he is mentioned by name at another point, op. cit., chapter 6, p. 16 as 'the great Cassian' (τὸν μέγαν Κασσιανόν) and 'the divine Cassian' (τὸν θεῖον Κασσιανόν)

^a Acts 9:15. ^b Deut. 32:7.

79^r Who is therefore so proud and arrogant as to trust in his own discretion and judgement, when the *chosen vessel*¹⁸⁸ admits that he is in need of the apostles the preceded him? |

Following the foregoing account, therefore, it has been shown that the Lord reveals the way of perfection to no one, unless one is tutored towards this by the spiritual fathers. This [God] also says through the prophet: *Ask thy father, and he will shew thee; thy elders and they will tell thee.*¹⁸⁹

We should, therefore, with all our energy and power, seek to accomplish the gift of discretion in ourselves, which will safeguard us from excess towards either of the two extremes.¹⁹⁰ For as the fathers say, the extremes to either side are equally harmful, such as excess of both fasting and satiety of the belly, immoderate vigil and surfeit of sleep, as well as the rest of the excesses.

79^v For we have met certain people who, although they had not been defeated by gluttony, | yet, weakened as they had become out of immoderate fast, lapsed into the passion of gluttony, because of the weakness caused to them by immoderation. As a matter of fact, I recollect that we ourselves also had the same experience: I practiced abstinence from food for so long a time that I came to lose all appetite for food. I used to abstain from food for two or even three days, and felt no desire for it at all, until

¹⁸⁸ Acts 9:15.

¹⁸⁹ Deut. 32:7.

¹⁹⁰ ἐξ ἑκατέρας ὑπερβολῆς. Cf. *supra*, p. 64^v and endnote 50 (p. 231). Once again, the Latin text has recourse to a Greek gloss. PG.49.549B: Vetus namque sententia est ἀκρότητες ἰσότητες, id est, nimietates aequalitates sunt. This is a revealing point, as discussed in *RCR*, pp. 384–385.

πάλιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦ διαβόλου οὕτως ὁ ὕπνος ἀπέστ(η), ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστας νύκτας ἄϋπνον διατελοῦντα ἱκετεύειν τὸν Θεὸν μικροῦ ὕπνου μεταλαβεῖν (με). Καὶ βαρύτερον ἐκινδύνευσα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀμετρίᾳ τῆς ἀσιτίας καὶ ἀγρυπνίας, ἥπερ ἐπὶ τῇ γαστριμαργίᾳ καὶ τῇ καρώσει τοῦ ὕπνου.

80^r

Ταῖς τοιαύταις | καὶ τοσαύταις διδασκαλίαις ἡμᾶς ὁ ἅγιος Μωσῆς ἠϋφρανεν, ὥστε ἡμᾶς (ὦ)φεληθέντας δοξάζειν τὸν Θεὸν τὸν τοιαύτην σοφίαν παρέχοντ(α) τοῖς φοβουμένοις αὐτόν^a ἀμήν.

5

1 τῶν ἐμῶν ὀφθαλμῶν Codex writing τῶν ἐμῶν ὀφθαλμῶν is omitted in *Constitutio Monasteri Prodromi* τοῦ Φοβεροῦ, which reads ἀπ' ἐμοῦ instead 1 οὕτως V121: οὕτως 2 ἀπέστ(η) Cod. ἀπέσται 2-3 τὸν Θεὸν ... μεταλαβεῖν (με) V121: τὸν Κύριον ὕπνου μεταλαβεῖν με μικροῦ. V104 and *Typica Monastica*, loc. cit. τὸν κύριον μικροῦ ὕπνου μεταλαβεῖν με 4 ἀσιτίας Cod. ἀσιτείας. V104, V121: ἀμέτρῳ ἀσιτίᾳ καὶ ἀγρυπνίᾳ 5 διδασκαλίαις ἡμᾶς V121: ἡμᾶς διδασκαλίαις 6 (ὦ)φεληθέντας Cod. ὀφεληθέντας 6 παρέχοντ(α) Cod. παρέχοντι. V104: παρέχοντα 7 ἀμήν In V104 and V121, there is no concluding ἀμήν

^a Luke 1:50; Psalms 33:10; 110:5; 146:11; Ecclesiasticus 15:13.

others urged me to partake of some food. As a result, sleep was by the assaults of the devil so far removed from my eyes, that since I had remained sleepless for several nights, I used to entreat the Lord to grant a little sleep to me. And then I felt that I was in greater peril from the excessive abstinence from food and sleep than from gluttony and somnolence.

80^r Saint Moses gladdened us so much with his so many | and so important instructions, that, on account of the benefit granted to us, we glorified God who grants such *wisdom* to those who *fear* him.¹⁹¹

¹⁹¹ Luke 1:50; Psalms 33:10; 110:5; 146:11; Ecclesiasticus 15:13.

NOTES TO THE TEXT

1. Cod. 57b: Τὸ χρέος ὅπερ ἐπηγγελιάμην ... μερικῶς ἀποδεδωκώς. Both the idea and partially the phraseology originate in Gregory of Nyssa: a 'promise' (ἐπαγγελία) given to God by any Christian becomes a 'debt' (χρέος), which needs to be 'paid off' (ἀποδιδόναι). These three key words (ἐπαγγελία, χρέος, ἀποδιδόναι) were used also by John Chrysostom and Theodoret.

Gregory of Nyssa, *De Professione Christiana ad Harmonium*, v. 8,1, p. 129: διότι τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἡ ἐπαγγελία χρέος ἐστί. Theodoret, *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, p. 249: Ἐπαγγελλόμενος τῷ Θεῷ, χρέος νόμιζε τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν, σπούδασον τοίνυν ταύτην ἀποδοῦναι συντόμως. John Chrysostom, *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG.55.248.44–46: Καὶ καλῶς εἶπεν· Ἀπόδος. Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν χρέος τὸ πρᾶγμα γίνεται. A later author (Cassian?) entertained this rare structure, but the text is spuriously ascribed to John Chrysostom, *De Fugienda Simulata Specie*, PG.48.1074.51–53: Χρὴ οὖν καὶ εὐχέσθαι μετὰ ἀσφαλείας, καὶ ἀποδιδόναι τὸ χρέος τῆς ἐπαγγελίας μετὰ ἀκριβείας.

Cassian appears to be aware of this construction, which he actually entertained. The phrase became recurrent only much later, in the collection of juridical texts known as *Basilica*, the most comprehensive collection of legal documents of later Byzantine Empire. It might well be that Gregory of Nyssa drew on Eusebius, *commPs*, PG.23.50011–50013: καὶ κατέχω τῇ μνήμῃ πάντα ὅσα ἐπηγγελιάμην εὐξάμενος· ἃ καὶ ὥσπερ τι χρέος ἀποδώσω.

2. This means that the first two parts of Cassian's book (Institutions and On the Eight Dispositions to Evil) had been written 'a long time ago' (πάλαι). Cassian wrote the first two works for the sake of Castor, at a time when the latter instituted 'a new monastery' gathering a number of monks to dwell in it (οἱ συνειλεγμένοι σὺν Θεῷ ἐν τῷ νέῳ σου μοναστηρίῳ, Cod. p. 1').

3. Cassian's expression τὸ χρέος ἀποπληρῶσαι ('to pay the debt off') is a telling one indeed. Rare as this is, it obtains exclusively in authors who are relevant to his *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, as well as to the present texts. The following instances are the only ones transpiring during the first nine centuries. With respect to Basil's Epistles, it turns out, once again, that they are open to redaction, since the vocabulary of many of them points to Cassian rather than to Basil. Cf. Julian the Arian, *Commentarius in Job*, p. 101: τὸ χρέος ἀποπληροῖ ὁ θανών. Theodore of Mopsuestia, *commProphXII*, Prophet

Malachi 3:8c–9a: ἀπάτης γὰρ εἴη τὸ μὴ εἰλικρινῶς τὸ νόμιμον χρέος ἀποπληροῦν, πανουργεῖν δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀποπλήρωσιν πειρασθαι. Theodoret, *De Providentia*, PG.83.753.45: ὁ Δεσπότης ... ἀποπληροῖ τὸ χρέος. Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae*, 203.4: τὸ ὀφειλόμενον τῆς ἐπισκέψεως χρέος ἀποπληρώσομεν. 205.1: τὸ τῆς ἐπισκέψεως ἀποπληροῦμεν χρέος. John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei* (ref. to Virgin Mary redeeming people from the sin of Eve), 87: τὸ τῆς προμήτορος ἀποπληροῦσα χρέος. Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 410: καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐντολῆς ἀποπληρῶν χρέος.

To this lean yet telling list, another Sabaite should be added, namely Antiochus of Palestine. In the introductory *Notitia* (PG.89.141), the Migne-editor quotes from a Greek edition by Lambecius, where a preface by Antiochus is indeed a duplicate of Cassian's style. I have found the same text with slight differences in Jerusalem (in better Greek: Codex St. Sabas 25, folia 131^v–132^r). The variations of the Jerusalem-codex are indicated in brackets): Τὸ χρέος τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν ἀποταγῆς ἀποπληρώσαι [τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιταγῆς ἀποπληρώσας], τίμιε πάτερ Εὐστάθιε. ... περιστήσας εἰς σωτήρια κεφάλαια [περιστήσας εἰς ἑκάτον τριάκοντα κεφάλαια] ... πρέσβευε [ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν] πρὸς τὸν φιλόανθρωπον θεόν ... It is therefore plain that this Sabaite expression bespeaks Cassian's own Sabaite identity.

4. τὴν τοῦ μοναστηρίου σὺν Θεῷ φροντίδα. This is the monastery that Castor had founded, according to Cassian's remark about the 'new monastery of yours' (ἐν τῷ νέῳ σου μοναστηρίῳ, cod. p. 1^r). This, however, had happened a long time before he wrote the present text (πάλαί), as he says here.

5. Cod. p. 57^r: ἀββᾶν Μωσὴν ... οὐ μόνον ταῖς πρακτικαῖς ἀρεταῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεωρίᾳ διαλάμποντα. According to Aristotle, all virtues relate to practical action (*Magna Moralia*, 1.34.27; 1.34.29: αἱ γὰρ ἀρεταὶ πᾶσαι πρακτικαὶ εἰσιν. *Politica*, 1325b), yet he makes reference to 'practical virtues', which might appear as a pleonasm (*Ethica Nicomachea*, 1177b6: τῶν μὲν οὖν πρακτικῶν ἀρετῶν. Cf. Op. cit. 1101b32; 1104b28; 1144a11; 1145a3; *Ethica Eudemia*, 1222a7–11; 1248b36). Arius Didymus, purporting to render Aristotle, described 'virtue' as being 'composite', comprising 'contemplative, practical, and moral' qualities [Arius Didymus, *Liber de Philosophorum Sectis* (epitome ap. Stobaeum), 59,2]. Nevertheless, he also saw virtue as a 'practical' function (op. cit. 95,2). Albinus considered 'political virtue' as being either 'contemplative' or 'practical' (*Epitome Doctrinae Platonicae sive Διδασκαλικός*, 34.5). Alexander of Aphrodisias followed Aristotle faithfully: virtue is a 'practical' affair (*In Aristotelis Topicorum Libros Octo Commentaria*, pp. 224; 322; *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, p. 7). According to a testimony by Philo,

it was Chrysippus who made the distinction between 'practical virtues' and 'contemplative' ones (Chrysippus, *Fragmenta Moralia*, Fr. 202 *apud* Philo, *Legum Allegoriarum Libri i–iii*, 1.56–57). The same distinction between 'practical virtue' and 'theoretical virtue' was ascribed later to Posidonius and Panaetius [Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae Philosophorum*, 7.92 (Panaetius); 7.130 (Posidonius)]. Clement of Alexandria was aware of the distinction between 'practical' and 'contemplative virtue' (*Paedagogus*, 1.3.9.4).

Cassian took up the idea from Didymus, Evagrius, and Theodoret. Origen's usage is probably a rendering by Evagrius and Didymus, since all instances transpire in catenae-fragments in which the Sabaite vocabulary makes a strong mark.

Origen, *frJohn*, XLV; CXXV; *frPs*, 29.1; *selPs*, PG.12: 1277.35; 1429.34; 1545.41; 1556.15; 1581.52; 1652.10; 1677.8; *frProv*, PG.13.32.20; *expProv*, 17: 192.32; 209.29; 224.30; 225.32; 232.18.

Evagrius, *Sententiae ad Monachos*, 118; *Capitula XXXIII (definitiones passionum animae rationalis)*, PG.40: 1265.8 & 11 & 53; *Tractatus ad Eulogium (sub nomine Nili Ancyran)*, PG.79: 1097.26; 1117.38; *Expositio in Proverbia Salomonis*, pp. 93; 100; 101; 107; 108; 131; 142; 201; 203; *Scholia in Proverbia (fragmenta e catenis)*, 258; 267; 293; *De Magistris et Discipulis (sub nomine Nili Ancyran)* (*fragmenta*), line 19.

Didymus, *commZacch*, 1.91; 1.229; 1.266; 1.270; 1.374; 1.409; 2.262; 2.302; 3.5; 3.7; 3.252; 5.169; *commEccl* (3–4.12), Cod. pp. 70; 71; 93; *commEccl* (11–12), Cod. pp. 339; 343; *commEccl* (9.8–10.20), Cod. p. 302; *Contra Manichaeos*, PG.39.1092.22–24; *comPs* 20–21, Cod. p. 13; *comPs* 22–26.10, Cod. pp. 57; 59; 68; 79; 96; *comPs* 29–34, Cod. p. 155; 157; 159; *comPs* 35–39, Cod. p. 239; *comPs* 40–44.4, Cod. p. 296; 307; 311; *frPs(al)*, Frs. 22; 47; 124; 659a; 699a; 732a; 754; 811; 875; 902; 941; 944; 948; 950; 955; 978; 1026; 1047; 1094; 1255; 1259; 1264; *frProv*, PG.39.1640.11; *Fragmenta in Joannem*, Fr. 11 col. 1; 11 col. 2; *Fragmenta in Epistulam ii ad Corinthios*, p. 24; *In Epistulas Catholicas Brevis Enarratio*, pp. 51; 84.

As a matter of fact, no author entertained the notion as those three ones (Evagrius, Didymus, Theodoret) did. Theodoret, *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio*, Prologue, 15; Book 12 (entitled *ΠΕΡΙ ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΗΣ ΑΠΕΘΗΣ*), 6; 12.19; *Epistulae: Collectio Sirmondiana (epistulae 96–147)*, 125; *commIs*, 1 (line 341); *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, p. 145; *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80: 884.20–21; 1821.1; *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum*, PG.81: 41.29; 140.5; 161.23; 188.49–50; 189.7&11; 189.16; *Interpretatio in Ezechielem*, PG.81.936.51; *intProphXII*, PG.81.1969.25; *intPaulXIV*, PG.82: 48.3; 96.3&7; 184.3; 197.3&45; 249.14; 496.25; 521.25; 641.3; 773.30]. Cyril of Alexandria, who used to take up Theodoret's vocabulary, did so in a few instances, but he evidently had

no inkling of the whereabouts of its philosophical origin: *expPs*, PG.69: 885.34; 949.37; 1249.40; 1252.20. At the time of Cassian, it was only Olympiodorus the deacon of Alexandria who entertained the distinction consciously. *commEccl*, PG.93: 565.25–30; 589.21728.

6. Τέχραι καὶ ἐπιτήδεύματα. Cassian is aware of a distinction made by eminent philosophers and by the most erudite of intellectuals. This is in fact a Platonic idea, taken up by Chrysippus, to be later reproduced by pagan commentators and some Christian theologians alike. Plato, *Respublica*, 454d; 455a1; *Timaeus*, 17d. Chrysippus, *Fragmenta Moralia* Fr. 294, (*apud* Stobaeus, *Anthologium*, 2.67). Galen, *De Placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*, 9.3.4; *Thrasylbulus sive Utrum Medicinae Sit an Gymnasticae Hygieine*, v. 5, p. 898; *In Hippocratis vel Polybi Opus de Salubri Victus Ratione Privato*, v. 15, p. 176; *De Experientia Medica*, 7.3.

Once again, Gregory of Nyssa is implicitly yet remarkably present: *De Virginitate*, 4.9. Cf. Eusebius, *HE*, 7.30.7. John Chrysostom, *In Iuveninum et Maximum Martyres*, PG.50.573.42. The ninth-century grammarian and deacon of Constantinople George Choeroboscus produced a succinct definition of the difference between the two notions. George Choeroboscus, *Epimerismi in Psalmos*, p. 174: 'Ἐπιτήδευμα· τί διαφέρει ἐπιτήδευμα τέχνης; Διαφέρει· ἡ γὰρ τέχνη ἐστὶν ἡ ἄνευ λόγου μὴ δυναμένη, οἷον γραμματική, ῥητορική, ἐπιτήδευμα δὲ λόγου χρεῖον, οἷον, χαλκευτική, τεκτονική. Reproduced in *Etymologicum Gudianum*, Alphabetic entry epsilon, p. 527.

7. Σκοπὸς and τέλος. Cassian is aware of the subtle difference between σκοπὸς and τέλος, which was an Aristotelian distinction (*Magna Moralia*, 1.18.5; *Politica*, 1331b; 1341b; *Rhetorica*, 1362a), sustained also by Chrysippus (*Fragmenta Moralia*, Frs. 16; 280. Cf. Stobaeus, *Anthologium*, 2.7.3c; 2.7.6c), Arius Didymus (*Liber de Philosophorum Sectis* [epitome *apud* Stobaeum], 58,1; 69,2), and was taken up by Aristotelian commentators. Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, pp. 145; 160; 173; 307; 346; *In Aristotelis Analyticorum Priorum Librum i Commentarium*, p. 20; *De Fato*, p. 167. Pseudo-Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De Anima Libri Mantissa* (*De Anima Liber Alter*), p. 152: ἐπεὶ γὰρ διττὸν τὸ τέλος, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης, τὸ μὲν ὃ, τὸ δὲ ᾧ, τὸ μὲν ὃ ὡς ἡ εὐδαιμονία (τοῦτο γὰρ πάντων ἔσχατον καὶ μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ σκοπός), τὸ δὲ ᾧ ἡμῖν (τελικώτατον γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἡμῖν τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν περιγενέσθαι), καὶ ὡς μὲν πρὸς τὰ πράγματα ἡ εὐδαιμονία τέλος καὶ σκοπός, ὡς δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡμεῖς εὐδαιμονοῦντες. Cf. Op. cit. 164.

As it happens with modern scholars, the vast majority of Christian authors had no inkling of this crucial distinction. Those who were aware

of it happen to be the same ones whom we have already come upon, namely, Clement, Didymus, Theodoret. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, 1.13.102.2; 2.10.83.1; *Stromateis*, 4.20.129.2. Didymus, *commJob* (5.1–6.29), Cod. p. 152; *commZacch*, 3.208; *frPs(al)*, Frs. 392; 470; *In Genesim*, Cod. pp. 28; 33. Theodoret, *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio*, 11.51. Later still, another Sabaite monk originating in the Antiochene milieu, namely, John of Damascus, entertained the Aristotelian notion learnedly. *Dialectica sive Capita Philosophica (recensio fusior)*, 1: "Ἔσται δὲ σκοπὸς τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι πρὸς τὸ μακάριον τέλος καθορμισθῆναι τὸν νοῦν. *Fragmenta Philosophica (e cod. Oxon. Bodl. Auct. T.1.6)*, 18: Τέλος ἐστὶ τὸ τυχεῖν τοῦ σκοποῦ· τέλος ἐστὶ κατὰ Ἀριστοτέλην, οὐ εἵνεκα τὰ ἄλλα αὐτὸ δὲ μηδενὸς ἔνεκεν, ἢ οὕτως· Τέλος ἐστὶ, δι' ὃ τὰ ἄλλα τις πράττει, αὐτὸ δὲ διὰ μηδέν. Pseudo-John of Damascus, *Commentarii in Epistulas Pauli*, PG.95.500.20–24: "Ἵνα τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου πληρωθῇ ἐν ἡμῖν τοῖς μὴ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα. (Rom. 8:4): Τί ἐστὶ τὸ δικαίωμα; ἀντί, τὸ τέλος, καὶ ὁ σκοπός. Op. cit. PG.95.844.26–27: τὸν οὐκ ἔχοντα σκοπόν, οὐδὲ τέλος, ἀλλὰ ματαίως φερόμενον. This terminology is expressive of the learned Aristotelian spirit entertained at the Laura of Sabas, which originated in the great Antiochene doctors. See my edition of Cassian's *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Introduction.

Quite remarkably, Cassian's heroes are represented (Cod. pp. 57^v, 57^r) as making convenient use of both terms applied to their subtle distinction, which could be a discussion befitting the advanced level of a rhetorical school rather than a conversation between monks, who style themselves 'ignorant', in the desert. Far less could have this text been the rendering of any presumed 'Latin original' translated in Greek. This is simply Cassian writing and expressing himself by means of the Platonic literary model of composing dialogues, and staging an imaginary dialogue in the desert.

8. αἱ τέχναι ... τοῦ ποθομένου τέλους ἐπιτυγχάνουσι. Once again, already at the outset of Cassian's address 'to Leontius' we come upon a main Aristotelian notion about 'art' and its own 'purpose' ('end', τέλος). Aristotle, *Protrepticus*, Fr. 12: Τῶν μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τύχης γιγνομένων οὐδὲν ἕνεκά του γίγνεται, οὐδ' ἔστι τι τέλος αὐτοῖς· τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ τέχνης γιγνομένοις ἕνεστι καὶ τὸ τέλος καὶ τὸ οὐ ἕνεκα. *Divisiones Aristoteleae*, 24 1: κατὰ τέχνην δὲ τέλος τὰ πράγματα λαμβάνει, ὅσον ἢ οἰκοδομική· οἰκίαν γάρ τις ἐπιτελεῖ· καὶ ἡ ναυπηγική· πλοῖα γάρ. Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Aristotelis Analyticorum Priorum Librum i Commentarium*, pp. 2–3: ὥς γάρ ἐπὶ τῶν διαφερουσῶν τεχνῶν τὸ τέχνης τινὸς ἔργον ἄλλης τινὸς ἐστὶν τέχνης ὄργανον τῷ τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἔχειν τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ πρὸς χρεῖαν τῶν γινομένων ὑπὸ τῆς τέχνης, ἥς ἐστὶν ὄργανον, οὕτως εἰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιστήμης ἢ τέχνης γινόμενά τινα τήνδε τὴν τάξιν ἔχει πρὸς ἄλλα ... ἀρχιτεκτονικωτέρα δὲ

ἀεὶ τέχνη τε καὶ ἐπιστήμη ἢ πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔργον χρωμένη ἔργῳ καὶ τέλει τινὸς τέχνης τῆς τὸ ἴδιον ἔργον ἐπὶ τὴν ταύτης χρεῖαν ἀναφερούσης.

Entertaining this distinction is uncommon in Christian literature. Although attributed to Origen, this is probably an adaptation by an either Sabaite or Akoimetan catenist. Origen, *frPs*, 4:1 & *selPs*, PG.12.1133.1–5: ὥσπερ πάσης τέχνης καὶ ἐπιστήμης ἐστὶ τὸ τέλος, ἐφ’ ὃ σπεύδει ὁ γνησίως τὴν τέχνην ἢ τὴν ἐπιστήμην μετιών, οὕτως καὶ τῆς λογικῆς φύσεως δεῖ τέλος τυγχάνειν.

Eusebius, *commPs*, PG.23.101.14–18: Ὡσπερ πάσης τέχνης καὶ ἐπιστήμης τέλος ἐστὶν ... κατατῆσαι τὸν μετερχόμενον· οὕτω πάσης λογικῆς φύσεως, τὸ ἐν Χριστῷ ζωοποιηθῆναι τέλος ἐστίν, ὡς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ πρὸς Κορινθίους ὁ Παῦλος φησι λέγων τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι.

Didymus, *commJob* (5.1–6.29), Cod. p. 152: οὐδὲν ἔστιν τῶν ὄντων ὃ μὴ ἔχει οἰκεῖον τέλος, κἂν ἐπὶ τέχνης λάβηται. ἢ φύσις καὶ ἡ τέχνη τέλος ἔχει καὶ σκοπόν. *comPs* 22–26.10, Cod. p. 102: καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀρχόμενος τέχνης διὰ τὸ τέλος τῆς τέχνης ἄρχεται.

Galen entertained the notion abundantly with respect to medical ‘art’. *De Sectis ad Eos Qui Introducuntur*, v. 1, p. 69; *De Anatomicis Administrationibus Libri ix*, v. 2, p. 416; *Thrasymbulus sive Utrum Medicinae Sit an Gymnasticae Hygieine*, v. 5, pp. 811; 821; 827; 834; 859; *De Sanitate Tuenda Libri vi*, v. 6, p. 109; *De Locis Affectis Libri vi*, v. 8, p. 7; *De Methodo Medendi Libri xiv*, v. 10, pp. 31; 459; 629; *De Compositione Medicamentorum Secundum Locos Libri x*, v. 13, pp. 116; 891; *In Hippocratis de Victu Acutorum Commentaria iv*, v. 15, pp. 419; 421; 519; 611; *In Hippocratis Librum de Fracturis Commentarii iii*, v. 18b, p. 519; *In Hippocratis Librum de Officina Medici Commentarii iii*, v. 18b, p. 633.

9. Athens Cod. 423: τοῦ ψυχροῦς τὸ κρύος, which would have been part of the original manuscript. Use of κρύος for ‘cold’ was used by authors relevant to the Scholia-vocabulary: Plutarch, *Quaestiones Convivales* (612c–748d), 691E8; *Aetia Physica* (911c–919e), 918 A11. Lucian of Samosata, *Gallus*, 23. Also, the anonymous, *Historia Alexandri Magni*, Recensio γ (*lib.* 2), 15; Recensio E, 16.8. Galen, *De Usu Partium*, v. 3, p. 900; *De Sanitate Tuenda Libri vi*, v. 6, p. 52; *De Venae Sectione Adversus Erasistratum*, v. 11, p. 167; *De Simplicium Medicamentorum Temperamentis ac Facultatibus Libri xi*, v. 11, p. 516; *In Hippocratis Aphorismos Commentarii vii*, v. 17b, p. 626; v. 18a, p. 23; *In Hippocratis Prognosticum Commentaria iii*, v. 18b, p. 280.

Besides, Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, 2.22.29.2; 2.10.108.1. Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, v. 2, p. 313. Socrates Scholasticus, *HE*, 7.37.

Gregory of Nyssa is once again present: *In Canticum Canticorum* (*homiliae* 15), v. 6, p. 151.

10. πόνον καὶ κάματον προθύμως. Although the terms πόνος and κάματος are virtually synonymous indicating 'toil', their apposition (indeed with the notion of assuming 'every toil' 'promptly', προθύμως) occurs in Evagrius, Nilus of Ancyra, Pseudo-Macarius, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and John Chrysostom. Evagrius, *De Malignis Cogitationibus*, 8. Nilus of Ancyra, *Narrationes Septem de Monachis in Sina*, 2.3; 4.7; 7.18. Pseudo-Macarius, *Sermones* 64, 48.5.3; 7.1.3; 30.1.2; 31.5.8; 48.5.3 (Cf. parallel passages in *Homiliae Spirituales* 50 [collectio H]: 5; 26; 29; 41; 49); *Epistula Magna*, pp. 274; 275; *Opusculum* 1, PG.34.828.19&47&54. Theodore of Mopsuestia, *apud* Catenae (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Epistulam ad Philippenses*, p. 261. John Chrysostom, *Adversus Iudaeos* (orationes 1–8), PG.48.919.53; *In Sanctum Ignatium Martyrem*, PG.50.591.23; *Epistolae* 18–242, PG.52. 677.16; 715.47; *In Genesim* (homiliae 1–67), PG.53.56.51; *In Genesim* (sermones 1–9), PG.54.630.8; *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG.55.156.35; *In Illud: Ne Timueritis Cum Dives Factus Fuerit Homo*, PG.55.509.12; *In Epistulam i ad Corinthios* (homiliae 1–44), PG.61.54.21; *In Isaiam*, 2.9; 5.2; *In Illud: Vidi Dominum* (homiliae 1–6), 6.4.

The construction made out of this apposition comes from Euripides, *Bacchae*, line 66: πόνον ἥδ'ὐν κάματον τ' εὐκάματον. This elegant expression was quoted by Plutarch at three different points: *De Tranquillitate Animi* (464e–477f), 467D11; *Amatorius* (748e–771e), 758B13; *An Seni Respublica Gerenda Sit* (783b–797f), 794B5.

Euripides' device was entertained by Philo, too: *De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini*, 113; 114; *Quod Deus Sit Immutabilis*, 92; *De Fuga et Inventione*, 41; *De Specialibus Legibus* (lib. i–iv), 1.125; 2.70.

11. καὶ γυμνωσις πάντων τῶν γηϊνῶν πραγμάτων (& τῇ γυμνώσει καὶ τῇ ἀποταγῇ τῶν πραγμάτων p. 58^v). The parallel passages by Ephraem Syrus leave no room for any possibility of this text being a translation from Latin. This portion was written during the sixth century, and anyway it was impossible for this to have been written (even in Greek) during the alleged lifetime of the so-called Cassian of Marseilles.

Ephraem Syrus, *Beautitudines Aliae; Capita Viginti*, 20: "Ἀν γυμνωθῆς τῶν γηϊνῶν πραγμάτων, οὐ τραπήσῃ ἐν πολέμῳ. *Sermo de Paenitentia et Iudicio et Separatione Animae et Corporis*, p. 238: διδαχθῶμεν τὰ ἔθη τοῦ πολέμου· ἀόρατος γὰρ τυγχάνει. Ἐθῆ εἰσὶ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου αἰεὶ ἡ γυμνότης τῶν γηϊνῶν πραγμάτων. Ἐὰν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχῃς τὸν θάνατον καθ' ἡμέραν, οὐχ ἁμαρτάνεις. Ἐὰν γυμνωθῆς τῶν γηϊνῶν πραγμάτων, οὐ τροπωθήσῃ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. *Sermo de Uirginitate*, p. 191: καὶ χρώματα εἰκόνης οὐρανίου Δεσπότητος κατορθώματά εἰσι καὶ λογισμοὶ καθαροί, γυμνότης τῶν γηϊνῶν μετὰ πραότητος καὶ σεμνοῦ βίου αἰεὶ.

Barsanuphius and John (sixth cent. AD), *Questiones et Responsiones ad Laicos et Episcopos*, 623: Καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος δύναται εἰς τέλεια μέτρα ἐλθεῖν τοῦ γυμνῶσαι ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν γηϊνῶν πραγμάτων καὶ γενέσθαι τῷ πνεύματι μετὰ τῶν ἐπουρανίων.

Olympiodorus, the deacon of Alexandria (sixth cent. AD), *commEccl*, PG.93.497.48–49: Γυμνῶσας τὸ τοῦ πολυκτῆμονος καὶ περὶ τὰ γῆϊνα στρεφόμενου πρόσωπον.

Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 187: οὕτω γυμνοὶ λοιπὸν καὶ χρημάτων καὶ προσπαθείας ἄλλης γηϊνῆς.

12. ἀγροίκους καὶ ιδιώτας. Once again, what we come upon is not any spontaneous sentence by a self-declared simpleton monk admitting his parochial naiveté, but a sophisticated rhetorical construction, which has its own history of usage by both Christian and pagan intellectuals.

Origen, *Cels*, I.27; I.29; VI.1; *Philocalia*, 15, 1. Eusebius, *De Theophania* (*fragmenta*), Fr. 8 (ἀγροικίαν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ λόγων ιδιωτέων). Gregory of Nazianzus, *Ad Julianum Tributorum Exaequatore* (*orat.* 19), PG.35.1049.20 (ἀγροίκῳ, ιδιώτῃ). Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 2.1.4 (ιδιωτικὸν τε καὶ ἀγροικίζοντα τὸν λόγον). Didymus, *In Genesim*, Cod. p. 246 (ιδιώτην καὶ ἀγροικόν). Pseudo-Macarius, *Homiliae Spirituales* 50 (*collectio H*), 15 (ιδιώτην καὶ ἀγροικόν). John Chrysostom, *In Matthaëum* (*homiliae* 1–90), PG.58.714.54; *In Epistulam i ad Corinthios* (*homiliae* 1–44), PG.61: 28.7; 34.51; *Catecheses ad Illuminandos* 1–8 (*series tertia*), Catechesis 8.6. However, the closest parallel transpires in Ephraem Syrus, *Duo Erunt in Agro*, line 7: Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ, τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ δηλαδὴ, εἰσὶν οἱ ἀγροικοὶ καὶ ιδιώται καὶ ἐλάχιστοι γένει καὶ πλούτῳ.

Plutarch, *Crassus*, 12.4 (ἀγροίκος δὲ τῷ βίῳ καὶ ιδιώτης); *Quaestiones Convivales* (612c–748d), 710D9 (ιδιώταις καὶ ὑπαγροικοτέροις). Lucian of Samosata, *Hermotimus*, 81 (ἀγροίκος ἄνθρωπος καὶ ιδιώτης).

The (probably second-century) rhetor Eudemus includes both terms in his lexicon of ‘rhetorical words’. Eudemus, *Περὶ Λέξεων Ρητορικῶν*, (*excerpta*), Folio 4b.

13. See *supra*, endnote 7, pp. 216–217.

14. ὥσπερ τεκτονικῶ κανόνι. The expression evinces an erudite writer who had read not only Aristotle, but also John Philoponus, a contemporary with Cassian. I canvass this in *RCR*, chapter 7, p. 381.

15. διαπραττόμεθα. This form is a token of familiarity with the few authors who practiced it. Eusebius, *De Ecclesiastica Theologia*, 1.20.38 (διαπραττο-

μαι). John Chrysostom, *In Genesim (homiliae 1–67)*, PG.54.391.30 (διαπράττομαι); op. cit. PG.53: 231.46; 243.10; 436.20 (διαπραττόμεθα); op. cit. PG.54: 528.22; 530.46 (διαπράττεσθε); *Fragmenta in Job*, PG.64.596.9; *Commentarius in Job*, p. 81; *Catecheses ad Illuminandos 1–8*, 7.22. Theodore of Mopsuestia, *commProphXII*, Prophet Haggai, 2.6–9 (διαπράττομαι); *expPs*, Psalm 35:10b (διαπραττόμεθα); *commProphXII*, Prophet Hosea 6:4; Michah 3:2; Malachi 1:6b; *Fragmenta in Epistulam ad Romanos*, p. 122 (διαπράττεσθε). Gennadius I of Constantinople, *Fragmenta in Epistulam ad Romanos*, p. 405 (διαπραττόμεθα).

16. λήθην ποιησώμεθα. Once again, the distinctive mark of Eusebius and Gregory of Nyssa is present. John Chrysostom applied this, too. Use by Julian the Arian is noteworthy, since this author is relevant to the vocabulary of Cassian's *Scholia in Apocalypsin*.

Eusebius, *Commentarius in Isaiam*, 2.36 (λήθην ποιήσασθαι); 2.56 (λήθην ποιήσονται); *commPs* (λήθην ποιήσασθαι), PG.23: 253.7; 253.14; 356.28; 392.28; 865.9; (λήθην ἐποιήσαντο) 736.29; 912.23 (λήθην ἐποιήσαντο). There is one casual instance in Athanasius, *Expositiones in Psalmos* (λήθην ποιήσασθαι), PG.27.564.17.

Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 3.6.74 (λήθην ποιούμενη); *In Canticum Canticorum (homiliae 15)*, v. 6: p. 39 (λήθην ποιούμεναι); p. 80 (λήθην ποιησάμενοι); p. 245 (λήθην ποιούμενος); p. 262 (λήθην ποιούμενος); p. 262 (λήθην ποιούμενα); *In Sanctum et Salutare Pascha*, v. 9, p. 310 (λήθην ἐποίησε); *Orationes VIII de Beatitudinibus*, v. 44, p. 1212 (λήθην ποιούμενος).

John Chrysostom, *Catecheses ad Illuminados*, 1.8; 1.9; *De Proditione Judae (homiliae 1–2)*, PG.49.386.17 (λήθην ἐποίησω); *In Genesim (homiliae 1–67)*, PG.53.275.20 (λήθην ποιούμενους); PG.54: 462.46 (λήθην ἐποίησατο); 548.8 (λήθην ἐποίησάμην); *Commentarius in Job*, p. 87.

Julian the Arian, *Commentarius in Job*, p. 31 (λήθην ποιήσασθαι); p. 63 (λήθην ἐποίησω); p. 244 (λήθην ποιούμενος).

17. ὑπὲρ δικέλλης καὶ γραφίδος. A unique parallel points to influence by Theodoret, *De Providentia*, PG.83.621.40–44: Νῦν δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀντικειμένου, καὶ γραφίδα μάλα ῥαδίως κατέχομεν, καὶ σκαπάνην, καὶ δίκελλαν, πρίονά τε, καὶ σκέπαρνον, καὶ σφύραν, καὶ πυράγραν, καὶ πάντα ὅσα τέχνης ἐστὶν ὀργάνα.

18. ἐκπεπτώκαμεν τοῦ σκοποῦ. Cf. the anonymous *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, Vita 1: πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀδελφῶν πεπόνθασι τι τοιοῦτον καὶ δι' ἀλαζονείαν τοῦ σκοποῦ ἐκπεπτώκασιν. Op. cit. τινὲς γὰρ οὕτω θαρρήσαντες

καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ ὕψει τῶν ἀρετῶν γεγονότες τέλος ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ ἐκπεπτῶκα-
σιν.

19. καὶν διαδῶ τὸ σῶμα μου ἵνα καθήσομαι (1 Cor. 13:3). The Pauline expression καὶ ἐὰν παραδῶ τὸ σῶμά μου ἵνα καθήσομαι occurs in Pseudo-Macarius, Ephraem Syrus, John Chrysostom, and Cyril of Alexandria.

Pseudo-Macarius, *Sermones* 64 (*collectio B*), Homily 7.7.3; *Epistula Magna*, p. 250; *Sermones Paraeneticī ad Monachos Aegypti*, Oration 26. Ephraem Syrus, *Institutio ad Monachos*, p. 320. John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum* (*homiliae* 1–90), PG.58.709.23–24. Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannem*, v. 2, p. 391; *De Adoratione*, PG.68.520.48.

Clement of Alexandria has it, ἐὰν τὸ σῶμά μου ἐπιδῶ (*Stromateis*, 4.18.111.5). Besides, Clement is the sole Christian author to apply the Subjunctive verb-form διαδῶ to 1 Cor. 13:3: Ἐὰν γάρ, φησι, διαδῶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μου, ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, οὐδὲν εἰμι (*Paedagogus*, 2.1.5.4).

Only an erudite person who used Greek confidently could have applied the form διαδῶ, which transpires in first person only in extremely rare instances. Clement apart, it is only Pseudo-Macarius that does so, indeed with reference to 1 Cor. 13:3. Pseudo-Macarius, *Sermones* 64 (*collectio B*), Homily 54.5.1: καὶν τὰ τῆς γῆς ὅλα χρήματα διαδῶ τοῖς πένησι. A close relation between Cassian and Pseudo-Macarius is all too evident, all the more so since the latter's vocabulary recurs pretty frequently in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, which bespeaks the Akoimetan identity of them both.

20. ἀποταγὴ πραγμάτων (58^v, 58^r). This is a plain influence by the Greek translations of Ephraem Syrus' works, many of which were made in the Laura of Sabas, as discussed in *RCR*, Introduction, pp. 35–36. It is possible that the Sabaite translators of Ephraem instilled the expression into these translations. Ephraem Syrus, *Sermo Asceticus*, p. 143 (ἀποταγὴν τῶν γηϊνῶν πραγμάτων); *Capita Centum. Quomodo quis Humilitatem sibi Comparet*, 69 (πρὸς ἀποταγὴν τῶν γηϊνῶν πραγμάτων).

The expression of 'abba Moses' (58^r), ὑπὲρ τοίνυν τούτου τοῦ σκοποῦ καὶ ἡμεῖς πάντα διαπραττόμεθα, ὑπὲρ τούτου πάντων καταφρονούμεν καὶ πατρίδα καὶ γένους καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου, has a stunning parallel in Ephraem Syrus: *Sermones Paraeneticī ad Monachos Aegypti*, Oration 8: ἀποταγὴ κόσμου, ἀποταγὴ γηϊνῶν πραγμάτων, ἀποταγὴ πατρίδος καὶ φίλων καὶ τῶν κατὰ σάρκα γονέων διὰ τὴν εἰς Κύριον ἐλπίδα, καὶ αὐριον χώραν καὶ πατρίδα καὶ κληρονομίαν ἐπιζητήσωμεν, τοῦ βυθίζειν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς κακὰ πολλά. Cassian would have employed this expression from Ephraem's translated writings, probably those translated by monks of the Great Laura.

In a text ascribed to Basil of Caesarea there is one casual reference. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Sermo 11* (*Sermo Asceticus et Exhortatio de Renuntiatione Mundi*), PG.31.632.15–17: Ἦδη γὰρ τῇ ἀποταγῇ τῶν γηίνων πραγμάτων τετίμηκας σεαυτὸν παρὰ Χριστῷ.

21. The notion of ‘one having God within oneself’ (Θεὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχειν), thus being ‘divine’, comes from Chrysippus via Diogenes Laertius, and was taken up by Origen, Eusebius, Gregory of Nyssa, Didymus, Ephraem Syrus, Therodore of Mopsuestia. The author of the *Suda Lexicon* may have been influenced by this spiritual environment.

22. τῇ σαρκὶ ταύτῃ συνδεδεμένος. The expression originates in Origen (actually Celsus) and was taken up by Evagrius. Cassian makes pretty much of it. *OctoVit*, p. 27: οἱ σαρκὶ συνδεδεμένοι ἄνθρωποι. *SerenPrim*, p. 81b: σαρκὶ συνδεδεμένον. *OctoVit*, p. 55: καὶ σπουδαῖος τῇ προαιρέσει, ὅμως σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι συνδεδεμένος. Cf. Origen, *Cels* (quoting Celsus) VII.42: παντελῶς τῇ σαρκὶ ἐνδεδεμένοι καὶ μηδὲν καθαρὸν βλέποντες. Op. cit. VII.45. Evagrius of Pontus, *Expositio in Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 110 & *Scholia in Proverbia* (*fragmenta e catenis*), 287B: οἱ ἐνδεδεμένοι αἵματι καὶ σαρκί. *Scholia in Ecclesiasten*, Scholion 8: τὴν πεφυκυῖαν ἐπισυμβαίνειν ψυχῇ συνδεδεμένη αἵματι καὶ σαρκί. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Supremum Vale* (*orat. 42*), PG.36.472.21: Θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ σαρκὶ συνδεδεμένον. Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae*, 8.7: οὐ τῶν συνδεδεμένων σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι τῆς τοιαύτης βασιλείας ἢ γνώσις. *Homiliae super Psalmos*, PG.29.376.25: ὅσον γε τῇ σαρκὶ συνδεδέμεθα χρόνον. Pseudo-Macarius, *Sermones 64* (*collectio B*), Homily 41.1.5: ἔχοντι τοῖνον καρδίαν καὶ πνεῦμα σαρκὶ συνδεδεμένον.

23. Styling Godhead ἀκατάσχετος is a revealing designation, since it was used by Nestorius, in an admirable passage of rhetorical skill. *Sermones*, Sermon 4, *apud* ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum Anno 431*, 1.1.6, p. 12: καὶ (εἰ) μεμένηκεν ὁ θεὸς λόγος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀκατάσχετος καὶ τῆς σφαγῆς οὐ κεκοινώνηκε τῇ σαρκί. So in op. cit. p. 99. Beyond this instance, it transpires only in *DT*, which I maintain to be Cassian’s work (Appendix II). *DT* (*lib. 2.1–7*), 6.8.5: ἡ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος ἔκχυσις, ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι, ἡ ἀκατάσχετος καὶ ἄφθονος ἐπιφοίτησις αὐτοῦ.

24. Cf. Aristotle, τὸ ὄν πολλαχῶς λέγεται. *Metaphysica*, 1217b27; 1003a33; 1003b5; 1018a35; 1026a33; 1026b2; 1028a6&10&30; 1060b32; 1061b11; *Physica*, 185a21; 185b6.

25. Although the adverb *πολλαχῶς* is distinctly an Aristotelian one, the expression as a whole points to Cassian having read Proclus. Since Cassian/Caesarius knew Dionysius Areopagite, probably personally (*RCR*, pp. 318–319; 332; 382; 397), and the liabilities of Dionysius to Proclus are well-known, such a reading by Cassian comes as no surprise. Cf. Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, p. 217: ἔσται οὖν αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἡ θεωρία, καθ' ὅσον ἀπὸ θεῶν παράγεται τὸ πᾶν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πολλαχῶς ἂν τις τὸν κόσμον θεωρήσειεν, ἢ κατὰ τὸ σωματοειδές, ἢ καθ' ὅσον ψυχῶν μετέχει μερικῶν τε καὶ ὀλικῶν, ἢ καθ' ὅσον ἔννοους ἐστίν. Plato's *Timaeus* is the work that a Christian theologian has always cared to read first, both in Antiquity and in modern times.

26. The expression τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μακαρίᾳ καὶ ἀκατάληπτῳ οὐσίᾳ is a plain liability to Athanasius, *De Synodis Arimini in Italia et Seleucia in Isauria*, 35.2: ἀλλ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀπλήν καὶ μακαρίαν καὶ ἀκατάληπτον τοῦ ὄντος οὐσίαν νοοῦμεν. A similar work ascribed to Chrysostom needs to be explored as to its relation to Cassian's pen. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *Eclogae I–XLVIII ex Diversis Homiliis*, PG.63.699.14–16: Ἀκουέτωσαν οἱ τὴν μακαρίαν τῆς θεότητος οὐσίαν περιεργαζόμενοι, καὶ τὴν ἀκατάληπτον ἐκείνην φύσιν καταληπτὴν εἶναι λέγοντες.

27. ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι τοῖς ἀγίοις μόνοις τετήρηται. The notion of full and perfect knowledge being an eschatological anticipation is Origen's, and it is couched in similar terms at this point. Cf. *PHE*, ch. 9. In the *Scholia in Apocalypsin* (EN IXa), I discuss the portion having been ascribed to John Chrysostom by a later catenist. Cf. the selfsame text in Origen, *homJob* (*fragmenta in catenis, typus I*) PG.12.1044; *homJob*, (*fragmenta in catenis, typus II*), PG.17.96; *homJob* (Pitra) pp. 382–383, and John Chrysostom, *Fragmenta in Job*, PG.64.644. Ὁλος ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος νύξ ἐστι, σκοτός ἐστὶ τὸ φῶς τηρεῖται σοι· νῦν γὰρ δι' ἐσόπτρου βλέπεις, μέλλεις δέ ποτε βλέπειν τὸ φῶς· οὐκοῦν νύξ ἐστι πᾶς ὁ αἰὼν.

Cyril of Alexandria entertained this language with regard to eschatological perfection, not knowledge. *Solutiones (e Tractatu de Dogmatum Solutione)*, p. 556: τοῦτο ἡμῖν τετήρηται εἰς αἰῶνα τὸν μέλλοντα. Op. cit. p. 554: τὸ δὲ Καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, οὐ, τετήρηται δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν εἰς αἰῶνα τὸν μέλλοντα. *De Adoratione*, PG.68.329.16: τετήρηται γὰρ τὸ τελείως ἅγιον εἰς αἰῶνα τὸν μέλλοντα. So in op. cit. PG.68.777.44–45. *GlaphPent*, PG.69.561.43–44: Τετήρηται γὰρ εἰς αἰῶνα τὸν μέλλοντα τοῖς ἀγίοις τὸ δῶρον. Pseudo-Cyril of Alexandria, *Collectio Dictorum Veteris Testamenti*, PG.77.1228.33–34: Τὸ γὰρ τελείως ἄγνὸν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τετήρηται τὸν μέλλοντα.

28. διοικήσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ προνοίας. This expression, which appears also in Cassian's Scholion XXVII on the Apocalypse, reveals influence by the Stoic notion διοίκησις καὶ πρόνοια of Chrysippus, attested by Dio Chrysostom, *Orationes*, 3.43 (Chrysippus, *Fragmenta Moralia*, Fr. 331).

The authors through whom the notion reached Cassian are also important to his *Scholia in Apocalypsin*. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, 4.12.88.2; 7.2.8.3 (the context is fairly similar to Cassian's text at this point). Origen, *Cels*, VII.68. Eusebius, *DE*, 5.1.6; *De Ecclesiastica Theologia*, 3.2.16; 3.2.25; *Commentarius in Isaiam*, 1.41; 2.28; *Vita Constantini*, 2.46.2; *commPs*, PG.23: 180.25; 225.16; 228.37; 457.29; 1377.1. Didymus, *commJob* (7.20c-n), Cod. p. 299; *comPs* 22–26.10, Cod. p. 79; *commEccl* (3–4.12), Cod. p. 84. Gregory of Nazianzus, *De Moderatione in Disputando* (*orat.* 32), PG.36.205.32. Julian the Arian, *Commentarius in Job*, pp. 19; 33. Procopius of Gaza, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, p. 1933. Likewise, Proclus, *Theologia Platonica*, v. 4, p. 47; *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 3, p. 196.

29. Cf. *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaiam*, 11.249: Χεῖρ Κυρίου διαφόρως ἐδείχθη καθ' ἐκάστην γενεάν, διὰ τῶν δυναμένων χωρῆσαι τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῶν θαυμασίων.

30. τὸ ἀμέτρητον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως. Cassian's sources can be traced to the authors of whom he regularly avails himself. Gregory of Nyssa, *Epistulae*, 3.20: ἀπειρον τί ἐστὶ καὶ ἀμέτρητον ἢ τῆς θεότητος δυνάμεις. Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80: 1352.14–15: Λέγει ἐπιτελείς δὲ τούτων ἕκαστον, δυνάμει χρώμενος ἀρρήτῳ καὶ ἀμετρήτῳ. Op. cit. 1996.21–22: "Ἀπειρον γὰρ αὐτοῦ, φησι, τὸ μέγεθος, ἀμέτρητος ἢ δυνάμεις. *intPaulXIV*, PG.82.529.47–48: Καὶ πλοῦτον ἀρρήτον ἔχει, καὶ δυνάμιν ἀμέτρητον. Cyril of Alexandria, *In Isaiam*, PG.70.1032.1: τὴν ἰδίαν ἅπασιν ἐμφανίσαι δόξαν, καὶ τῆς ἀμετρήτου δυνάμεως καταδείξαι τὸ μέγεθος.

31. The expression about the 'never-sleeping eye' was introduced by Philo, *De Mutatione Nominum*, 40: ἀκοιμήτῳ γὰρ ὀφθαλμῷ βλέπει πάντα. Christian literature made extensive use of the imagery (Basil of Caesarea, Didymus, Ephraem Syrus, John Chrysostom). In *PHE*, p. 75, I have canvassed the germane notion of the divine 'never-sleeping nature' which originates in Plato's *Timaeus*.

32. ἀριθμηταὶ αὐτοῦ αἱ σταγόνες ὕετοῦ (*Job* 36:27) καὶ ἄμμος θαλάσσης (*Ecclesiasticus* 1:2) καὶ ἀστέρες οὐρανοῦ. Quotations (either direct or oblique) transpire in Gregory of Nazianzus, *De Spiritu Sancto*, 8; *De Pauperum Amore*,

PG.35.897.45; *Carmina Moralia*, 535. Theodoret, *HE*, p. 13; *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum*, PG.81.52.48.

The second part of the sentence is a quotation from Gen. 15:5, and from the apocryphon *Apocalypsis Esdrae* (p. 27). It should be noticed that, at this point, Cassian quotes Job from LXX, not from the Hebrew text.

33. τὴν ἄρρητον καὶ ἀνεκδιήγητον φιλανθρωπίαν. Of the few instances where this structure occurs, Origen refers to 'ineffable heavenly names', whereas authors who influenced Cassian refer to aspects of the mystery of Incarnation.

Origen, *commEph*, 9: ἄρρητα καὶ ἀνεκδιήγητα ὀνόματα. Eusebius, *Epistula ad Constantiam Augustam*, PG.20.1548.13: φῶς αὐτοῦ ἄρρητον καὶ ἀνεκδιήγητον. Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 1.1.296; κατὰ τὸν ἄρρητον ἐκείνον καὶ ἀνεκδιήγητον τῆς γεννήσεως ἦτοι τῆς ἐξόδου τρόπον. Theodoret, *HE*, p. 20: ἀλλ' ἄρρητως καὶ ἀνεκδιηγήτως.

The sole relevant context occurs only in Pseudo-Macarius, *Sermones* 64 (*collectio B*), Homily 21.1.9: Ὡς τῆς ἀρρήτου εὐδοκίας, ᾧ τῆς ἀνεκδιηγήτου φιλανθρωπίας. Op. cit. Homily 31.1.7 [*& Homiliae Spirituales* 50 (*collectio H*), Homily 29]: διὰ τὴν ἄρρητον τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίαν καὶ τὰ ἀνεκδιήγητα αὐτοῦ κρίματα. Op. cit. Homily 63.2.3: ἐκεῖνα γὰρ πάντα τὰ πνευματικά καὶ ἐπουράνια ἄρρητά ἐστι καὶ ἀνεκδιήγητα. As regards a similar point, allegedly in Basil of Caesarea, I believe that this is owing only to the *Asceticon Magnum* having been heavily interpolated. However, I leave the question moot for the time being. Basil of Caesarea, *Asceticon Magnum*, PG.31.909; *Homiliae Super Psalmos*, PG.29.401.44.

34. The expression διεγειρόμεθα πρὸς τὸν πόθον αὐτοῦ (bespeaking the soul which is aroused to longing for the Logos) has a unique parallel, which runs in the sentiment of the Song of Songs. Pseudo-Macarius, *Sermones* 64 (*collectio B*), Homily 10.1.8: Ἀκούσασα τοίνυν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ ψυχὴ καὶ συνηδομένη τῷ θεῷ διεγειράτω ἑαυτὴν καὶ ἐξυπνιζέτω εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ ποθομένου κυρίου καὶ ἐξαπτέτω τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ νυμφίου.

35. τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν νεύσεως. This might be an influence by Theodoret, *intProphXII*, PG.81.1868.1–4: εὐθύς προαιρούμενοι τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς θείας ἐπικουρίας τυγχάνομεν· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι νεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον τῆς θείας συμπονοίας ἀπέλασαν, καὶ προθυμότερους αὐτοὺς ἡ θεία χάρις εἰργάσατο. Nevertheless, the specific expression 'assenting to the Good' is extremely scarce. The context may sustain also the possibility of Cassian having received the idea from other authors, too. Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, *In Dictum Evangelii: Cum*

Consummasset Jesus hos Sermones, PG.36.305.20–22: Δοκοῦσι τοίνυν οἱ μὲν ἐκ φύσεως νεύειν πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθόν. Φύσεως δὲ ὅταν εἴπω, οὐκ ἀτιμάζω τὴν προαίρεσιν. Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, v. 2, p. 481: Οὐκοῦν ἐγίγνωσκεν δύνασθαι διευθύνεσθαι τὸ σκήνωμα τοῦτο καὶ νεύειν πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἵνα νεκρωθῶσιν ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ ἀμαρτήματα. Later still, Ignatius Diaconus (eighth–ninth cent.), *Vita Nicephori*, p. 180: οἱ δὲ μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίδι πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν νεύσαντες. Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 187: ἃ τε δὴ ἐφάπαξ τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν νεύσεως διαστήσασα. It is interesting that, once again, Proclus appears to concur by using a rare expression originating in Christian thought. Proclus, *In Platonis Alcibiadem i*, 318: ὥστε μία ἐστὶν ἡ ἀσώματος φύσις καὶ ἐνοειδὴς καὶ συννεύει πάσα πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθόν.

36. The notion of knowledge of God being analogous to the degree of one's internal purification is Origen's. *PHE*, pp. 170; 377.

37. καὶ δυσχέριαν πολλὴν εἶναι. To expresses the notion of something involving 'much difficulty' through the expression δυσχέριαν πολλὴν εἶναι is an Aristotelian construction. *Metaphysica*, 1091b22; (Cf. 1085b17; 1086b12); *De Partibus Animalium*, 645a28; *Politica*, 1261a10; 1263a22; 1335a2. Although Aristotelian commentators followed this usage (from Alexander of Aphrodisias to Eustratius of Nicaea, via Simplicius), Cassian is the only Christian author ever to have entertained this phraseology.

38. Here we have one more indication of who Cassian actually was. The verb προσασχολεῖν (Active) and προσασχολεῖσθαι (Middle voice) is a very rare one and so it has always remained. This seems to have been introduced for the first time by Cassian's hero, Gregory of Nyssa, and it is characteristic of two quarters: one, Gregory of Nyssa himself; two, of the Laura of Sabas. It appears also later, almost exclusively in the vocabulary of monastery-constitutions. It also occurs in the work of the seventh-century monk Antiochus of Palestine, who lived in the same monastery as Cassian, namely the Laura of Sabas. It seems therefore that, following Gregory of Nyssa, the verb was popular with this monastery, since this rare verb was used by Cyril of Scythopolis, Cassian, and monk (and later abbot of the Laura) Antiochus. I canvass the significance of Simplicius using this in *RCR*, pp. 374–375.

39. ὁμιλίας ἀργαῖς καὶ ματαίαις. The notion of 'idle chatting' is an invention of the Greek translators of Ephraem Syrus, who introduced the term ἀργολογία for this. Cassian's expression is a liability to the Greek Ephraem. Texts ascribed to either Gregory of Nyssa or Basil are all spurious. The

following are remarkable parallel portions. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Sermo* 13 (*Sermo Asceticus*), PG.31.877.43–44: τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς μὴ ἀποκρίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀδολεσχοῦσιν ἐν ὁμιλίαις ματαίαις, ἵνα μὴ συγκαθελκυσθῇ πρὸς τὴν ἀργῶν ῥημάτων ἀκολουθίαν. *Epitimia in Canonicas* (*epitimia* 25), PG.31.1316.1–3: Ἦτις χωρὶς ἀναγκαίας χρείας ἀκαιρον ὁμιλίαν προβαλλομένη ἀργολογεῖ, ἀφοριζέσθω ἐβδομάδα μίαν.

40. ἀλέσαι. In a work ascribed to the second century-grammarian Herodianus (Alexandria, Rome), which though is probably later to him, the verb is there, along with two different forms of the Present Perfect tense of it. Pseudo-Herodianus, *De Locutionum Pravitatibus*, p. 259: ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλέφω, ἡλειφα· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλέθω, ἡλεκα· οἱ δὲ Ἀττικοὶ εἰώθασιν ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις πολλαῖς ἀναδιπλασιάζειν τὸ ῥῆμα ἐπὶ παρακειμένου· οἷον ἡλειφα, ἀλήλιφα· καὶ ἡλεκα, ἀλήλεκα. Hesychius of Alexandria (fifth cent.) refers to ἄλεθρα being a version for ἄλευρα. *Lexicon*, alphabetic letter alpha, entry 2735. The Liddell and Scott lexicon has no lemma for the verb ἀλέθω, yet it has the foregoing one of Hesychius. This is perhaps understandable, since this actually is a later Byzantine usage, but it should have been included in Lampe's *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, from which it is absent, too.

41. ἡ διάνοια ἡμῶν ἀεικίνητος. The notion of 'mind which is in perpetual motion' is a liability of Cassian to Gregory of Nyssa (*De Opificio Hominis*, p. 157) and shows this text to be an original Greek one, not a translation from Latin. Cassian uses this at another point, too: *SerenPrim*, 82: ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς ... ὅτι μὲν ἀεικίνητος τῇ φύσει ἐστὶν καὶ οὐδέποτε παύεται τοῦ ἐνθυμεῖσθαι. p. 83: ἡ διάνοια καὶ ἐκ φύσεως ἔχουσα τὸ ὀξύτατον καὶ ἀεικίνητον. See *RCR*, pp. 156; 379–380.

42. Photius read this as a 'third discourse', which means that a title is needed at this point. He had in front of him a copy of 'the Book of Cassian', but folia 101'–118' were missing. *RCR*, Appendix III. *Bibliotheca*, Codex 197, p. 161a: Καὶ τρίτον δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις λογίδιον συνανεγνώσθη, ὃ μετὰ τελευτὴν Κάστορος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῷ διαδεξαμένῳ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς μονῆς, δι' ἣν καὶ οἱ κανόνες ἐστάλησαν, προσπεφώνηται. Ἔστι μὲν συγγενὲς τοῖς προειρημένοις, διδάσκει δὲ τί τέ ἐστι διάκρισις, καὶ ὅτι μείζων αὕτη τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν, καὶ ὅθεν τίκτεται, καὶ ὡς τὸ πλεον τῆς ἀνωθεν ἐστὶ δωρεᾶς. The Latin text introduces this topic as 'Collatio II'. PL.49.523B f.

43. ἀρετῶν ἀκρόπολις τις καὶ βασιλὶς. Clearly, Cassian reproduces Gregory of Nyssa. Whereas he styled the virtue of 'discretion' (διάκρισις) the 'acropolis of all virtues', Gregory ascribed this designation to 'wisdom', which is

virtually the same idea. Gregory of Nyssa, *In Ecclesiasten* (*homiliae* 8), v. 5, p. 398: ὁ οὖν ταύτην σε περιλαμβάνειν προτρεπόμενος τῇ ὑψηλῇ πολιτείᾳ συμφύηται παρακελεύεται, ὥστε εἰς αὐτὴν φθάσαι τῶν ἀρετῶν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ἣν τῷ ὀνόματι Σιών παραδηλοῖ δι' αἰνίγματος.

The text of Pseudo-Caesarius (= Cassian) styles 'love' the 'acropolis of all virtues'. QR, 214: τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῶν ἀρετῶν τὴν ἀγάπην κτησώμεθα. Macarius of Magnesia (fourth–fifth cent.) ascribes the epithet to virtue in general: εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῶν οὐρανίων ἀνελθόντες ἀρετῶν. *Apicriticus* seu *Μονογενής*, Book 2, p. 7.

Cassian in fact writes under the influence of not only Gregory, but also Ephraem Syrus, who is the sole author to style 'discretion' 'the queen of all virtues'. Ephraem Syrus, *De Virtutibus et Passionibus*, p. 406: μεῖζων γὰρ πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν ἡ διάκρισις, ὡς βασιλίσσά τις οὖσα, καὶ ἀρετὴ ἀρετῶν.

It may well be that this specific remark by Ephraem was the springboard for Cassian to embark on the analysis of 'discretion' at this very point, which marks the beginning of his treatise *On Discretion* that Photius, as well as John Climacus, praised warmly.

A couple of other instances where the notion occurs do not relate to Cassian's account in actual content. Cf. a spurious text ascribed to John Chrysostom, *In Pharisaeum et Meretricem*, PG.61.731.55: τί στρατεύεις κατ' αὐτῆς, ὡς μόνος ἀνελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῶν ἀρετῶν; John of Damascus, who lived in the same monastery where Cassian had been abbot, ascribes the designation 'acropolis' not to 'discretion' (which both Cassian and Gregory of Nyssa did), but to 'love' which though Pseudo-Caesarius (= Cassian) did, too, as already mentioned. *Homilia in Transfigurationem Domini*, PG.96.560.50: Πασῶν δὲ τῶν ἀρετῶν κολοφὼν καὶ ἀκρόπολις ἡ ἀγάπη καθέστηκεν.

44. βεβαίω λογισμῷ. This is an expression that Cassian received from the Local Council of Constantinople, where he was present himself. It is employed at one point of the minutes only, not to be used ever again by any subsequent council. Its author was Pope Ormisdas, in a letter that he had sent to the clerics of Syria II. The letter was read before this Local Council in Latin, while being translated in Greek at the same time. ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, p. 53: ἔνστητε, ἀγαπητοί μου, καὶ ἀσάλευτον τὴν πίστιν βεβαίω λογισμῷ φυλάττοντες. In fact Cassian's expression is a reproduction of the synod-one. Although a couple of other parallels can be pointed out, they are rather attenuated. Cf. Didymus, *frPs(al)*, Fr. 301: ταύτης οὖν οἱ λογισμοὶ ἀραρότερες καὶ βέβαιοι τυγχάνοντες. Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 21.70.8: ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ βεβαίου τῶν λογισμῶν πρὸς πάντα τὰ καίρια ἔτοιμος ὢν. Op. cit. 44.25.7: ἀλλ' ἐχεγγύω πίστει τὸ βέβαιον τοῦ λογισμοῦ προνοήσετε.

45. ἐν νυκτὶ πλανώμενον. This imagery was championed by Cyril of Alexandria, yet it appears also in Pseudo-Caesarius. Definitely, it was taken up from Cyril of Alexandria, to be reproduced later by Theodore Studites. It reappears during the next millennium in Nicephorus Gregoras (thirteenth–fourteenth cent.) and Gennadius Scholarius (fifteenth cent.). Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannem*, v. 1, p. 564: τοῖς δὲ ἀγνοοῦσιν ἔτι καὶ πλανωμένοις, καὶ καθάπερ ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ σκότῳ διαιτωμένοις. Op. cit. v. 2, p. 331: πρὸς τὸ φωτίσαι τοὺς ἐν σκότει πλανωμένους ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ. *De Adoratione*, PG.68.393.51: τοῖς μὲν ἐν ἀμαθίᾳ καὶ πλάνῃ, καθάπερ ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ σκότῳ διατρίβουσι. Theodore Studites, *Μεγάλη Κατήχησις*, Catechesis 19, p. 131: καὶ ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ ᾧδε κακεῖσε πλανώμενοι. The same portion, in Theodore Studites' *Sermones Catecheseos Magnae*, Catechesis 27, p. 75.

Pseudo-Caesarius (= Cassian), *QR*, 87: Διὰ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀνακύπτειν πολυθεον πλάνην, τὴν καὶ νῦν κατέχουσιν τοὺς πολλοὺς, ἥλιον ἀντὶ θεοῦ σέβοντας καὶ ἀθέους ἐν νυκτὶ ὑπάρχοντας τῇ ἐκείνου δύσει.

46. τοῖς κακίας βόθροις. This is a liability to Athanasius that was taken up by Maximus Confessor. Athanasius, *Epistula ad Episcopos Aegypti et Libyae*, PG.25.541.6–7: οὕτως τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁ δόλιος παίζει ταῖς φαντασίαις, ὑποκλέπτων καὶ σύρων ἕκαστον εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τῆς κακίας βόθρον. So in *Scholia in Job*, PG.27.1345.50–52, and *Scholia in Job* [e cod. Vat. Pii II], p. 22. Maximus Confessor, *Scholia in Ecclesiasten*, 10: ὁ τῶν ὁμοφυῶν τὴν βλάβην ἐπιτεχνώμενος ἑαυτὸν πρῶτον βλάβῃ, εἰς τὸν τῆς κακίας ἐμπεσῶν βόθρον.

47. τῆς διανοίας λεπτυνομένης. Cassian's liability is evident once again, since it was only Evagrius who had entertained the imagery of 'mind' becoming 'refined'. Evagrius, *Sententiae ad Monachos*, Sententia 48: Ὑπνος πολὺς παχύνει διάνοιαν, ἀγρυπνία δὲ ἀγαθὴ λεπτύνει αὐτήν.

A casual reference by Cyril of Alexandria is only an attenuated parallel, no doubt owing to Evagrius, since no other author ever employed this until Photius did so (assuming this point of the *Epistulae et Amphilochia* is indeed his own, which I doubt). Cassian's liability to Evagrius is therefore plain. Cf. Cyril of Alexandria, *Epistulae Paschales sive Homiliae Paschales* (epist. 1–30), PG.77.612.31: ἵνα καὶ τὸν τῆς διανοίας ἀπολεπτύνωμεν ὀφθαλμόν. Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, Epistle 290: τῶν ταῖς μαθηματικαῖς σχολαῖς λεπτυνομένων τὴν διάνοιαν.

48. τῶν πολυπλόκων σχοινίων τῆς κοσμικῆς μερίμνης. The notion of 'perplexed cords' is implicitly related to Job 40:17, and points to 'destruction' of virtuous action. Cf. Julian the Arian, *Commentarius in Job*, p. 283. Didymus explicitly

interprets πολύπλοκα σχοινία as denoting the devil's plots, or those of the devilish people, or indeed the 'sophists': those are the 'heretics', who entrap Christians through elegant formulations, and seduce them into false doctrines. Didymus, *frPs(al)*, Fr. 1221: ἀλλὰ καὶ σχοινία, ἧτοι τὰς πολυπλόκους αὐτῶν πονηρίας. There is literal usage of the expression πολυπλόκων σχοινίων in spurious texts ascribed to John Chrysostom, *Quod Mari Similis Sit Haec Vita*, PG.64.20.66; *De Spe*, PG.60.772.61. This calls for exploration as to whether Cassian is relevant to the authorship of such works.

49. κατὰ τὸν ἐμὸν ὅρον (& οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ ὅρος, 66'). Cassian's expression κατὰ τὸν ἐμὸν ὅρον is a token of erudition of the highest level. I canvass this in *RCR*, ch. 7, p. 382.

50. Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 64b: καταλιμπάνοντα τὴν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα μέρη ὑπερβολήν. This is the typical Aristotelian tenet of virtue being the mean between two extremes. Aristotle, *Ethica Eudemia*, 1220b34–35; 1222a10; 1227b5–8; *Ethica Nicomachea*, 1106b27–34; 1106b36; 1107a7; 1108a32; 1108b12; 1109a20; 1120b31; *Magna Moralia*, 1.8.22; 1.9.51; 1.22.17; 2.3.172; 2.3.174; *Politica*, 1295a37–40. However, the specific vocabulary of Cassian points to his personal readings, since it transpires in two authors only. One of them is the historian Diodore of Sicily (first cent. BC), *Bibliotheca Historica* (*lib.* 21–40), Book 34/35, ch. 23.1 (Posidonius, *Fragmenta*, Fr. 164): τιθεὶς τοῖς Γαλάταις τὴν εἰς ἑκάτερον μέρος τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπερβολήν τῆς φιλανθρωπίας καὶ τιμωρίας. This author influenced Cassian to a significant extent. Cf. *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, XVI; XX; XXVII; XXXII; XXXV; XXXVIII. The other author is Aspasius (second cent. AD), *In Ethica Nichomachea Commentaria*, pp. 50–51 (comm. on *Ethica Nicomachea*, 1106b34): οὐδὲ τῶν κακιῶν ἐστὶ μεσότης οὐδ' ὑπερβολή καὶ ἔλλειψις, ἀλλ' ὥς ἂν πρᾶττηται τὰ κατὰ τὴν κακίαν, ἀμαρτάνεται, καὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα μερῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ μὲν ὑπερβολή ἐστὶ πᾶν, τὸ δ' ἔλλειψις. Cf. Cassian's *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, X.

51. ὁδῶ βασιλικῇ βαδίζειν. Some authors put into use the idea of 'walking along the royal road and deviating neither to the left nor the right'. Epiphanius, *Panarion*, v. 2, p. 378. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *De Pseudoprophetis*, PG.59.563.76–77. Theodoret, *intProphXII*, PG.81.1710.24–25. George Monachus, *Chronicon* (*lib.* 1–4), p. 174. However, Cassian actually copies from Ephraem Syrus entertaining the idea with respect to St Anthony. Ephraem Syrus, *Epistula ad Ioannem Monachum de Patientia*, p. 409: Οὐ μόνον δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ μακάριος Ἀντώνιος ταύτῃ ἐχρήσατο τῇ διαγωγῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Πατέρες, οἱ τὸν ἐνάρετον βίον ἐξασκήσαντες, ... Τούτων τὸν βίον καὶ τὸν τρόπον ζηλώσωμεν

καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ ὁδῷ βαδίζοντες, μὴ ἐκκλίνοντες, μήτε εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μήτε εἰς τὰ ἀριστερά.

52. σκοτ(ω)θεὶς τὴν διάνοιαν. Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *In Sanctum Ephraim*, PG.46.848.7: τὸν νοῦν σκοτωθεὶς. Eusebius, *commPs*, PG.23.344.30–31: τὸ διανοητικόν, συγχυθὲν καὶ σκοτωθέν. Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 32: τοῦτοις δὲ τοῖς λογισμοῖς ὁ μοναχὸς σκοτωθεὶς. The expression was current and available to Cassian in the Laura of Sabas. Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, p. 73: ἐξ οὗ τὴν διάνοιαν σκοτωθεὶς ἔμεινα παιδευόμενος καὶ βασανιζόμενος ἐπὶ ἡμέρας πλείους ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος. Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae*, 188.2: φάρμακα σκότῳ ἐμποιοῦντα ταῖς διανοαῖς. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaiam*, 5.159: σκότῳ βαθεὶ τῆς διανοίας κεκαλυμμένης. Op. cit. 8.223: σκοτωθήσονται τὴν διάνοιαν. Didymus, *commJob* (5.1–6.29), Cod. p. 127: καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ σκοτωθεὶς τὴν διάνοιαν. Ephraem Syrus, *De Perfectione Monachi*, p. 401: Μὴ ἔσθιε συνεχῶς, ἵνα μὴ σκοτώσῃς σου τὴν διάνοιαν. *De Panoplia, ad Monachos*, p. 33: "Ὅταν γὰρ πολλάκις μὴ δυνηθῇ τινα διὰ τῶν ἐνθυμήσεων ἐπιρρεῖν καὶ καταβαλεῖν, τότε λοιπὸν ἐπιφέρει αὐτῷ τὰς θλίψεις, ὅπως σκοτώσῃ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ εὖρη λοιπὸν σπεῖραι ἃ βούλεται. *In Vitam Beati Abrahamii et Nephtis Eius Mariae*, p. 378: καὶ σκοτωθεὶς τὴν διάνοιαν ὁ δαίμων. John Chrysostom, *In Genesim (homiliae 1–67)*, PG.54.427.8: ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου σκοτωθεὶς τὸν τῆς διανοίας λογισμὸν, τὸν εὐεργέτην ὡς πολέμιον ἑώρα. *In Joannem (homiliae 1–88)*, PG.59.147.33: σκοτωθῆναι τὴν διάνοιαν. *In Epistulam ad Romanos (homiliae 1–32)*, PG.60.522.57: τὴν διάνοιαν ἐν πολλῷ τῷ σκότῳ κατέχουσαι. *In Epistulam i ad Corinthios (homiliae 1–44)*, PG.61.242.47: Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς ... οὐ σκοτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν. *In Epistulam ad Ephesios (homiliae 1–24)*, PG.62.92.5: ἐσκοτισμένοι τῇ διανοίᾳ: καθάπερ γὰρ ὄντες ἐν σκότῳ. Op. cit. PG.62.94.10: ὅταν ἡ πολλὴ ῥύμη τῶν βιωτικῶν πραγμάτων τὸ διορατικὸν ἡμῶν ἐπικλύσῃ τῆς διανοίας, ἐν σκοτῶσει γίνεται.

53. ὁ ἐνδότερος ἡμῶν οἶκος. Being a Palestinian native, Cassian would have read the tracts composed by a relatively unknown yet significant theologian, namely, Marcus Eremita, an anti-Nestorian monk who lived in the region of Palestine and possibly in Egypt. His time is undetermined, but it should have been sometime between fourth and sixth century. Marcus Eremita, *De His Qui Putant Se Ex Operibus Justificari*, 211: τὸν ἐνδότερον οἶκον Χριστοῦ, εἴπερ οἶκος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐσμεν κατὰ τὸν προφητικὸν καὶ εὐαγγελικὸν καὶ ἀποστολικὸν λόγον. *De Baptismo*, 11: Τὰ γὰρ καθαρὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνδότερα ταμεῖα καὶ ὁ οἶκος τοῦ Χριστοῦ γυμνὸν νοῦν εἰσδέχονται.

54. ἀρετὴν συνίστασθαι. Once again, we come upon only a few authors, who happen to be significant during this exploration.

Plutarch, *De Virtute Morali* (440d–452d), 441b: Χρύσιππος δὲ κατὰ τὸν ποιὸν ἀρετὴν ἰδίᾳ ποιότητι συνίστασθαι νομίζων. Albinus, *Epitome Doctrinae Platonicae* sive *Διδασκαλικός*, 31.1: ἡ ἀρετὴ, καθ' ὁρμὴν τινα συνισταμένη διάπυρον καὶ γενναίαν καὶ ἔμμονον.

Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*, PG.26.873.10: Τῆς γὰρ ψυχῆς τὸ νοερὸν κατὰ φύσιν ἐκούσης, ἡ ἀρετὴ συνίσταται.

Didymus, *comPs* 35–39, Cod. p. 230: αὕτη δὲ ἡ τελεία ἀρετὴ ἡ ἀνυπέρβλητος ἢ μετὰ πάσαν προκοπὴν συνισταμένη τέλος ἐστίν. *comPs* 40–44.4, Cod. p. 250: παρακολούθημα οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ ἀμαρτία τῆς ἀρετῆς· οὐκ ἂν συνίστατο, εἰ μὴ δεκτικὸν ἦν ἀρετῆς τὸ ζῶον τὸ ἀμαρτάνον.

Once Cassian's work became a spurious ascription to Athanasius, it might well be that *Vita Antonii* falls into this category, too. For indeed Athanasius never used the Aristotelian verb ἐξατονεῖν (ἐξατονῇ, *Historia Animalium*, 630b8) which Cassian does on p. 68^v (ἐξατονούντας, s. *infra*). On the other hand, the same word (ἐξατονήσαντες) occurs once in the *Vita Antonii*, as well as in Eusebius (four instances), with a single casual instance in Cyril of Alexandria, Ephraem Syrus, and Diadochus of Photike. On the other hand, sixth-century writers significant to our exploration such as Olympiodorus the deacon of Alexandria and John Climacus, use this more than once.

55. βεβαίως διαμένειν. This is a rare expression, too. Athanasius, *Contra Gentes*, 41: ἵνα τῇ τοῦ Λόγου ἡγεμονίᾳ καὶ προνοίᾳ καὶ διακοσμήσει φωτιζομένη ἢ κτίσις βεβαίως διαμένειν δυνηθῇ. Didymus, *frPs(al)*, Fr. 894: ἀνωρθωμένον καὶ βεβαίως ἰδρυμένον τὸν θρόνον ἔχων μακροήμερον καὶ αἰώνιον διαμένοντα. Theodore of Mopsuestia, *commProphXII*, Prophet Zachariach, ch. 6, section 9,15. ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς καθέδρας διαμενεῖ βεβαίως.

56. I do not emend σύνψηφοι to σύμψηφοι, since the former is an acceptable colloquialism, however uncommon. Cf. Democritus, *Fragmenta*, Fr. 300,20 (συνψήφισον). Magica, *Papyri Magicae*, n. 12, line 352 (συνψήφισον); op. cit. n. 13, line 348 (συνψήφισας). Severianus of Gabala, *Fragmenta in Epistulam i ad Corinthios*, p. 243 (συνψηφιζόμενος καὶ συνκατακρίνων). Agathangelus (fifth century AD), *Historia Armeniae*, 43 (συνψηφισθῶμεν). Agathangelus is one of the earliest authors appearing to style John the Evangelist θεολόγος. Op. cit. 71. But his work was originally written in Armenian (the chronicle was entitled *Patmowt'wn Hayoc'*), so the rare colloquialism συνψηφισθῶμεν only tells us that its Greek translation was composed by a monk speaking the same vernacular as Cassian did.

57. ἀπὸ τῶν νεαρῶν παραδειγμάτων. This is a unique expression for ‘recent examples’, used by Cassian only. Nevertheless, see Theodoret, *intPaulXIV*, PG.82.177.53–180.2: Τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμει τὴν τοῦ πράγματος εὐκολίαν ἐπέδειξε, καὶ τίθησι παράδειγμα, οὔτε ἀλλότριον, οὔτε παλαιόν, ἀλλ’ οἰκείον καὶ νέον. Later still, George Pisides (deacon, poet, Constantinople and Antioch of Pisidia, seventh cent. AD), *Laudatio Sancti Anastasii Persae*, 1: θερμότερος γὰρ εἰς ἐγχείρησιν ἀνὴρ νεωτέρῳ χειραγωγούμενος παραδείγματι. Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 118: ἔχεις πολλὰ καὶ νέα καὶ παλαιὰ παραδείγματα.

58. καὶ συντόνῳ ἐγκρατεία. We come across the vocabulary of Marcus Eremita once again. *Ad Nicolaum ad Praecepta Animae Salutaria*, 1: δι’ ἀκριβοῦς πολιτείας καὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ πάσης κακοπαθείας, ἀγρυπνίας τε πολλῆς καὶ συντόνου προσευχῆς. Cf. Sozomenus, *HE*, 1.13.3: τρόπους περινοῶν συντονωτέρας ἀσκήσεως, καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐπεδίδου τῇ ἐγκρατεία.

59. εἰς βαθύτατον πτώμα. One can only be stunned at Cassian entertaining this expression which features uniquely in Aeschylus, *Supplices*, line 796: βαθὺ πτώμα μαρτυροῦσα μοι. V121 has it βαρύτατον πτώμα, to which there are two remarkable parallels, too. John Climacus, *Scala Paradisi*, 4.697: συνέβη πτώμα κατανεχθῆναι βαρύτατον ψυχῆς. Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 384: βαρὺ τὸ πτώμα.

60. ἀπαραμύθητον πένθος. Cassian’s liabilities go back to the following authors, who contributed to his own vocabulary. Pseudo-Macarius, *Sermones* 64 (*collectio B*), 4.27.4: πόνον ἔχει ἄπαυστον καὶ πένθος ἀπαραμύθητον. 5.2.3: ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἔχων πένθος ἀπαραμύθητον. 8.1.4: μᾶλλον ἐπεγείρουσιν αὐτῇ τὸ πένθος καὶ ἀπαραμύθητός ἐστιν. *Homiliae Spirituales* 50 (*collectio H*), Homily 16: πόνος ἄπαυστος καὶ πένθος ἀπαραμύθητον.

Ephraem Syrus, *In Illud: Attende Tibi Ipsi (capita xii)*, 4: ἐκείνην τὴν πικρὰν καὶ ἀπαραμύθητον φωνήν, τὴν πλήρη πένθους καὶ πικρῶν δακρύων. *Sermo de Cain; et de Abel Caedo*, p. 210: Πῶς δὲ καὶ ἡ καρδία σου λογίσεται τὸ ἀπαραμύθητον πένθος;

John Chrysostom, *In Acta Apostolorum (homiliae 1–55)*, PG.60.227.34–35: Πένθος γὰρ ἦν, ὄντως πένθος ἀπαραμύθητον. *Ad Theodorum Lapsum (lib. 2)*, 5: πένθος ἀπαραμύθητον. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *De Paenitentia (sermo 1)*, PG.60.683.20: Ἡ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον ἀποτυχία ἀπαραμύθητον ἔχει πένθος. *De Salute Animae*, PG.60.735.54: ὅπου τὸ ἀπαραμύθητον πένθος. Furthermore, Pseudo-Hesychius of Jerusalem, *Homilia i in Sanctum Longinum Centurionem (homilia 19)*, 13: ἐν πολλῇ θλίψει καὶ ἀπαραμύθητῳ πένθει. Basil of Seleucia, *Homilia in Lazarum*, 12: νῦν δὲ μοι τὸ πένθος ἀπαραμύθητον.

61. The colloquialism ἀφιδιάζειν occurs in just a few instances. Callinicus (monk, fifth-cent.), *Vita Sancti Hypatii*, 8.7: ἦν γὰρ ὁ τόπος ἀφιδιάζων. Theodore Studites, *Sermones Catecheseos Magnae*, Catechesis 62, p. 22 (ἀφιδιαζόμενος); *Parva Catechesis*, Catechesis 2 (ἀφιδιάζειν); Catechesis 71 (ἀφιδιάζειν, then ἀφιδιαζόμενος). *Vitae Sancti Pauli Junioris*, *Laudatio Sancti Pauli Junioris*, 11 (τὴν ἀφιδιάζουσαν πολιτείαν). There is one instance of the form ἀπιδιάζειν in John Climacus, *Scala Paradisi*, 832, line 12 (τὸ μὴ ἀπιδιάζειν εὐσεβῶς).

The alternative rendering ἀπιδιάζειν is also a peculiar word meaning 'to conduct a life in seclusion'. It appears in Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 3.10.36 (ἀπιδιάσαντος); Julian the Arian, *Commentarius in Job*, p. 316 (ἀπιδιάσε). Also, in spurious texts: *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaiam*, 14.284 (ascribed to Basil of Caesarea) (ἀπιδιαστικά). John Climacus, *Scala Paradisi*, 832 (ἀπιδιάζειν). John Climacus (born before 579, died c. 649) refers to him as 'the great Cassian' (τῷ μεγάλῳ Κασσιανῷ) who wrote the tract *On Discretion* (op. cit. 717: Καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ Κασσιανῷ ἐν τῷ *Περὶ Διακρίσεως* πεφιλοσόφηται κάλλιστά τε καὶ ὑψηλότατα). Quite evidently, John Climacus took up the word from Cassian, and it is plain that there is no way for the present text to be a Greek rendering from an alleged Latin original. The last recorded instance of the verb being used transpires in the turning of seventh to eighth century, with Nicephorus I of Constantinople, *Breviarum Historicum de Rebus Gestis post Imperium Mauricii*, p. 41 (ἀπιδιάσας).

The *Asceticon Magnum* has the term ἀφιδιάζωμεν. PG.31.925.19–20: καὶ ἵνα δυνηθῶμεν ἐπιμένειν τῇ προσευχῇ, ἀφιδιάζωμεν πρῶτον κατὰ τὴν οἴκησιν. The same passage was ascribed to John Chrysostom, which probably means that it belongs to neither of them. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *Epistula ad Monachos*, line 173. The sole difference is that this text applies the form ἀπιδιάζωμεν, instead of the foregoing ἀφιδιάζωμεν, which may have been the spelling by either a scribe or an editor. It should not come as a surprise if large portions of the *Asceticon Magnum* (including the present one) were the work of Cassian.

62. τοὺς κατὰ θεὸν καμάτους. Cassian's sources can be identified, since the expression is extremely scarce. He seems to have received the expression from Didymus and perhaps from Gregory of Nazianzus. Didymus, *frPs(al)*, Fr. 1173: Καὶ ἄλλως δ' ἂν εἴποις τρέφειν ψυχὴν αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ὥστε εἶναι αὐτοὺς τοὺς κατὰ θεὸν καμάτους τροφίμους καὶ εὐφραντικούς ψυχῆς. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistulae*, 219.5: καὶ τοὺς καμάτους, τοὺς τε ἄλλους οὓς κατὰ Θεὸν ὑπέστη. 223.14: ὁ τάχα τῇ πολιᾷ ἡμῶν αὐτῇ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ Θεὸν καμάτοις ὀφείλεται.

63. πένθος καταλιπών. Basil of Caesarea and perhaps monk Marcus Eremita supplied Cassian with his vocabulary. Basil of Caesarea, *In Quadraginta Martyres Sebastenses*, PG.31.520.9–10: πένθος ἀμύθητον τοῖς ἁγίοις καταλιπών. Marcus Eremita, *Disputatio Cum Quodam Causidico*, 9: τὸ πένθος καὶ τὴν ταπείνωσιν καταλιπόντες. Since Photius had read Cassian's treatise, it is possible that his germane reference is a liability to Cassian himself. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 224, 239b41: τελευτᾷ, μέγα πένθος τῇ πατρίδι καταλιπών.

64. πολυαριθμήτων ἐτών. Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 2^r: πολυαριθμήτῳ πληθύϊ. The adjective appears in spurious works ascribed to John Chrysostom. *De Turture Seu de Ecclesia Sermo*. PG.55.599.40: τὰ πολυαριθμητὰ γένη τῶν ἀνθρώπων. *In Genesim (sermo 3)*, PG.56.530.3: τῶν ἀστέρων τῶν πολυαριθμήτων χορῶν. *Quod Mari Similis Sit Haec Vita*, PG.64.22.52: καὶ σώζεται τὰ πολυαριθμητὰ πλήθη. Moreover, the anonymous *Historia Alexandri Magni*, Recensio E (cod. Eton College 163), 70.5: Καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος τοῦ Δαρείου τοῦ βασιλέως ἦτον πολυαριθμητος. Op. cit. 124.4: πολυαριθμητον χρυσάφιν.

Cf. Latin, *Collationes*, II.5, PL.49.530B: et annorum numerositatae, qua in eremo rerduravit.

65. τοῖς βιοθανάτοις. An extremely rare word, mostly used by astrologers. It was commonly thought among the *simpliciores* that 'those who commit suicide' (βιοθάνatoi) become daemons. John Chrysostom (the sole Christian to use the word beside Cassian and a spurious text ascribed to John of Damascus) argued that this is not true. *De Lazaro (homiliae 1–7)*, PG.48.981–983. The term is used in the Latin text as a transliterated one from Greek. Cf. *Collationes*, II.5: 49.530B: ut non inter biothanatos reputatus. There was no way for Latin translators to render βιοθάνατος (= a person who commits suicide) in Latin. PL.49.304A: [Judas] vitam biothanati morte conclusit. As a matter of fact, the Latin word for this (which is, *suicidium*) appeared only in the seventeenth century.

The epithet βιοθάνατος is a contracted form of the correct βιοιοθάνατος, which is derived from βίαιος+θάνατος, meaning those 'who force [their own] death'. The adjective βιοιοθάνατος does occur in some instances, which are less in number than those where the present contracted form does, whereas many of them are likely to be owing to editorial emendation. However, βιοθάνατος has prevailed. The reason has to do with pronunciation of Greek. The technically correct βιοιοθάνατος results to χασμωδία (hiatus of vowels), out of too many vowels (namely, ιαιο) being pronounced together. Consequently, it is all too natural for the pronunciation of βιοιοθάνατος to be heard as βιοθάνατος, which is what any scribe should have heard upon doing his job.

66. ἀδιακρίτῳ λογισμῷ. Both terms are significant in the context of Cassian's thought. The former is important since the author set out to write the tract *On Discretion* (*Περὶ Διακρίσεως*), which we are studying at this point. The latter features in the title of his discourse on the *Eight Dispositions to Evil* (*Περὶ τῶ Ὀκτῶ Λογισμῶν τῆς Κακίας*). The expression ἀδιακρίτῳ λογισμῷ is used to denote unthoughtfulness. It turns out that the very idea must have been taken up from Theodoret, who laid a lot of stress on the point of *discretion*. Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80.1781.47–49: Οὐδὲν δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀδιακρίτως ἐργάζεται, ἀλλ' ὀρθῶς χρώμενος λογισμῷ. *Interpretatio in Ezechielem*, PG.81.1233.4–5: Μήνυμα δὲ οἱ ἄλλες λογισμοῦ, καὶ διακρίσεως, καὶ φρονήματος εὐσεβοῦς. *intPaulXIV*, PG.82.64.14–18: Λέγει δέ, ὅτι θεασάμενος αὐτούς, οὔτε διὰ τῆς κτίσεως πρὸς τὸν Ποιητὴν ποδηγηθῆναι θελήσαντας, οὔτε διὰ τῆς τῶν λογισμῶν διακρίσεως, ἐλέσθαι μὲν τῶν πρακτέων τὰ κρείττω, φυγεῖν δὲ τὰ χείρω. *Op. cit.* PG.82.185.51–188.1: Ἐδειξε δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτεξούσιον, καὶ νεουργεῖν αὐτῇ κελεύσας τὸν λογισμόν, καὶ διακρίνειν ἀπὸ τῶν χειρόνων τὰ κρείττω. *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio*, 3.99: καὶ λογισμῷ γε σῶφρονι διακρίνατε.

There is also an occasional reference in Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, v. 3, p. 26: πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀδιάκριτόν σε ἔχειν τὸν λογισμόν. Beside Theodoret, a reference in Pseudo-Macarius no doubt played a role for Cassian to engage in composition of this treatise. Pseudo-Macarius, *Homiliae* 7 (*collectio HA*), Homily 53.14: ὅτι οὐ χρὴ ἐνὶ λογισμῷ ἀδιακρίτως ἀκολουθεῖν τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον συνδιαζῶντα καὶ συνηδόμενον τῷ τῆς κακίας συνόντι πονηρῷ λογισμῷ, ἀλλ' ἐκάστοτε διακρίνοντα ἑαυτὸν διὰ τοῦ λόγου ἀκριβῶς ἔχειν τῆς φύσεως τὸν ἴδιον λογισμόν ἀνταγωνιστὴν τῶν πονηρῶν τῆς κακίας ἐπιτηδευμάτων, καὶ ἀναμνηρῶσθαι καὶ ἐμμελετᾶν καὶ γυμνάζειν τὸν νοῦν εἰς τὰ πιστὰ τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγια, ὅπως αἰεὶ ἐν τούτοις ὁ ἀνταγωνιστὴς καὶ εὐσεβὴς λογισμὸς ἐνδαισιώμενος δυναμωθῇ κατὰ τῆς συνούσης κακίας, ἕως οὗ ἐνδύσῃ τὴν ἐξ ὕψους δύναμιν, ἣτις ἐξουσιαστικῶς τὴν συνοῦσαν πονηρίαν ἀνελούσα καθαρὸν τὸν τῆς καθαρᾶς φύσεως λογισμόν ἀναδείξει. οἱ οὕτως οὖν ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ διακρίνοντες ἑαυτοὺς καθαροὶ παρὰ θεῷ λογίζονται, ἐκουσίῳ ἀμαρτημάτων ἐκτὸς καθεστῶτες, καὶ τὸ ἑαυτῶν θέλημα, ὅση δύναμις, θεῷ μόνῳ παραστήσαντες.

67. ἐξατονόουντας. We owe the term to Aristotle (*Historia Animalium*, 630b8), but this did not enjoy any currency thereafter. The authors who applied it for sure are Eusebius, the Greek Ephraem Syrus, and probably Cyril of Alexandria. Eusebius, *Commentarius in Isaiam*, 1.86: ὥστ' ἀσθενῆσαι καὶ ἐξατονῆσαι τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ. *commPs*, PG.23.269.15: ἐξατονῆσαί μου καὶ ἐξασθενῆσαι τὴν ἰσχύν. *Op. cit.* PG.23.269.945.43: καὶ ἄθλους ὑπομείνας πολλοὺς ἐν φροντίδι καθέστηκε, μὴ πη ἐξατονήσας πέση. Ephraem Syrus, *Ad Imitationem Proverbiorum*,

p. 276: ἐὰν ἐξατονήσας ἀπολύσῃ τὰς ἀμφοτέρας χεῖρας, πίπτει καὶ θανατοῦται. Cyril of Alexandria, *expPs*, PG.69.1020.38: καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμᾶς ὑποπτεῦσαι τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐξατονήσαι δύναμιν.

All attributions to Basil of Caesarea are spurious. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Homilia in Psalmum* 37, PG.30.97.1–2: Πάντα ἰσχύω ἐν τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντί με Χριστῷ, νικηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους καὶ ἐξατονήσας. Op. cit. PG.30.97.16–19: Ἀναχωρήσαν τοίνυν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἔρημον αὐτὸν κατέλιπεν μετὰ τὸ παραχθῆναι αὐτοῦ τὴν καρδίαν, καὶ ἐξατονήσαι αὐτοῦ τὴν ἰσχύν. But this is in fact a text by Eusebius, PG.23.344.35. So are the attributions to Athanasius. Once again the *Life of Anthony* deviates from Athanasius’ normal vocabulary, and it turns out to stand closer to that of Cassian, that is, to a Sabaite and Akoimetan language. Athanasius (?), *Vita Antonii*, PG.26.901.2–3: εὐθὺς ἤρξαντο θρηνεῖν καὶ κλαίειν, ὥσπερ ἐξατονήσαντες. Pseudo-Athanasius, *Homilia in Occursum Domini*, PG.28.985.26–27: Τὸ γὰρ σῶμά μοι κέκμηκεν ἤδη, καὶ βαδίζειν ἐξατονεῖ.

Cf. casual application by Diadochus of Photike (fifth cent. AD), *Capita Centum de Perfectione Spirituali*, 45: καὶ ἐξατονοῦν ὑπὸ πολλῆς ἐγκρατείας. Olympiodorus, the deacon of Alexandria (sixth cent. AD), *commJob*, p. 133; *commEccl*, PG.93.616.20. John Climacus, *Scala Paradisi*, 641; 937; 1132.

68. Μάξιες. Cf. testimonies to this brutal tribe: Claudius Ptolemaeus (mathematician), *Geographia* (*lib.* 4–8), 4.2.19. Oppianus of Apamea (second–third cent. AD), *Cynegetica*, Book 1, line 170. Hippolytus, *Chronicon*, 200. Epiphanius of Salamis, *Ancoratus*, 113.3. Philostorgius of Cappadocia (fourth–fifth cent. AD), *HE* (*fragmenta ap. Photium*), Book 11, fr. 8. *Chronicon Paschale*, pp. 47; 57. *AP* (*collectio anonyma*) (*e codd. Coislin.* 126), p. 412. On how fierce they were and their assault on Scetis, which they obliterated altogether (ἡρῆμωσαν αὐτήν), *AP* (*collectio alphabetica*), p. 129. John Moschus had some vivid stories to relate about the brutality of this tribe, who had killed many monks, and taken others to captivity. *Pratum Spirituale*, 112, p. 2976.

69. ἀπηγριωμένων. Hardly could Cassian have entertained this rare participle, unless previous authors known to him had done so, too. These authors reflect his own intellectual predilections, a fruit of which are his *Scholia in Apocalypsin*. Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, 1148b22 (ἀπηγριωμένων). Diodore of Sicily, *Bibliotheca Historica* (*lib.* 1–20), 3.73.6 (ἀπηγριωμένην); op. cit. (*lib.* 21–40), 34/35.2.40 (ἀπηγριωμένων). Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 1.6 (ἀπηγριωμένων); 11.6 (ἀπηγριωμένοι); *Dion*, 46.3 (ἀπηγριωμένων). Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, Book 13, paragraph 26 (ἀπηγριωμένην); *Deipnosophistae* (*epitome*), v. 2,2, p. 107 (ἀπηγριωμένη). Origen, *commJohn*, XVIII.103 (ἀπηγριωμένων). Euse-

bis, *Commentarius in Isaiam*, 1.62 (ἀπηγριωμένοι, further, ἀπηγριωμένων); 1.66 (ἀπηγριωμένοι); 2.7 (ἀπηγριωμένων); 2.25 (ἀπηγριωμέναι); 7.13 (ἀπηγριωμένον); *commPs*, PG.23.1153.17 (ἀπηγριωμένας). John Philoponus, *De Opificio Mundi*, p. 225 (ἀπηγριωμένα).

70. ἀγριώτερον καὶ ὠμότερον. This is a view of this brutal nation after their assault on the Scetis, where they killed many monks, took others to their captivity, and destructed the region altogether. *RCR*, p. 139.

71. τὴν σύντροφον ἀγριότητα. The adjective ἡ σύντροφος ('the concomitant') is not found frequently in the feminine, still Cassian does use it so. Exploration takes us across authors who were familiar to him and contributed to his education, as shown in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*.

Aristotle, *Fragmenta Varia*, Category 7, treatise 39, Fr. 291 (τῇ συντρόφῳ). Philo, *De Cherubim*, 69 (ἡ σύντροφος); *De Praemiis et Poenis & De Exsecrationibus*, 15 (τὴν σύντροφον); *De Virtutibus*, 220 (τὴν σύντροφον). Plutarch, *Camillus*, 28.2 (τῆς συντρόφου). Galen, *De Usu Partium*, v. 3, p. 908, line 4 (ἡ σύντροφος). John Philoponus, *De Aeternitate Mundi*, p. 625 (τῆς συντρόφου); p. 631 (τῆς συντρόφου).

Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, 1.1.1.2 (τῆς συντρόφου). Origen, *Cels*, III.6 (τὴν σύντροφον). Eusebius, *HE*, 4.26.7 (τὴν σύντροφον). Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae*, 186.1 (τῆς συντρόφου); 277.1 (τῇ συντρόφῳ); *Homiliae Super Psalmos*, PG.29.228.15 (τὴν σύντροφον). Basil of Seleucia, *Sermones XLI*, p. 173 (τῇ συντρόφῳ). Gregory of Nazianzus, *Ad Gregorium Nyssenum (orat. n)*, PG.35.840.38 (τὴν σύντροφον). Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannem*, v. 1: p. 477 (τὴν σύντροφον); p. 548 (τὴν σύντροφον); p. 677 (τῇ συντρόφῳ); v. 2, p. 196 (τὴν σύντροφον); *Commentarii in Lucam*, PG.72.893.42 (τῆς συντρόφου); PG.72.817.17 (τῇ συντρόφῳ); *In Isaiam*, PG.70.41.55 (τῆς συντρόφου); *Epistulae Paschales sive Homiliae Paschales (epist. 1–30)*, PG.77.468.39 (τὴν σύντροφον); *Thesaurus de Sancta Consubstantiali Trinitate*, PG.75.264.23 (τῆς συντρόφου). John Chrysostom, *In Epistolam ad Galatas Commentarius*, PG.61.643.15 (τὴν σύντροφον). Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *In Psalmum 50 (homilia 1)*, PG.55.567.49 (τῇ συντρόφῳ). Asterius of Antioch, *comPs (homiliae 31)*, Homily 13.26 (τὴν σύντροφον). Palladius, *Dialogus de Vita Joannis Chrysostomi*, p. 146 (τῆς συντρόφου). Pseudo-Macarius, *Sermones 1–22; 24–27*, Homily 11.1 (ἡ σύντροφος); *Sermones 64 (collectio B)*, Homily 6.3.2 (ἡ σύντροφος). Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80.1665.49 (τὴν σύντροφον).

72. ἀπαραφυλάκτως. Exploring this scarce term, we come upon the sources of Cassian, such as Eusebius and John Chrysostom, once again. Eusebius, *HE*, 4.7.7 (ἀπαραφυλάκτως); 7.18.4 (ἀπαραφυλάκτως); *DE*, 1.6.11 (ἀπαραφυλάκτως).

John Chrysostom, *In Genesim (homiliae 1-67)*, PG.53: 115.35 (ἀπαραφυλάκτως); 297.22 (ἀπαραφυλάκτως); *Catecheses ad Illuminandos 1-8 (series tertia)*, Catechesis 6.16 (ἀπαραφυλάκτως). Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae*, PG.56.375.51 (ἀπαραφυλάκτως). Severianus of Gabala, *Fragmenta in Epistulam i ad Corinthios*, p. 256, (ἀπαραφυλάκτως). Justinian, *Novellae*, p. 375 (ἀπαραφυλάκτως). Olympiodorus, the philosopher of Alexandria, *In Platonis Alcibiadem Commentarii*, 152 (ἀπαραφύλακτοι). John of Damascus, *Orationes de Imaginibus Tres*, 3.69 (ἀπαραφυλάκτως).

73. φῶς λυχνιαῖον. Although the expression occurs casually in Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrrhoniae Hypotyposes*, 1.119; 2.149, it was theologians who entertained it. John Chrysostom, *In Illud: Habentes Eundem Spiritum (homiliae 1-3)*, PG.51.277.2; *In Genesim (homiliae 1-67)*, PG.53.367.45; PG.54.513.51; PG.59: 235.31; 309.46; *In Epistulam i ad Thessalonicenses (homiliae 1-11)*, PG.62.461.33. Pseudo-Caesarius, *QR*, 70: τοῦ ἐλαίου μόνον αἰεὶ ἐξατμιζομένου τῷ λυχνιαίῳ πυρί. Also, in *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaiam*, 2.87, spuriously ascribed to Basil of Caesarea.

Theodoret championed this usage, at least until the sixth century. *Historia Religiosa (Philotheus)*, Vita 3.6; Vita 11.1; Vita 25.2; *commis*, 2; *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, p. 142; *intPaulXIV*, PG.82.396.5; *Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium*, PG.83.353.4.

Later on, the expression was amply entertained by John Philoponus, whereas Olympiodorus the philosopher of Alexandria employed it only once. John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Analytica Posteriora Commentaria*, v. 13.3, p. 171: ὁμοίως τὸ λυχνιαῖον φῶς πόρρωθεν μὲν ὁρώμενον. loc. cit.: προσβλέψαι τὸ λυχνιαῖον φῶς. loc. cit.: οἷον τὸ λυχνιαῖον φῶς. *In Aristotelis Meteorologicorum Librum Primum Commentarium*, v. 14.1, p. 20: ἐκ τοῦ λυχνιαίου φωτός. p. 86: τοῦ λυχνιαίου φωτός ἡ ἀντίληψις. *In Aristotelis Libros de Anima Commentaria*, v. 15, p. 298: εἰ γὰρ καὶ πάσχει τὸ λυχνιαῖον φῶς ὑπὸ τῆς λαμπάδος (σβέννυται γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῆς). Olympiodorus the philosopher of Alexandria, *In Aristotelis Meteora Commentaria*, p. 230: ὅταν ἀμελέστερον ἀπιδώμεν εἰς τὸ λυχνιαῖον φῶς.

Maximus Confessor and later Photius joined the list of pertinent authors. Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 63: ἐλαίῳ δὲ μὴ τρεφόμενον σβέννυται πάντως τὸ λυχνιαῖον φῶς. Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 268: θυμίαμα γὰρ καὶ λυχνιαῖον φῶς προσφέρομεν.

It was therefore natural for Cassian to take this up, not only since it features in his Scholion IX (τοῖς ἐν νυκτὶ διάγουσιν χρεῖα λυχνιαίου φωτός), which was evidently due to Theodoret (later followed by Andreas of Caesarea in his own *Commentarii in Apocalypsin*, Logos 23, ch. 68.22.5), but

also because Cassian's eminent contemporary John Philoponus had done so.

74. Μεσοποταμινού. This is a revealing designation, since only a couple of authors applied it. Of them, Pseudo-Caesarius in effect notifies us that he is no other person than Cassian himself (Appendix I). Paul Helladicus (an abba of Palestine, fifth cent.), *Epistula*, line 32 (Μεσοποταμινούς). Pseudo-Caesarius, op. cit. 108 (Μεσοποταμινούς). John Moschus, *Patrum Spirituale*, 69, p. 2921 (Μεσοποταμινός) and 70, p. 2924 (Μεσοποταμινός). Normally, the native people of the region of Mesopotamia were called Μεσοποτάμιοι, or Μεσοποταμίται.

75. The verb περιουγάζειν (middle: περιουγάζεσθαι) was introduced by Philo and transpires in one occasional instance in each of Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, Gregory of Nazianzus, Asterius of Amasea. Diadochus of Photike made more of it, and so did (to a lesser extent) Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite. Gregory of Nyssa is the author who entertained the term consciously and extensively. So did Photius, in one of his homilies and in four of the epistles currently published under the title *Epistulae et Amphilochia*. However, we should be somewhat cautious about the attribution of these epistles, all the more so since Photius in his *Bibliotheca* appears to be unaware of the term. Besides, in an endnote to the Greek text (Cod. p. 118^r), I quote a passage of Photius from this collection, which has been disputed and in turn it has been ascribed to Patriarch Germanus I of Constantinople (715–730) (see *infra*, note 44, pp. 371–372). Significantly, Antiochus of Palestine uses the term at two points. One of them is in fact an extensive quotation of the present text by Cassian (*Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 84, line 88—see full quotation of this text in *RCR*, Appendix I), the other is one of his own (περιουγαζούσαις, op. cit. Homily 119, line 17).

76. ὁμολογίας καὶ ἐξαγορεύσεως. Once again Cassian demonstrates his Antiochene identity, since the expression διὰ τῆς ὁμολογίας καὶ ἐξαγορεύσεως is characteristic of Diodore of Tarsus, *comPs I–L*, Psalm 61: ὁμολογίαν ἔχοντες τοῦ πλημμελήματος καὶ ἐξαγόρευσιν. Theodore Studites, the regular follower of Cassian's vocabulary, is present once again. *Sermones Catechesos Magnae*, Catechesis 5. p. 15 (the same text, in *Μεγάλη Κατήχησις*, Catechesis 49, p. 357): τοῦτο δέ ἐστι κατορθῶσαι ἐκ τῆς ἀγαθῆς πεποιθῆσως καὶ τῆς ἀκλινοῦς ὁμολογίας καὶ ἐξαγορεύσεως. *Epistulae*, 9: ποῦ ποτέ σου ἡ ἀκράδαντος ὁμολογία, ἡ φωτοποιὸς ἐξαγόρευσις;

The idiom actually originates in a casual reference by Philo, which is strikingly similar to the present point of Cassian's text. Philo, *De Praemiis et Poenis*, 163: ἐξαγορεύσαντες δὲ καὶ ὁμολόγησαντες ὅσα ἡμαρτον καθ' αὐτοὺς διανοίᾳ κεκαθαρμένῃ. Furthermore, the rest of instances, which occur in spurious texts ascribed to Athanasius and John Chrysostom, only suggest Cassian as probably the real author of these works. Cf. Pseudo-Athanasius, *Syntagma ad Quendam Politicum*, PG.28.1408: τὸ ὁμολογεῖν καὶ ἐξαγορεύειν τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀμαρτήματα. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *De Paenitentia (sermo 3)*, PG.60.706.13–16: Ὁμολόγησόν σου τὰ πλημμελήματα, ἄνθρωπε, ἐξαγόρευσόν σου τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, ἵνα λάβῃς σου τὴν ἄφεσιν τῆς ἀμαρτίας. Ἐξαγορεύων, τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν πλημμελημάτων δέχῃ τὴν δωρεάν. *Oratio Secunda*, PG.63.923.32–33: ἐξαγορεύων σοὶ τῷ Θεῷ μου πάσας τὰς ἀμαρτίας μου.

77. παξαμᾶν. A six-ounce small dried loaf. The word appears in Palladius relating instances of the life of St. Anthony. Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca (recensio G)*, Vita 22.6: Θεὶς οὖν τὴν τράπεζαν φέρει ἄρτους. Καὶ θεὶς ὁ Ἀντωνίος τοὺς παξαμάδας ἔχοντας ἀνὰ ἑξ οὐγκιών. Op. cit. 22.7 (terming it παξαμᾶν or παξαμάδιον). Suda notes that this is a Roman word (*Lexicon*, alphabetic letter delta, entry 1265; letter pi, entry 254). Quite expectedly, it transpires in AP (*collectio alphabetica*); pp. 113, line 41: (παξαμάτια); p. 276 (παξαμάδας); p. 417 (παξαμάτια); AP (*collectio anonyma*) (e cod. Coislin. 126), Apophthegm 20 (παξαμάδας); 155 (παξαμάτια); AP (*collectio anonyma*) (e codd. Coislin. 126), p. 412 (παξαμάτια); AP (*collectio systematica*) (cap. 1–9), 4.27 (παξαμᾶν); 4.77 (παξαμάτια); 9.24 (παξαμάδας). Nikon of Montenegro (*Canonarium vel Typicon*, 1, p. 41) ascribes the word to the Greek rendering of Ephraem Syrus.

78. The Codex-spelling θεάφιον (instead of θειάφιον) is a later version occurring in the following authors. The present narration about abba Serapion is reproduced by the AP (*collectio systematica*) (cap. 1–9), 4.27 (where the word used is θαφίου, too). Cyril of Alexandria, *De Exitu Animi (homilia diversa 14)*, PG.77.1084.9 (θεάφιον). Hesychius of Alexandria (fifth–sixth cent. AD), *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter theta, entries 195 (θεάφιον) and 201 (θεάφιον); Alphabetic letter nu, entry 162 (θεάφιον). George Choeroboscus (deacon, grammarian, Constantinople, ninth cent. AD), *Prolegomena et Scholia in Theodosii Alexandrini Canones Isagigicos de Flexione Verborum*, p. 243 (θεάφιον); *Epimerismi in Psalmos*, p. 120 (θεάφιον). Pseudo-John of Damascus, *Vita Barlaam et Joasaph*, p. 224 (θεαφίζοντα). Hippitrica (ninth cent. AD), *Hippitrica Parisina*, 30 (θέαφον and θεάφου); 248 (θεαφίου); 302 (θεαφίου); 306 (θέαφον). George Monachus (Alexandria, ninth cent. AD), *Chronicon Breve (lib. 1–6) (redactio recentior)*, v. 110, p. 1065 (θεαφίου). George Monachus

Continuatus (tenth cent.), *Chronicon (continuatio) (redactio A)*, p. 834 (θεαφ(ας)). Pseudo-Zonaras, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter theta, page 1037 (θείαφιον). Cf. the alternative θειάφιον, which is scarce. Hippiatrica, *Hippiatrica Cantabrigiensia*, 2.4 (θείαφιν). Apophthegmata, *Quaestiones et Responsa Senum de Tentationibus*, 4 (θείαφίου).

79. Cf. 1^r & 22^v & 56^v: περὶ διατυπώσεως κοινοβίων. 5^v: ταύταις ταῖς διατυπώσεσι καὶ διδασκαλίαις. 9^v: τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις κλίμασι παραδεδομένων διατυπώσεων. 73^r: διδασχῇ καὶ διατυπώσει. 78^r: τῇ τούτου διδασχῇ τυποῦται καὶ κανονίζεται ... τῇ διατυπώσει καὶ διδασχῇ. The peculiar term transpires in a work ascribed to Basil of Caesarea, which however is far too like Cassian. *Sermones de Moribus a Symeone Metaphrasta Collecti*, PG.32.1140.30–31: ἔτοιμον ὑποδέξασθαι τῇ καρδίᾳ τὰς ἐκ τῆς θείας διδασκαλίας ἐγγινομένας διατυπώσεις. The same phrase, indeed the same context, appears in a spurious work ascribed to Chrysostom, *Epistula ad Monachos*, lines 263–265. My impression is that the real author behind both works would be Cassian himself.

80. πνευματικὴ τέχνη (also, Cod. p. 81^r). This is an expression uniquely appearing in a Greek text by Ephraem Syrus, which (not by coincidence) refers to the virtues of monastic life. *De Perfectione Monachi*, p. 379: ὅτι προφήται τυγχάνουσιν, τέχνην ἔχουσι πνευματικὴν, ἥς ἅπειρος ἡ σὰρξ ἐστίν. He refers to monks as being ‘prophets’ and masters of ‘the spiritual art’. The translation of Ephraem is later to the alleged lifetime of the so-called ‘John-Cassian’, which means that the designation ‘spiritual art’ was in fact taken up by the real Cassian, the Sabaite monk and prebyter of Scythopolis. In the Latin text the notion has disappeared. PL.49.541B: quam ineptum est credere hanc solam non egere doctore, quae et invisibilis et occulta est.

81. ἤρξατο ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ συγκινεῖσθαι. This is a unique seal pointing to Cassian reproducing Gregory of Nyssa. No other author did ever make use of this expression. Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 1.1.41: στρατιωτῶν τινων κατὰ τὸ συγγενές καὶ ὁμόφυλον συγκινηθέντων εἰς ἀγανάκτησιν. *De Vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi*, PG.46.904.10–11: ἀγανακτούντων τε καὶ ὀργῇ κατὰ τοῦ γυναιίου συγκινουμένων.

82. Καλὸν (74^v) ... ἡνίκα δεῖ εἰπεῖν λόγον (end of Cod. p. 77^r). This text has been preserved in the *AP (collectio systematica) (cap. 1–9)*, 5.4, with minor variations. It befittingly styles Cassian ‘abba’. It would be absurd to claim that this text was compiled on the basis of an original Latin text.

83. ἀδελφὸς τῶν πάνυ σπουδαίων. Only an erudite author could have made use of this idiomatic expression, which transpires in only a few, yet significant, authors. Of Christians, it was Tatian, *Oratio ad Graecos*, 2.1: τίς δὲ τῶν πάνυ σπουδαίων ἀλαζονείας ἔξω κατέστηκεν. Eusebius entertained this in a context of quoting from Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, 1.7: διδάσκαλος μὲν γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ τῶν Πυθαγόρου λόγων οὐ πάνυ σπουδαῖος; 3.22: πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν μὴ πάνυ σπουδαίων, quoted by Eusebius, *Contra Hieroclem*, p. 379. Scarce though it has always been, the idiom transpires in Plato, *Laches*, 182e4: μὴ μέντοι πάνυ σπουδαῖον. *Leges*, 707b1: καὶ οὐ πάνυ σπουδαίων ἀνθρώπων. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae*, 2.3.6: εἰς χωρία οὐ πάνυ σπουδαῖα. Philo, *De Specialibus Legibus* (*lib. i–iv*), 3.22: πάνυ σπουδαῖον καὶ συντεῖνον εἰς ἐγκράτειαν. Later still, Stobaeus, *Anthologium*, 2.31.23: παιδαγωγὸς αὐτῷ ἠκολούθει οὐ πάνυ σπουδαῖος. Hermias of Alexandria, *In Platonis Phaedrum Scholia*, p. 70: μάντις οὐ πάνυ σπουδαῖος. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 241, p. 332b: πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν μὴ πάνυ σπουδαίων. Also, his *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter iota, p. 115, quoting from grammarian Harpocration (prob. first–second cent. AD): Harpocration, *Lexicon in Decem Oratores Atticos*, p. 163. The lemma (which is Ἰσοδιότης, the name of a daemon) was later reproduced by Suda, *Lexicon*, alphabetic letter iota, entry 648. When John Climacus wrote about ‘a very important brother’ (ἀδελφὸν πάνυ σπουδαῖον, *Scala Paradisi*, 776), he employed Cassian’s words to the letter.

84. τοῦ μοναχικοῦ σχήματος. This is one more evidence of the text being a sixth-century one. The expression μοναχικὸν σχῆμα was initially used literally and only once by the Greek Ephraem and Sozomenus in order to refer to ‘the gown of a monk’. Ephraem Syrus, *De Monachis*, line 20: Οὐδὲ μοναχικὸν σχῆμα ἔτι δύνανται φορεῖν οἱ ἐν τῷ βιωτικῷ πλούτῳ ἀναστρεφόμενοι. Sozomenus, *HE*, 3.14.5. At this point Sozomenus refers to the monastic dress of monks in Egypt including ‘the great Serapion’ (Σεραπίων ὁ μέγας), who is quoted here by Cassian, supposedly relating a narration communicated to him by abba Moses.

Later, the expression came to be a synecdoche suggesting not simply the cloth, but the pious *status* of a monk. This metaphorical usage is a sixth-century one. The locution μοναχικὸν σχῆμα was used in Ephesus in its literary sense (ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum anno 431*, 1.1.7, p. 74), which was desperately literal indeed: ‘slaves dressed as monks’ (ὑπὸ δούλων σχῆμα μοναχικὸν περιβεβλημένων). Cassian probably heard this expression being used in this metaphorical sense at the Local Synod of 536. Justinian used it in his legislation (*Novellae*, pp. 29; 61; 265; 618; 622; 685), and his *Constitutio Contra Anthimum, Severum, Petrum et Zooram* (where the expression

appears, too, p. 50) became an imperial edict included in the acts of the Local Synod of Constantinople of 536.

The term 'gown' (σχῆμα) clearly denotes the *status*, of not only monks, but also of clergymen and of the Patriarch himself. Cyril of Scythopolis, a spiritual brother of Cassian, made use of it, too. *Vita Sabae*, pp. 114; 147; 166; *Vita Theodosii*, p. 240. Pseudo-Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Gerasimi*, p. 179.

85. τῶν γερόντων ὁ δοκιμώτατος not in *AP*. This designation for 'fathers' is favourite to Cassian and rare in literature. Cf. *Const*, p. 11^r: ἐνὶ δοκιμωτάτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν. *OctoVit*, p. 51^r: τοῦ ἀββᾶ Μωϋσέως τοῦ δοκιμωτάτου ἐν τοῖς πατράσιν. *Op. cit.* p. 77^v: τοῖς δοκιμωτάτοις τῶν πατέρων (bis). *Op. cit.* p. 75^r: ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἀπολλῶς, τῶν γερόντων ὁ δοκιμώτατος. *SerenPrim*, p. 95^v: ᾧτινι τῷ πρὶν κατὰ τῶν δοκιμωτάτων τοῦ Χριστοῦ στρατιωτῶν ἐκέχρητο. Cyril of Alexandria, *commProphXII*, v. 2, p. 607: τοὺς τῶν πατέρων δοκιμωτάτους. Also, in a letter addressed 'to the clergy and people of Alexandria' while Cyril was in Rhodes: τοῦτο γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀποφανεῖ μάλιστα δοκιμωτάτους. ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum Anno 431*, 1,1,1, p. 116. Alexander (a Cyprian monk, sixth cent.?), *Laudatio Barnabae Apostoli*, line 8: ὦ πατέρων ἄριστε καὶ ἀσκητῶν δοκιμώτατε πάτερ. *Op. cit.* line 652: ἐπισκόπου Πρόκλου, τοῦ ἐν δασκάλοις δοκιμωτάτου. Cf. *infra*: τοῖς διακριτικοῖς καὶ δοκιμωτάτοις τῶν πατέρων. The superlative epithet δοκιμώτατος was popular at Ephesus, yet abandoned later. ACO, *op. cit.* 1,1,1: pp. 59; 78; 97; 116; 1,1,6: pp. 74, 89.

86. The expression πρὸς ἀγῶνα ἀλείφειν means to train, to encourage, to practice, someone who is about to fight a noble contest. It was largely used in connection to monks struggling against their own passions. The specific metaphor probably originates in Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 48: ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ὄντως ἀλειφομένων ἀγῶνας. Most of Cassian's heroes entertained the figure. Gregory of Nyssa, *De Vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi*, PG.46.913.37–39: ἰκανῶς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀλειψάμενος, οὕτως ἀντιλαμβάνεται τῶν ἀγῶνων. *In Inscriptiones Psalmorum*, v. 5, p. 121: πάλιν ἀπολύει πρὸς ἐτέρους ἀγῶνας ὁ λόγος: πάλιν ἀλείφει τῇ τῶν πειρασμῶν προσβολῇ (the same text is ascribed to Cyril of Alexandria, *expPs*, PG.69.748.40 f). Basil of Caesarea, *In Gordium Martyrem*, PG.31.496.48–49: καὶ ἀλειψάμενου πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα. *De Jejuniō (homilia 1)*, PG.31.177.44–46: ἡμᾶς τε παιδεύων νηστείαις ἀλείφειν καὶ παιδοτριβεῖν ἑαυτοὺς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πειρασμοῖς ἀγῶνας. Asterius of Antioch, *comPs (homiliae 31)*, Homily 23.9: ἵνα οὖν καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀλειψωμαι. Nilus of Ancyra, *Narrationes Septem de Monachis in Sina*, 3.12. Didymus, *In Genesim*, Cod. p. 250: Ἀλείφων δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς ἀγῶνα. Evagrius of Pontus, *Practicus (capita centum)*, 100: αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἡμᾶς ἀλείφοντες. John Chrysostom,

De Resurrectione Mortuorum, PG.50.422.9–10; *In Matthaeum* (*homiliae* 1–90), PG.57.271.37; *In Joannem* (*homiliae* 1–88), PG.59.404.47; *In Epistulam i ad Corinthios* (*homiliae* 1–44), PG.61.189.11; *In Epistulam ii ad Timotheum* (*homiliae* 1–10), PG.62: 619.55; 656.39. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *In Venerandum Crucem*, PG.59.677.59 [the same text is ascribed to Basil of Caesarea, *De Jejuniis* (*homilia* 1), PG.31.177.44–46]. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *De Jejuniis* (*sermones* 1–7), PG.60.717.41. Maximus Confessor, *Capita de Caritate*, 2.21: ὁ πρὸς τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀγῶνας ἀλείφων τὸν νοῦν. John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, PG.95.1556.15f. Pseudo-John of Damascus, *Commentarii in Epistulas Pauli*, PG.95.641.37–39. Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 230, lines 12f. Μεγάλη Κατήχησις, Catechesis 84, p. 589; Catechesis 102, p. 737; *Cantica*, Poem 18.2.

The metaphorical expression transpiring in Pseudo-Caesarius is natural, since the author is no other than Cassian himself. *QR*, 218, line 413: καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀλείψαντες.

87. τοῖς διακριτικοῖς καὶ δοκιμωτάτοις τῶν πατέρων ... ἐξαγγέλειν τοὺς ἰδίους λογισμοὺς τοῖς δοκιμωτάτοις τῶν πατέρων. See *supra*, p. 245, endnote 85.

88. The author has it ἀνῆλθον (instead of the usual ἀνέβην), which transpires only in C (Codex Ephraemi), thus testifying to the Eastern origin of this text. But there is some confusion at this point. Paul met Peter and James ‘three years after’ he went to preach ‘in Arabia’, whereas in the first place he ‘availed himself of no human power’ (οὐ προσανεθέμην σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι). This is the narration in Gal. 1:16–19. But Cassian quotes Gal. 2:1–2, where Paul does not mention the names of Peter and James. Paul says that he expounded his gospel to ‘the learned’ leaders (τοῖς δοκοῦσι) of the Church of Jerusalem. The scriptural instance used at this point is all but supportive of Cassian’s argument.

FIRST CONTRIBUTION BY ABBA SERENUS

† ΣΥΝΕΙΣΦΟΡΑ ΤΟΥ ABBA
ΣΕΡΗΝΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΗ¹

Συνετύχ(ο)μεν² πάλιν τῷ ἀββᾷ Σερήνω, ἀνδρὶ ἀγίῳ καὶ κατὰ πάντα ἐναρέτῳ, ὃν ὑπὲρ τοὺς λ(ο)ιποὺς ἐθαυμάσαμεν διὰ τὰς προσοῦσας αὐτῷ ἀρετάς, αἵτινες οὐ μόνον διὰ τῆς πράξεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν τρόπων αὐτοῦ ἐφαίνοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ 5 ἐν αὐτῷ τῆς ὀψεως τῷ χαρακτηρὶ διὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτος ἔλαμπον, πᾶσαι μὲν οὖν, ὑπερβαλλόντως δὲ ἡ τῆς ἀγνείας καὶ ἀγιωσύνης ἀρετὴ οὕτως, ὥς μηδὲ 80^v τῆς φυσικῆς κινήσεως αἰσθάνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπερ|αναβεβηκέναι τοὺς ταύτης ὅρους. Οὗτος γὰρ νηστείαις καὶ δάκρυσιν μεθ' ὑπομονῆς πολλῆς τὸν Θεὸν ἰκετεύσας ὥστε χαρισθῆναι αὐτῷ τ(ὸ) τῆς σωφροσύνης δῶρον, ἔτυχε τῆς αἰτήσεως παρὰ 10 τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ δεσπότου· καὶ ὁρᾷ ἐν ὀπτασίᾳ νυκτερινῇ ἄγγελον τῇ χειρὶ δῆθεν τὴν τούτου γαστέρα διανοίξαντα καὶ μάζαν πεπυρ(ω)μένην σαρκὸς ἐκ τῶν ἐντέρων αὐτοῦ ἀποσπᾶσαντα καὶ λέγοντα αὐτῷ: Ἴδου ἀφειλόμην ἀπὸ σοῦ τῆς σαρκικῆς ἐπιθυμίας τὰ ὑπεκκαύματα· καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον γίνωσκε τὴν ἀγνείαν σοι παρὰ 15 Θεοῦ δεδωρ(ῆ)σθαι, ἣν πιστῶς μεθ' ὑπομονῆς ἐξήτησας.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς χάριτος τῆς ἐκ Θεοῦ δοθ(εῖ)σης τῷ ἀνδρὶ εἰρήσθω· λ(οι)πὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τούτου διδασκαλίαν καὶ τὸν διάλογον τὸ διήγημα τρέψωμεν. 81^r Παραβαλόντες τοίνυν αὐτῷ ἐγώ τε καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Γερμανὸς ἠρωτῶμεν αὐτῷ ὁδυρόμενοι· τί δήποτε πολυετεῖς χρόνους ἐν τῷ μονήρ(ε)ι βίῳ ποιήσαντες καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ διατρίψαντες οὐδὲν ὠφελήσαμεν ἢ τοῦτο μόνον, τὸ γινῶναι μὴ 20 δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς τελει(ό)τητος ἐπιτυχεῖν; Οὕτε γὰρ καθαρ(ό)τητα καρδίᾳς οὔτε εἰρήνην ἐν ἑαυτοῖς θεωροῦμεν, ἀλλὰ σύγχυσιν καὶ ταραχήν, καίτοι βλέπομεν ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ τέχναι καὶ ἐπιστήμαι διὰ τῆς καθημερινῆς μελέτης καὶ τῆς τοῦ χρόνου ἐπιμονῆς εἰς τελείαν μάθησιν τοὺς μετερχομένους αὐτὰς ἄγουσιν. Ἡμεῖς δὲ καθ'

3 Συνετύχ(ο)μεν Cod. Συνετύχαμεν 3 Συνετύχ(ο)μεν πάλιν τῷ ἀββᾷ Σερήνω V104: Συνετύχομεν ὁμοίως καὶ τῷ ἀββᾷ Σερίνῳ 4 λ(ο)ιποὺς Cod. λυποῦσ 4 διὰ τὰς προσοῦσας αὐτῷ ἀρετάς Cf. *supra*, Cod. p. 67^v: διὰ τὴν προσοῦσαν αὐτῷ μεγάλῃν ἀρετήν. Likewise, Cassian the Sabaite, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, XXXI: χαρακτηρ τις σημαίνων τὴν προσοῦσαν αὐτοῖς δικαιοσύνην 5 τρόπων αὐτοῦ ἐφαίνοντο V104: τρόπων ἐφαίνοντο 6 θεοῦ V104, V121: Χριστοῦ. In V104, from this point πᾶσαι μὲν οὖν down to ἐπιγράφοντες (folio 81^v) the text is skipped 7 ἀγνείας καὶ ἀγιωσύνης V121: ἀγιωσύνης καὶ ἀγνείας 9 νηστείαις καὶ δάκρυσιν V121: νηστείαις καὶ καὶ ἀγρυπνίαις καὶ δάκρυσιν 10 τ(ὸ) Cod. τῷ 12 πεπυρ(ω)μένην Cod. πεπυρομένην 15 Θεοῦ Cod. Θεῷ 15 δεδωρ(ῆ)σθαι Cod. δεδωρεῖσθαι 16 δοθ(εῖ)σης Cod. δοθήσης 17 λ(οι)πὸν Cod. λυπὸν 19 μονήρ(ε)ι Cod. μονήρι 21 τελει(ό)τητος Cod. τελειώτητα 21 καθαρ(ό)τητα Cod. καθαρώτητα

First Contribution by Abba Serenus

We met also with abba Serenus. He was a saintly man who was virtuous in all respects. We admired him above all others for the virtues inherent in him, which shone forth not merely in his actions and manners, but also, by God's grace, in his very look as well. This happened certainly with all virtues, yet par excellence with those of chastity and saintliness, so that he
80^v never felt disturbed even by natural incitements, but | he had attained to a state that was beyond such natural conditions. This man then, after he had entreated God in fasts and tears and, with a great deal of patience, had asked for the gift of chastity to be bestowed upon him, was granted what he prayed for by the good Lord. And here is what he saw in a night-vision: an angel who seemed to have opened his [sc. Serenus'] belly with his own hands, removed from his bowels a fiery fleshly mass; and after he had cast it away, he said to him: Lo, I have removed from you the fiery incitements of fleshly desires. As of today, you should know that chastity, for which you have asked God in faith and patience, has been granted upon you by God.

Let these things which confirm God's grace having been bestowed upon this man suffice. Let us next direct our narration to both his teaching
81^r and our conversation with him. |

As soon as we had called on him, both myself and saint Germanus asked him in tears: Why is it that, although we have spent so many years leading a monastic life, and have lived in the desert, this has been to no avail for us, except for only having learnt that we are incapable of accomplishing perfection? For although we see that all the crafts and sciences¹⁹² eventually lead those who practice them to perfect knowledge of them through daily study and enduring perseverance, we see in ourselves

¹⁹² αἱ τέχναι καὶ ἐπιστήμαι. This is how the conversation with abba Moses begins, too. *Supra*, p. 168: αἱ τέχναι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα.

ἐκάστην ἐπιτ(η)δεύοντες καὶ βιαζόμενοι, τὴν πνευματικὴν τέχνην μαθεῖν ἀδυνατοῦμεν. Καὶ γὰρ ὅταν θελήσωμεν τὴν διάνοιαν πρὸς τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπαναγαγεῖν, καὶ διὰ τούτου κατανύττειν τὴν καρδίαν, πρὶν ἐν τούτῳ βεβαιωθῆναι |
 81^v εὐθέως ἀφίσταται πρὸς τὰς ματαίας φαντασίας.³ Καὶ πάλιν ἡμῶν ἐπαναγόντων
 <ο>ῖα <αὐτ>ὴν βία, ὅξέως πάλιν ἀποφεύγει καὶ διαχεῖται· καὶ οὕτω ταῖς καθημε-
 ριναῖς παραφυλακαῖς καὶ ἀποπτώσεσι κλυδωνιζόμενοι καὶ μηδὲν στάσιμον ἐν
 5 ἑαυτοῖς θε(ω)ροῦντες, εἰς ἀπελπισμὸν καταπίπτ(ο)μεν, οὐ τῇ προαιρέσει ἀλλὰ
 τῇ φύσει⁴ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐλάττ(ω)μα ἐπιγράφοντες.

Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ ἅγιος Σερήνος:

Ἐπικίνδυνον καὶ προπετ(ές) τὸ περὶ οἷας δήποτε φύσεως ταχέως ὀρίζειν,
 καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀσθενείας, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρων πείρας καὶ ἐπιστήμης,⁵ προσφέ-
 ρειν γνῶμην. Οὐτε γάρ <εἰ> τις ἄπειρος τοῦ νήχεσθαι, ἀφορῶν εἰς τὸ τοῦ οἰκείου
 σώματος βάρος, ὀρίζειν ἐπιχειρήσοι μηδὲνα δύνασθαι σαρκὶ συνδεδεμένον τοῖς
 82^r ὕδασι | ἐπιφέρεισθαι, καὶ ἡ τούτου ὑπόνοια ἢ ὁ ὀρισμὸς⁶ ἀληθῆς ὑποληφθήσε-
 ται, δυνατοῦ τοῦ πράγματος ἀποδεικνυομένου ἐκ τῶν ἐπισταμένων <νήχεσθαι>.
 15

Οὕτως οὖν οὐκ ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς,⁷ ἐμπαθ(ή)ς ἔτι ὢν καὶ ἀτελής, δια-
 σκορπίζεται συνεχῶς καὶ ἀποπλανᾶται τῆς ἐπιμόνου μνήμης τῶν ἀγαθῶν,⁸
 <δι>ὰ τοῦτο ἀδύνατον λέξομεν τὸ προσμέν(ει)ν αὐτὸν τῷ καλῷ. Ἄλλ' ὅτι μὲν
 αἰκίνητος⁹ τῇ φύσει ἐστὶν καὶ οὐδέποτε παύεται τοῦ ἐνθυμεῖσθαι καὶ ἡμεῖς
 συντιθέμεθα· ὅτι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἐνδιατρίβ(ει)ν αἷς ἂν θελήσω-
 20 μεν ἐνθυμήσεσιν ὁμολογ(εῖ)ται. Ὅθεν ἐπάναγκές ἐστι,¹⁰ εἰ <μη> προνοήσωμεν

1 ἐπιτ(η)δεύοντες Cod. ἐπιτιδεύοντες 1 τὴν πνευματικὴν τέχνην Cf. the same notion *supra*, p. 73^v. V121: τέχνην ἀδυνατοῦμεν 4-5 ἡμῶν ἐπαναγόντων <ο>ῖα <αὐτ>ὴν βία V121: ἡμῶν ἐπαναγόντων αὐτὴν βία 5 <ο>ῖα Cod. αἷα 5 <αὐτ>ὴν Cod. ἦν 7 θε(ω)ροῦντες Cod. θεοροῦντες 7 καταπίπτ(ο)μεν Cod. καταπίπτωμεν 8 τῇ φύσει V121: τῇ δὲ φύσει 8 ἐλάττ(ω)μα Cod. ἐλάττομα 9-10 ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ ... καὶ προπετ(ές) V104: Ὅν ἡμεῖς ἀκριβῶς ἐρωτήσαντες, ἀπεκρίθη πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁ ἅγιος Σερήνος λέγων. In V104, from this point, Ἐπικίνδυνον καὶ προπετ(ές), down to ἡ γραφὴ ἢ λέγουσα ὅτι (folio 82^v), the text is skipped 10 προπετ(ές) Cod. προπεταῖς 10 ὀρίζειν To regard any 'hasty definition of any nature as dangerous and presumptuous' can only flow from the ferocity of the Monophysite dispute, which was posterior to 'John Cassian' of Marseilles. V121: διορίζειν 11 τῆς ἐτέρων V121: τῆς ἄλλων 13 συνδεδεμένον V121: δεδεμένον 15 ἀποδεικνυομένου V121: ὑποδεικνυομένου 15 <νήχεσθαι> With V121 16 ἐμπαθ(ή)ς Cod. ἐμπαθείς 18 <δι>ὰ Cod. παρὰ 18 προσμέν(ει)ν Cod. προσμένην. V121: παρὰ τοῦτο λέξομεν ἀδύνατον τό 19 τῇ φύσει V121: τὴν φύσιν 19 παύεται V121: παύσεται 19 ἐνθυμεῖσθαι V121: ἐνθυμείσθαι· ὅτι 20 ἐνδιατρίβ(ει)ν Cod. ἐνδιατρίβην. V121: καθέστηκεν ἐνδιατρίβειν 21 ὁμολογ(εῖ)ται Cod. ὁμολογῇται. V121: ὁμολόγηται

neither purity of heart nor peace, but only bewilderment and anxiety. We are unable to learn the spiritual art,¹⁹³ even though we pursue and struggle for this day in, day out. For once we seek to revert our mind towards the fear of God¹⁹⁴ so as to instill reverence into our heart through this [fear],
 81^v it [viz. our mind] | is immediately distracted towards vain conceptions, already before we make sure that we have done so [viz. before fear of God is established in our mind]. And when we force it back, as it were, to the meditation from which it has strayed, again it evades and wanders. Being therefore buffeted by everyday watchfulness and [subsequent] falls, and seeing that there is nothing [good] which is steadfast in us, we fall into despair and believe that this is owing not to our free choice, but to nature.

Saint Serenus then replied to these words:

It is both dangerous and presumptuous to set forth any hasty definition about the nature of anything, and to make assertions based not on the experience and education of others, but on one's own frailty. For if one who is ignorant of swimming but (taking into account the weight of his own body) hazards the definition that no one who is bound with flesh
 82^f is able to remain on the surface of water, | his impression, or indeed his definition, will not be allowed as correct, since this thing [viz. swimming] can be shown as being possible by all those who are informed.

Therefore, we should not assert that it is impossible for the mind to abide by righteousness, just because this is still subject to passions and imperfect, it is distracted all the time, and falls short of a persistent memory of good things. Now, we, too, concede that the mind is always in a state of motion, and sundry impressions never cease occurring in it. Nevertheless, it should be also conceded that it is within our power to abide by those impressions which we might opt for. It is therefore necessary for us

¹⁹³ τὴν πνευματικὴν τέχνην. See the same expression on Cod. p. 73^v. Once again, the notion is absent from the Latin. Cf. *Collationes*, VII.3: PL.49.670C–671A: Etenim cum omnium disciplinarum meditatio ad hoc quotidianis studiis exerceatur atque perficiatur, ut a tepidis rudimentis ad peritiam certam stabilemque perveniens, incipiat nosse quae primitus vel ambigue noverat, vel penitus ignorabat, et firmo (ut ita dixerim) gradu in illius disciplinae qualitate procedens, perfectae in ea ac sine ulla jam difficultate versetur; econtrario me in hujus puritatis studio laborantem id solummodo profecisse reperi, ut sciam quid esse non possim: ex quo nihil mihi aliud sentio quam luctum tanta cordis contritione conferri, ut numquam scilicet desit materia lacrymarum, nec tamen esse desinam quod esse non debeo.

¹⁹⁴ There is an actual continuity in Cassian developing his considerations. 'Fear of God' (ὁ φόβος τοῦ Θεοῦ) has been set forth as the first step in the way to salvation (*supra*, Cod. p. 22^f). Cassian and Germanus now say that they are unable even to attain this first step.

- ἐγγυμνάζειν αὐτὸν πνευματικαῖς μελέταις καὶ ἀγαθαῖς ἐνθυμήσεσιν, ἢ τῇ ἰδίᾳ
 82^v εὐκινήσῃ ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρῳ ὁρμᾶν καὶ τὰ φαῦλα λογιζέσθαι. "Ὅταν δὲ τῇ πολυχρο-
 νίῳ ἀσκήσῃ καὶ μελέτῃ τῶν πνευματικῶν ἐν ἔξει γένηται τῶν καλῶν καὶ μάθη
 ποίας τῇ ἰδίᾳ μνήμῃ ὕλας ὀφείλει προπαρασκευάζειν, τότε ἰσχύσει τοῦ πολέμου
 τὰς προσβολὰς εὐχερῶς καὶ ἀκόπως ἀποκρούεσθαι. Οὐ χρ(ῆ) τοῖνυν τῆς ἡμε- 5
 τέρας καρδίας τὸν μετεωρισμὸν ἢ τῇ φύσει τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ ἢ τῷ ταύτης κτίστη
 Θεῷ ἐπιγράφειν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῆς προαιρέσεως ραθυμίᾳ.¹¹ Ἄληθής γάρ ἐστιν ἡ γρα-
 φὴ ἢ λέγουσα ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἐποίησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον εὐθῆ, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐξήτησαν λογισμοὺς
 πολλοὺς.¹² Ὅτι δὲ τῶν λογισμῶν ἡ ποιότης καὶ ἡ διαφορὰ¹² ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐξου-
 σία κεῖται, ὁ ψαλμωδὸς διδάσκει λέγων· μακάριος ἀνὴρ οὗ ἐστιν ἀντίληψις αὐτῷ 10
 παρὰ σοι, ἀναβάσεις ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ διέθετο.¹³
 83^r Ὅρατε τοῖνυν, ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ διέθετο ἀναβάσεις· θελήσωμεν, |
 τοутέστιν, ὑψηλὰς ἐννοίας καὶ πρὸς Θεὸν ἀγούσας, εἴτε καταβάσεις, τοутέστιν
 σαρκικὰς καὶ γῆϊνας ἐνθυμήσεις ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τίθεσθαι. Εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν τοῦτο, οὐδ'
 ἂν δικαίως ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρ(ι)σεως ὑπὲρ ἐνθυμήσεως λόγον ἀπητούμεθα. (Εἰ τοῖνυν 15
 βουλόμεθα), κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, τὸν πόλεμον κυρίου πολεμεῖν,^c ἀναλαβεῖν
 ὀφειλομεν τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ᾧ δυνάμεθα πάντα τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ
 τὰ πεπυρωμένα^d σβεννύειν. Τὸ γὰρ πιστεύειν περὶ τῆς μελλούσης κρ(ι)σεως καὶ
 περὶ τῆς οὐρανοῦ βασιλείας^e φόβῳ καὶ πόθῳ, τὰ πεπυρωμένα τῶν ἡδονῶν βέλη
 ἀποσβεννύειν εἴωθεν. 20
 Ὁ Γερμανὸς εἶπεν:
 Δύνατ(αι) οὖν ἡ διάνοια, καὶ ἐκ φύσεως ἔχουσα τὸ ὀξύτατον καὶ ἀεικίνητον¹³
 83^v καὶ ὑπὸ τοσοῦτων πολεμίων ἀοράτων περιστ(οι)χιζομένη, ἀνενόχλητος μένειν |
 καὶ μὴ ἐξωθεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρῳ;

2-7 "Ὅταν δὲ ... προαιρέσεως ραθυμίᾳ The portion, "Ὅταν δὲ τῇ πολυχρονίῳ ἀσκήσῃ ... τῆς προ-
 αἰρέσεως ραθυμίᾳ appears in Anastasius of Sinai, *Interrogationes et Responsiones*, PG.89.311.
 This is attributed to 'Serenus', while Cassian's name was blacked out. See this text in
 RCR, Appendix I 3 πνευματικῶν V121: πνευματικῶν πατέρων 5 ἀποκρούεσθαι V121:
 ἀποκρούεσθαι 5 χρ(ῆ) Cod. οὐχρί 9 ἡ ποιότης V104, V121: ἡ πίστις 11 σοι V104:
 σοῦ 12 Ὅρατε τοῖνυν, ... ἀναβάσεις· θελήσωμεν V121: ἡμετέρᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ κείμενον εἴτε ἀναβάσεις
 θελήσω. V104: Ὅρατε ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ κείμενον ὅτι ἀναβάσεις· θελήσωμεν 14 τί-
 θεσθαι V104: διατίθεσθαι 15 κρ(ι)σεως Cod. κρήσεως 15 ἀπητούμεθα V104: ἀπαιτούμεθα
 15-16 (Εἰ τοῖνυν βουλόμεθα) With V104, V121 16 τὸν Cod. τὸν τὸν 16 πολεμεῖν Cod.
 πολεμεῖν 18 σβεννύειν V104, V121: σβέσαι 18 κρ(ι)σεως Cod. κρήσεως 19 φό-
 βῳ καὶ πόθῳ V104, V121: πόθῳ καὶ φόβῳ 19 τῶν ἡδονῶν βέλη V104: βέλη τῶν ἡδονῶν
 22 Δύνατ(αι) Cod. δύνατε 22-23 ὀξύτατον καὶ ἀεικίνητον καὶ ὑπὸ V104: ὀξύτατον καὶ ὑπὸ
 23 περιστ(οι)χιζομένη Cod. περιστυχιζομένη

^a Eccl. 7:29.

^b Psalm 83:6.

^c 1 Kings (1 Samuel in textu Masoretico) 25:28.

^d Eph. 6:16.

^e Cf. 2 Tim. 4:18.

82^v either to provide for training this [mind] by means of spiritual studies and righteous intellections, or, on account of its agility, rush into corruption and consider wicked things. And when, following many years of practice and study | of spiritual things, [mind] attains righteousness as a deep-seated habit, and learns what is the quality of the stuff it ought to preserve within itself, then it will be strong enough so as to confront the assaults of this war comfortably and easily. Therefore, we should lay the blame for this distraction of our heart on the slackness of our free choice, not on either human nature or on God, who is the creator of it. For it is a true statement of Scripture, *that God hath made man upright; but they have sought out many inventions*.¹⁹⁵ That both the quality and differentiation¹⁹⁶ of these thoughts lies in our power also the Psalmist teaches us by saying this: *blessed is the man whose help is in thee; in his heart he has purposed to go up*.¹⁹⁷

83^v You see, therefore, *in his heart he has purposed to go up*. Which means to dispose | in our hearts either lofty conceptions that lead to God, or descents, that is, carnal and earthly thoughts. Were this not within our power, it would be unfair for us to be called to account for our conceptions on the Day of Judgement. If therefore we are prepared, in accordance with the saying, *to fight the battle of the Lord*,¹⁹⁸ we ought to *take the shield of faith, wherewith we shall be able to quench the fiery darts of the wicked*.¹⁹⁹ For indeed to believe desirably and in fear in the future Judgement and *the heavenly kingdom*,²⁰⁰ is the means for *quenching the fiery darts* of lust.

Germanus said:

83^v Is it possible then for the mind, which is by nature keen and ever-moving, and which is surrounded by so many invisible enemies, to remain composed | and not to be driven to iniquity by these enemies?

¹⁹⁵ Eccl. 7:29.

¹⁹⁶ ἡ ποιότης καὶ ἡ διαφορά. Cf. note 12 (p. 296) to the Greek text. The Latin extinguished this crucial notion, confining it to 'qualitas', in a flood of unnecessary elaboration on the Greek original. Cf. *Collationes*, VII.4, PL.49.672C: A nobis ergo earum qualitas pendet. Quia cogitatio bona, inquit, scientibus eam appropinquat, vir autem prudens inveniet eam. Quidquid autem ut inveniri possit nostrae prudentiae industriaeque subjectum est, si non fuerit inventum, sine dubio nostrae desidia vel imprudentiae, non naturae vitio reputandum est. Cui sensui Psalmista quoque congruit, dicens: *Beatus vir cuius est auxilium abs te, Domine, ascensiones in corde suo disposuit* (Psal. LXXXIII).

¹⁹⁷ Psalm 83:6.

¹⁹⁸ 1 Kings (1 Samuel in textu Masoretico) 25:28.

¹⁹⁹ Eph. 6:16.

²⁰⁰ Cf. 2 Tim. 4:18.

Ὁ Σερήνος εἶπεν:

Διάνοιαν μὲν μὴ παρενοχλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀδύνατον· καὶ τοῦτο ἐπίσταντ(αι) καλῶς οἱ πείραν ἔχοντες τοῦ νοητοῦ καὶ ἐνδοτέρου πολέμου.¹⁴ Οὐ μέντοι ἀναγκάζεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ βία συν(ω)θεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ φαῦλα εἴποι τις ἂν τῶν νοῦν ἔχόντων. Εἰ γὰρ ἡδύναντο οἱ δαίμονες ὥσπερ τὸ ὑποβάλλειν οὕτως καὶ τὸ ἀναγκάζειν, οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων (ἂν) ἡδυνήθη ἐκκλ(ι)ναι ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας. Ἄλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν ἐκείνοις ἐστὶν τὸ ὑποβάλλειν εὐχερῶς τὰ κακά, οὕτω ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ ἀπορρίπτειν ταῦτα. Καὶ εἰ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ αἱ ἐπιβουλαὶ καταπτοοῦσιν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἡ βοήθεια τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ὁ ὑπερασπισμὸς^a αὐτοῦ μείζων ὑπάρχων τῶν ἀντιπάλων παραθαρρύνει ἡμᾶς, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ γραφὴ | λέγει· μείζων γὰρ ἐστὶν 84^r ὁ ἐν (ὧ)μῖν ἢ ὁ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ.^b Καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐ μόνον χορηγός, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεργός καὶ συγκροτητής ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός, οὕτως ὡς (πολλάκις) καὶ ἄκοντας ἡμᾶς σχεδὸν καὶ ἀγνοοῦντας κατὰ τινα οἰκονομίαν ἔλκειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν.

Ὡμολόγηται τοίνυν μηδὲνα δύνασθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου ἀπατᾶσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἐκεῖνον ὅστις παρέχειν τούτῳ βούλεται τῆς ἰδίας προαιρέσεως τὴν συγκατάθε- 15 σιν,¹⁵ καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Ἐκκλησιαστής λέγει· οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντίρρησις ἀπὸ τῶν ποιοῦντων τὸ κακὸν ταχύ^c· ὁ δὲ Ἰάκωβός φησιν· ἀντίστητε τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ φεύζεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν.^d

Ὁ Γερμανὸς εἶπεν:

Παρακαλοῦμεν μαθεῖν τίς ἡ συζυγία τούτων τῶν πνευμάτων¹⁶ πρὸς τὴν 20 ψυχὴν; Ἦ οὕτως ἀχώριστος ὥστε καὶ προσομιλεῖν ταύτῃ ἀνεπ(αι)σθήτως καὶ 84^v συνάπτεσθαι καὶ ἐμπνέειν αὐτῇ ἅπερ ἂν βουλευθῶσιν; | Καὶ τίς τῆς διανοίας ἡ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔνωσις¹⁷ τε καὶ συνάφ(ε)ια, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι ἄνευ χάριτος τοῦ Θεοῦ

3 ἐπίσταντ(αι) Cod. ἐπίσταντε 3 νοητοῦ V121: νοεοῦ 4 συν(ω)θεῖσθαι Cod. συνοθεῖσθαι. V104: καὶ συνωθεῖσθαι 4–5 τις ἂν τῶν V104: τις τῶν 6 ἐκκλ(ι)ναι Cod. ἐκκλῆναι 11 (ὧ)μῖν Cod. ἡμῖν. V121: γὰρ ὁ ἐν 12 (πολλάκις) With V104, V121 14 Ὡμολόγηται τοίνυν ... διαβόλου ἀπατᾶσθαι V104: Ὁμολογεῖται τοίνυν μὴ δύνασθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου τινὰ ἀπατᾶσθαι 15 τούτῳ V121: τοῦτο 15–16 συγκατάθεσιν, καθάπερ ... ἔστιν ἀντίρρησις V104: συγκατάθεσιν· οὐ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντίρρησις 17 ἀντίστητε Cod. ἀντιστήτε 21 ἀνεπ(αι)σθήτως Cod. ἀνεπεσθήτως 22–23 τίς τῆς ... τε καὶ V104: τίς ἡ τῆς διανοίας πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔνωσις καὶ 23 συνάφ(ε)ια Cod. συνάφια 23 χάριτος τοῦ Θεοῦ V104: χάριτος Θεοῦ

^a Cf. Psalm 17:36; 2Kings (2Samuel in textu Masoretico) 22:36; Ecclesiasticus 34:16; Lam. 3:65. ^b 1John 4:4. ^c Eccl. 8:11. LXX: πονηρὸν instead of κακόν. ^d James 4:7.

Serenus said:

It is impossible for the mind not to be disturbed by the enemies, of which those who have experienced the spiritual internal war are well aware.²⁰¹ Nevertheless, no sensible man could ever sustain that [mind] is either coerced by these [enemies], or is driven to iniquity by force. For if daemons were able to force [human action] as much as they are able to instill thoughts, no man would have been able to escape sinning. To the contrary, they are as able easily to incite us to evil things, as it is in our power to reject them.

84^r And even though we are intimidated by the multitude of them and their plots, since the help and *shield*²⁰² of God is mightier than the opponents, this is a reassurance, according to that which Scripture | says: *For greater is he that is in you, than he that is in this world.*²⁰³ For God is not only He who provides good things: He is also the one who cooperates and organizes them, so as to draw us in goodness according to a certain dispensation, even though we either almost do not wish it, or do not know it.

It has been established, therefore, that no one can be deceived by the devil, save him who wills to yield to him [viz. the devil] the assent of his own will. Which is also what Ecclesiastes says: *There is no contradiction made on the part of those who do evil quickly.*²⁰⁴ And James says; *Resist the devil, and he will flee from you.*²⁰⁵

Germanus said:

84^v We entreat you to teach us this: What is the kind of conjunction of these [evil] spirits with the soul? Is this [conjunction] so indissoluble that they are able to converse with it [viz. the soul] imperceptibly, and to be conjoined with it and instigate it to whatever they like? | And what is the kind of union and conjunction²⁰⁶ of the mind with them, which results in

²⁰¹ τοῦ νοητοῦ καὶ ἐνδοτέρου πολέμου. See endnote 14 (pp. 296–297).

²⁰² Cf. Psalm 17:36; 2Kings (2Samuel in textu Masoretico) 22:36; Ecclesiasticus 34:16; Lam. 3:65.

²⁰³ 1John 4:4.

²⁰⁴ Eccl. 8:11.

²⁰⁵ James 4:7.

²⁰⁶ The expression ἔνωσις τε καὶ συνάφ(ε)ια, which points to a sixth-century author (as Cassian actually was), was expelled from the Latin text. In fact the notion of ‘conjunction’ is dismissed, through this portion added to Germanus’ question: ‘by which it is possible for them to be (I will not say joined with but) united to it’ (quo sic eidem non dicam jungi, sed uniri possint). Further, the text goes thus, eschewing any notion of conjunction (συνάφεια): *Collationes*, VII.9, PL.49. 678B–679A: Germanus: Quod istud, quaeso, est animae cum istis spiritibus nequam tam indiscretum permixtumque consortium, quo sic eidem non dicam

διακρίνειν; Τί μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων ὑπ(ο)βολῆς, τί δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας προέρχεται (θελήσεως);

Ὁ Σερήνος εἶπεν:

Οὐκ ἔστιν θαυμαστὸν εἰ πνεῦμα πνεύματι ἀνεπαισθήτως συζεύγνυται καὶ ἀοράτως προσεγγίζ(ο)ν ὑποβάλλει τὰ <ῆ>δοντα καὶ τέρποντα τὴν ψυχὴν· ἔστι γὰρ μεταξὺ τῶν πνευμάτων <τούτων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων> κατὰ τὸ νο(ητ)ὸν τε καὶ (λογικ)ὸν ὁμ(οί)ωσις καὶ συγγένεια, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ὅρος ἀποδίδεται περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων νοερᾶς οὐσίας. Ὅθεν καὶ συνάπτεσθαι ἀλλήλοις δύναντ(αι) διὰ τῶν λογισμῶν. Τῷ δὲ τρόπῳ ᾧ ὑπολαμβάνεται ἐνοῦσθαι αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις, ὥστε ἕτερον τοῦ ἐτέρου εἶναι δεκτικὸν κατ' οὐσίαν, ἀδύνατον. 5
85^r Καὶ γὰρ μόνῃ τῇ θεότητι, ἥτις καὶ μόνῃ ἀσώματος | καὶ ἀπλῇ τῇ φύσει¹⁸ ἔστί, τοῦτο δυνατόν ὑπάρχει.

Ὁ Γερμανὸς εἶπεν:

Καὶ πῶς ὁρῶμεν τοὺς ἐνεργουμένους ὑπὸ πνευμάτων καὶ καταπίπτοντας πεπληρωμένους ὅλης τῆς τοῦ δαίμονος ἐνεργείας; Καὶ γὰρ ὅταν ἐμπνευσθῶσιν τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις πνεύμασιν, ἐκεῖνα λαλοῦσιν καὶ πράττουσιν ἅπερ ἀγνοοῦσιν. Πῶς δὲ μὴ ὑπολάβωμεν τὰς ψυχὰς τούτων ἠνώσθαι τοῖς πνεύμασιν τούτοις, ὅταν ταύτας ὁρῶμεν ὥσπερ ὄργανα τῶν πνευμάτων τούτων γεγонуίης καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων κίνησιν τε καὶ διάθεσιν¹⁹ μετενεχθείσας, ὡς μηκέτι λ(οι)π(ὸ)ν τὰς ἰδίας ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐκείνων φωνὰς καὶ τὰς ἐγχειρήσεις καὶ τὰ σχ(ή)ματα καὶ τὰς 15
20 προαιρέσεις προφέρειν;

1 ὑπ(ο)βολῆς Cod. ὑπερβολῆς. V104: ἐπιβολῆς 2 <θελήσεως>; With V104 5 ἀοράτως V104, V121: ἀόρατον 5 προσεγγίζ(ο)ν Cod. προσεγγίζων 5 <ῆ>δοντα Cod. ἴδοντα 6 <τούτων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων> With V104 6–7 νο(ητ)ὸν τε καὶ (λογικ)ὸν With V104, V121. Cod. νοερὸν τε καὶ νοερὸν 7 ὁμ(οί)ωσις Cod. ὁμύωσις 9 δύναντ(αι) Cod. δύναντε. V104: δέδοται 9 ὑπολαμβάνεται V121: ὑπολαμβάνεται. V104: ὑπολαμβάνετε 9–10 ἐνοῦσθαι αὐτοὺς V121: αὐτοὺς ἐνοῦσθαι. V104: ἐνοῦσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ 10 δεκτικὸν V104: δεκτικά 11 ἥτις καὶ μόνῃ V121: ἥτις μόνῃ 13 Ὁ Γερμανὸς εἶπεν In V104, from this point, Ὁ Γερμανὸς εἶπεν down to τὰς πονηρὰς αὐτῶν ἐννοίας; Ὁ Σερήνος εἶπεν: (folio 87^v), the text is skipped 14 πνευμάτων V121: δαιμόνων 17 τούτοις V121: ἐκείνοις 18 γεγонуίης V121: καὶ τὴν φυσικὴν αὐτῶν κατὰστασιν [cod. ἀποκατάστασιν] ἀποβεβληκυίας καὶ πρὸς 19 λ(οι)π(ὸ)ν Cod. λυπῶν 20 σχ(ή)ματα Cod. σχεῖματα

jungi, sed uniri possint, et alloqui eam insensibiliter, et inseri, atque inspirare illi quae-
cumque voluerint, et ad ea quae placuerint eam valeant instigare, ejusque cogitationes ac
motus videant atque perlustrant: tantaque inter ipsos ac mentem unitas fiat, ut sine Dei
gratia, quid ex illorum incitamento, quid ex nostra voluntate procedat, discerni pene non
possit?

us being unable without God's grace to distinguish between what results from either their instigation or from our free will?

Serenus said:

It is no wonder that a spirit can be imperceptibly conjoined with a spirit, and, approaching invisibly, it incites the soul to what is enjoyable and pleasant to it. For between those spirits there is the sort of similarity and kinship in terms of spiritual and rational nature, and the definition which is given of both the human soul and their spiritual substance is the same. Which is why they can conjoin with each other by means of thoughts. But with reference to them supposedly uniting with each other, it is impossible for them to attach to each other in essence. For this is possible only to Deity, which is incorporeal²⁰⁷ alone | and simple in nature.

Germanus said:

How is it then that we see those possessed by [evil] spirits, who fall down being overwhelmed by all the energy of the daemon? For indeed, once they are possessed by filthy spirits, they say and do things which they themselves do not actually know. How is it possible then not to believe that their souls are united with these spirits, once we see them being made instruments of those spirits, and yielding to their movement and mood, in such a way that they give expression no longer to their own words and propositions and usual phraseology and wishes, but to those of them [viz. of the demons]?

²⁰⁷ Cassian sustains the doctrine of Origen that the Trinity alone is incorporeal. Cf. *COT*, pp. 112–113. This is the ground on which *union in essence* between intellectual (though not incorporeal) natures is impossible. Therefore, although human soul and evil spirits are both intellectual substances, their essential union is impossible. This is how Cassian counters a virtually Gnostic thesis, excludes moral determinism, and allows for human freedom to make sense.

Ὁ Σερήνος εἶπεν:

85^v Τῷ ὄρω (ὄν) προειρήκαμεν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐναντιούμενον τοῦτο ὕπερ λέγετ(ε) περὶ
τῶν ἐνεργουμένων, ὅταν ὑπὸ ἀκαθάρτων | πνευμάτων συναρπαγέντες λαλῶσιν
ἢ πράττ(ω)σιν (ἃ μὴ βούλονται ἢ ἅπερ ἀγνοοῦσιν). Οὐτε δὲ ἐνὶ τρόπῳ ταύ-
την τὴν σύγχυσιν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων οἱ ἐνεργούμενοι ὑποτ(εῖ)νουςιν.²⁰ Τινὲς γὰρ
οὕτως ἐνεργοῦνται ὡς παντελῶς μὴ γινώσκειν ἅπερ λαλοῦσιν ἢ πράττουσιν,
τινὲς δὲ γινώσκουσιν πολλάκις ἢ ἀναπολοῦσιν. Οὐ χρὴ δὲ νομίζειν τοὺς δαίμο-
νας οὕτως ἐνεργεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὡς εἰς τὴν ὑπόστασιν, ἥτοι οὐσίαν,²¹ αὐτὴν
τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνδομυχοῦντας²² καὶ ἡνωμένους καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ταύτην ἐνδεδυμέ-
νους καὶ ὁμ(ι)λίας καὶ ρήματα διὰ τοῦ στόματος ἐκπέμπειν· οὐδενὶ γὰρ τρόπῳ
τοῦτ(ο) δυνατόν αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχει. Οὐτε γὰρ διὰ τινος ἐλαττ(ώ)ματος τῆς ψυχῆς
ταῦτα ἐνεργοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενείας, ὅταν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς μέ-
86^r λεσιν, ἐν οἷς ἡ ἰσχὺς τῆς ψυχῆς | συνέχεται, τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα ἐγκαθήμενον,
ἀβάστακτον καὶ ἀμέτρ(η)τον βάρος ἐπιβάλλον, ἀμαυρώσ(η) καὶ σκοτίσ(η) τὰς
νοητικὰς αὐτοῦ αἰσθήσεις· ὃ δὴ πολλάκις καὶ ἀπὸ οἴνου καὶ πυρετοῦ καὶ πολλοῦ
ψύχους καὶ ἄλλων ἔξωθεν προσγιν(ο)μένων νοσημάτων ὀρώμεν ἐπισυμβαῖνον.
Ὅπερ, ἵνα μὴ τῷ μακαρίῳ Ἰώβ ὁ διάβολος δεξιόμενος τὴν κατὰ τῆς σαρκὸς
ἐξουσίαν ἐπενέγκ(η), τῷ παραγγέλματι τοῦ Κυρίου κωλύεται· ἰδοὺ γὰρ φησιν,
παραδίδωμι αὐτὸν εἰς χεῖρας σου, μόνον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ διαφύλαξον^a· τοῦτέστιν,
ἄφρονα αὐτὸν μὴ ποιήσ(η)ς πληγέντος τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς καταγωγίου²³ τῷ πολ-
λῷ σου βάρει, καὶ καταχώσης τὴν νόησιν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ τὴν
ἀνθισταμένην τῇ κακίᾳ σου.

2 (ὄν) Cod. δ̄ 2 λέγετ(ε) Cod. λέγεται 4 πράττ(ω)σιν Cod. πράττουσιν 4 (ἃ μὴ βούλονται ἢ ἅπερ ἀγνοοῦσιν) With V121 5 ὑποτ(εῖ)νουςιν Cod. The letter is erased. V121: ὑπομένουςιν 7 ἀναπολοῦσιν Cod. ἀναπόλλουσιν 8 αὐτὴν V121: αὐτῆς 9–10 καὶ ἡνωμένους ... διὰ τοῦ V121: καὶ ἡνωμένους ὁμιλίας καὶ ρήματα ἐκ τοῦ 10 ὁμ(ι)λίας Cod. ὁμηλίας 11 τοῦτ(ο) Cod. τούτῳ 11 ἐλαττ(ώ)ματος Cod. ἐλαττόματοσ 13 πνεῦμα ἐγκαθήμενον V121: καθήμενον πνεῦμα 14 ἀμέτρ(η)τον Cod. ἀμέτριτον 14 ἀμέτρ(η)τον βάρος ἐπιβάλλον V121: ἄμετρον βάρος βάλλον 14 ἀμαυρώσ(η) Cod. ἀμαυρώσει 14 σκοτίσ(η) Cod. σκοτίσει. V121: σκοτώση 16 προσγιν(ο)μένων Cod. προσγινωμένων 18 ἐπενέγκ(η) Cod. ἐπενέγκει 18 Κυρίου V121: θεοῦ 20 αὐτὸν V121: τοῦτον 20 ποιήσ(η)ς Cod. ποιήσῃς

^a Job 2:6: The LXX-text actually goes, Ἰδοὺ παραδίδωμί σοι αὐτόν. Cassian quotes from the Hebrew text: "Behold, he is in thine hands".

Serenus said:

85^v What you sustain concerning those who say or do things being under possession by filthy spirits, | is not opposed to the assertion we have just set forth concerning those who fall under the possession by spirits, and utter or commit things which they either do not want or do not know; nor indeed all those people who are possessed by spirits suffer such a confusion in one single manner. For some are affected by them in such a way as to have absolutely no conception of what they do or say, while others often know or recollect it afterwards. But we must not imagine that daemons act upon men in such a way that they establish themselves lurking into the actual substance or essence of the soul,²⁰⁸ being united to it and, as it were, somehow clothed with it, uttering words through the mouth [of the possessed person]. For this is in no way possible to them. Nor is it the case that they are able to exercise this influence due to a fault of the soul: this befalls only by reason of weakness of the body, when the
86^r filthy spirit seizes on those members in which the stamina | of the soul resides, and, laying on them an intolerable and immeasurable weight, it bedims and darkens its intellectual percept. We can see this happening very often from either consummation of wine, or fever, or excessive cold, or other ailments affecting men from without. This is what the devil was forbidden to do by God's command, though he had received power over the flesh of the blessed Job. For indeed he says, Behold, *I deliver him up to thine hands; only save his life.*²⁰⁹ Which means, do not make him foolish by assaulting the lodge²¹⁰ of his soul with your heavy weight, and do not debilitate the perception and wisdom of its ruling power,²¹¹ which holds out against your wickedness.

²⁰⁸ εἰς τὴν ὑπόστασιν, ἥτοι οὐσίαν, αὐτὴν τῆς ψυχῆς. I discuss this on pp. 300–302 note 21 of the Greek text. At the time of Cassian it was hard to render both terms in Latin, since both of them were rendered as ‘substantia’. Hence, *Collationes*, VII.12: PL.49.682A: Quod fieri per infusionem spiritus immundi non ita putandum est, ut in animae ipsius penetrans substantiam, et velut unitus ei, et quodammodo indutus ea, sermones ac verba per os patientis emittat.

²⁰⁹ Job 2:6: The LXX text actually is: Ἴδού παραδίδωμί σοι αὐτόν. Cassian quotes from the Hebrew text: “Behold, he is in thine hands”.

²¹⁰ Cf. *Collationes*, VII.12, PL.49.682B; ‘the residence of the soul’: animae domicilio, et intellectu invaso, aut rationis organo. Accurate though this translation is, it is the Greek term τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς καταγωγίου which is loaded with a rich history of philosophical and theological significance. I discuss this in endnote 23 to the Greek text (p. 393).

²¹¹ The Greek is made ‘the principal’ part ‘of the heart’; loc. cit., neque obruas intellectum ac sapientiam resistentis, principale scilicet cordis ejus tuo pondere praefocans.

- 86^v Οὐτε γὰρ οὕτως ὥσπερ τῇ παχείᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ ὑλικῇ σαρκί²⁴ | τὸ ἀκάθαρτον
πνεῦμα συμμίγνυται καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ταύτην ἐνδύεται, οὕτως καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ
ἐνοῦτ(αι), ὡς νομίζειν εἶναι πνεῦμα πνεύματος δεκτικόν. Τοῦτο γάρ, καθὼς
εἴρηται, μόνῃ ἐστὶν τῇ Τριάδι δυνατόν, ἥτις πάσῃ τῇ νοητῇ φύσει ἐνυπάρχει,
δι' ὅλης τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτῆς καὶ οὐσίας διήκουσα καὶ ἐρευνῶσα τὰ ἀφανῆ
αὐτῆς^a καὶ περιέχουσα, καὶ μόνῃ ὑπάρχουσα ἀπλή καὶ ἀσώματος οὐσία. Εἰ γὰρ
καὶ λέγομεν πνευματικὰς εἶναι φύσεις ἀγγέλων καὶ τῶν λ(οι)πῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ
αὐτῆς ὁμοίως τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' ὅλως γυμνὰς σωματικῶν παντελῶς ταύτας οὐχ
ὑπολαμβάνομεν²⁵ ἔχουσι γὰρ καὶ αὗται σώματα, εἰ καὶ πολλῶ λεπτ(ό)τερ(α)
τοῦ ἡμετέρου, καθὼς καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει· καὶ σώματα ἐπουράνια καὶ σώματα
87^r ἐπίγεια^b καὶ πάλιν, σπείρεται σῶμα φθαρτόν,^c ἐγείρεται σῶμα πνευματικόν.^d |
Ἐκ τούτων γὰρ προφανῶς μαθάνομεν μηδὲν ὑπάρχειν ἀσώματον εἰ μὴ τὸν
Θεὸν μόνον, καὶ αὐτὸν δύνασθαι ἐρευνᾶν τὰ ἀπόκρυφα καὶ διήκ(ει)ν τὰ βάθ(η)
τῆς καρδίας καὶ γινώσκειν πάσας τὰς νοερὰς οὐσίας. Διότι μόν(ω)ς καὶ ὅλως
καὶ πανταχοῦ καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἐστίν,²⁶ ὡς καὶ τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ
τὰς κρυφίους τῆς διανοίας κινήσεις θεωρεῖν, καθά φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος· ζῶν γὰρ
ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐνεργ(ή)ς καὶ τομώτερος ὑπάρχων (ὑπὲρ πᾶσ)αν μάχαιραν
δίστομον καὶ δι(ι)κνούμενος ἄχρι μερισμοῦ ψυχῆς τε καὶ πνεύματος, ἀρμῶν τε καὶ
μυελῶν, καὶ κριτικ(ός)ς ἐνθυμήσεων καὶ ἐννοιῶν καρδίας· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν κτ(ί)σις
ἀφανῆς ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, πάντα δὲ γυμνὰ καὶ τετραχλισμένα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ.^e
87^v Καὶ ὁ μακάριος Δαβὶδ φησιν· ὁ πλάσας κατὰ | μόνας τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν.^f Καὶ ὁ
Ἰωβ ὁμοίως· ὁ ἐπιστάμενος τὸν νοῦν τῶν ἀνθρώπων.^g

2 τινὰ ταύτην ἐνδύεται V121: τινὰ ἐνδύεται 3 ἐνοῦτ(αι) Cod. ἐνοῦτε 3 εἶναι πνεῦμα πνεύματος V121: εἶναι πνεύματος 3 καθὼς V121: καθά 5 διήκουσα Cod. διηκούσα 7 λ(οι)πῶν Cod. λυπῶν 8 ὅλως V121: ὅμως 9 σώματα V121: σώμα 9 λεπτ(ό)τερ(α) Cod. λεπτώτερον. V121: εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα πολλῶ λεπτότερον ἢ περ τὸ ἡμέτερον 11 σπείρεται σῶμα φθαρτόν V121: ψυχικόν 12 μηδὲν V121: μηδένα 13 ἀπόκρυφα V121: κρύφια 13 διήκ(ει)ν Cod. διήκην 13 βάθ(η) Cod. βάθει 14 καρδίας V121: διανοίας 14 μόν(ω)ς Cod. μόνος. But we have a series of adverbs here, that is, μόν(ω)ς καὶ ὅλως καὶ πανταχοῦ. V121: μόνος 17 ἐνεργ(ή)ς Cod. ἐνεργεῖς 17 καὶ τομώτερος ὑπάρχων V121: καὶ ὀξύτερος ὑπὲρ 18 δι(ι)κνούμενος Cod. διηκνούμενος 19 κριτικ(ός)ς Cod. κριτικῶς 19 ἐνθυμήσεων καὶ ἐννοιῶν V121: ἐννοιῶν ἢ τῶν ἐνθυμήσεων 19 κτ(ί)σις Cod. κτήσις

^aThis is the vocabulary of Heb. 4:13: καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν κτίσις ἀφανῆς ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ. ('Neither is there any creature which is not manifest in his sight'). ^b1Cor. 15:40. ^cThe variation to the scriptural text, σπείρεται σῶμα φθαρτόν, is used by Didymus alone, the mastermind of Cassian's *Scholia in Apocalypsin*. Didymus, *comPs*35–39, Cod. p. 259. ^d1Cor. 15:44. ^eHeb. 4:12–13. ^fPsalms 32:15. ^gJob 7:20.

86^v For one should not believe, according to a [hypothetical] tenet that a spirit is receptive of [another] spirit, that a defiled spirit coalesces with the soul | in the same way as it is intermingled with this gross and material flesh. For as already said, this is possible only to the Trinity alone, who is present throughout all spiritual nature and pervades it in its entire existence and substance, and makes it manifest in her sight and embraces all of it,²¹² since this [viz. the Trinity] is the sole substance which is simple and incorporeal.²¹³ For although we say that there are spiritual natures, [such as those] of angels and the other principalities, and indeed of the soul itself, nevertheless, we do not perceive them as being entirely bereft of bodies. For they do have bodies, too, though they are much finer than our body is,²¹⁴ as the apostle says: *There are also celestial bodies, and bodies terrestrial*;²¹⁵ and again: *It is sown a corruptible body; it is raised a spiritual body*.²¹⁶ |

87^r From these sayings we learn clearly that there is nothing incorporeal but God alone, and it is he who can search the secrets and pervade through the depths of the heart and know all intellectual substances.²¹⁷ For he alone is wholly present everywhere and in everything, in such a way as to behold the thoughts of men and observe the inner movements of their mind, according to what the apostle says: *For the word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, and piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow; and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. Neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight; but all things are naked and opened unto the eyes of him*.²¹⁸ And the blessed David says: *Who fashioned their hearts* | *alone*.²¹⁹ And Job too: *O, thou that understand the mind of men*.²²⁰

²¹² Cassian uses the vocabulary of Heb. 4:13: καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν κτίσις ἀφανῆς ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ. ('Neither is there any creature which is not manifest in his sight').

²¹³ The same point was just made *supra*, pp. 84^v / 85^r.

²¹⁴ This is a plain Origenistic tenet. Cf. *COT*, pp. 112–113.

²¹⁵ 1 Cor. 15:40.

²¹⁶ 1 Cor. 15:44.

²¹⁷ Cf. *Collationes*, VII.12: PL.49.685A: Quibus manifeste colligitur nihil esse incorporeum, nisi solum Deum, et idcirco ipsi tantummodo posse penetrabiles omnes spirituales atque intellectuales esse substantias, eo quod solus totus et ubique et in omnibus sit.

²¹⁸ Heb. 4:12–13.

²¹⁹ Psalm 32:15.

²²⁰ Job 7:20.

Ὁ Γερμανὸς εἶπεν:

Τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ <ῶ>^a εἶπας, οὐ τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις τὰς ἡμετέρας τὰ πονηρὰ πνεύματα γινώσκειν δύνανται, ὅπερ οὐκ ἀληθές εἶναι ὑπολαμβάνω, τῆς γραφῆς λεγούσης· ἐὰν πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐξουσιάζοντος ἀναβῇ ἐπὶ σέ, τόπον σου μὴ ἀφήῃς^b καὶ πάλιν· ὁ διάβολος ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν <Ἰούδα>^c Σίμωνος τοῦ Ἰσκαριώτου ἵνα τὸν κύριον παραδώσῃ.^d Πόθεν τοίνυν πιστευθῆναι δύνανται μὴ καταλαμβάνειν αὐτοὺς τὰς ἡμετέρας ἐνθυμήσεις, ὁπόταν <αἱ> σθανόμεθα συνεχῶς ἀναφυόμενας εἰς ἡμὰς τὰς πονηρὰς αὐτῶν ἐννοίας;

Ὁ Σερήνος εἶπεν:

Οὐδενὶ ἀμφίβολόν ἐστιν ὅτι δύνανται τὰ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα κατανοεῖν τὰς 10
88^r ποι(ό)τητας | τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐνθυμήσεων, ἀλλὰ μηνύμασί τισιν καὶ σημείοις σωματικοῖς ἔξωθεν κεχρημένοι. Ἡ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας διαθέσεως, ἥ ἐκ τῶν ρημάτων, ἥ ἐκ τῶν σπουδασμάτων, πρὸς ἅπερ ἐπιρρεπέστερον ἡμὰς ὀρώσιν ἐπικλινόμενους, τοῦτο καταλαμβάνουσιν. Ἐκεῖνας δὲ τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις, αἱ οὐδέπω ἐκ τῶν ἐνδοτάτων τῆς ψυχῆς προεληλύθασιν, οὐδαμῶς καταλαβεῖν δύ- 15
νανται. Καὶ τὰς σποράς δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν αὐτῶν λογισμῶν, ἃς ὑποβάλλουσιν ἡμῖν, οὐκ ἄλλως καταλαβεῖν δύνανται, εἰ ἐδεξάμεθα <αὐτάς>, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν τοῦ σώματος, καθ' ἃ εἴρηται, κινήσεων καὶ τῶν μηνυμάτων τοῦ ἔξω ἀνθρώ- 20
που. Οἷον ὅταν ὑποβάλ(λ)ωσιν γαστριμαργίαν· ἐὰν θεάσ(ω)νται τὸν μοναχὸν πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον συνεχῶς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς | ἔχοντα καὶ ἐμμερίμνως περὶ τῆς 25
88^v ὥρας τῆς τροφῆς διακείμενον, ἐπιγινώσκουσιν ὅτι ἐδέξατο τὴν προσβολὴν τῆς γαστριμαργίας. Ὅταν πάλιν πορν(ε)ίαν ὑποβάλλωσιν· ἐὰν θεάσ(ω)νται τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ρεμβομένους καὶ περιεργότερον ἐνορῶντας, οἷς οὐδε(μ)ί(α) ἢ κί- 25
νησις τοῦ σώματος ἐσθότε, καὶ μὴ ἴδωσιν ἀνθισταμένην γενναίως τὴν ψυχὴν ταῖς τοιαύταις ὑποβολαῖς, ἐπιγινώσκουσιν αὐτὴν τετρ(ω)μένην ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν

2–3 τὰ πονηρὰ πνεύματα γινώσκειν δύνανται V121: γινώσκειν τὰ πονηρὰ πνεύματα δύνανται 3 εἶναι ὑπολαμβάνω V121: ὑπολαμβάνω εἶναι 4 ἐὰν πνεῦμα V121: ἐὰν τὸ πνεῦμα 5 πάλιν V121: πάλιν ὅτι 7 <αἱ> σθανόμεθα Cod. ἐσθανόμεθα 10 ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα κατανοεῖν V104: ἀκάθαρτα κατανοεῖν 11 ποι(ό)τητας Cod. ποιότητας 11 μηνύμασί τισιν καὶ σημείοις V121: μηνύμασί καὶ σημείοις 13 ἐπιρρεπέστερον V104: ἐπιρρεπεστέρω 16 σποράς V104: ἐπισποράς 17–18 εἰ ἐδεξάμεθα ... ἃ εἴρηται V121: εἰ μὴ ἐδεξάμεθα, εἰ μὴ, καθ' ἃ εἴρηται, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν τοῦ σώματος 17 <αὐτάς> With V104 19 ὑποβάλ(λ)ωσιν Cod. ὑποβάλλωσιν. V121: γαστριμαργίαν ὑποβάλλωσιν 19 θεάσ(ω)νται Cod. θεάσονται 22 πορν(ε)ίαν Cod. πορνίαν. V104, V121: Ὅταν πορνείαν 22 θεάσ(ω)νται Cod. θεάσονται 23 ἐνορῶντας V104: ὀρῶντας 23 οὐδε(μ)ί(α) Cod. οὐδεῖς 24 ἐσθότε V121. ἐσθότε. I discuss the significance of this adverb in RCR, p. 178. V104: οὐδὲ ἡμῖν κίνησιν τοῦ σώματος αἰσθωνται 25 ὑποβολαῖς V121: ἐπιβολαῖς 25 τετρ(ω)μένην Cod. τετρομένην

^aWith V121. ^bEccl. 10:4; an accurate LXX rendering. ^cSo V121. ^dJohn 13:2 paraphrased.

Germanus said:

In this way, which you describe, those spirits cannot possibly see into our thoughts, which I believe is not true, since the Scripture says: *If the spirit of the ruler rises up against thee, leave not thy place.*²²¹ And again: *When the devil had put it into the heart of [Judas] Iscariot, Simon's son, to betray the Lord.*²²² How then can we believe that our thoughts are not open to them, once we feel their evil suggestions continuously springing up within us?

Serenus said:

88^v Nobody doubts that filthy spirits can sense the qualities of our thoughts, | yet they do so by using certain indications and signs from without. For indeed they comprehend this either from our disposition, or from our words, or tendencies, to which they see us incline. In contrast, they can in no way grasp those thoughts which have not yet come forth from the inmost depths of the soul. With regard to incipient evil thoughts, which they suggest to us, once we have embraced them, this they cannot grasp otherwise than (according to what we just said) from motions and signs given by the outward man. Which happens, for instance, whenever they suggest gluttony: once they see a monk continuously raising his eyes up to the sun | being anxious for the o'clock time of lunch to come, they realize that he has been attacked by gluttony. The same goes whenever they suggest fornication: if they see his [viz. a monk's] eyes gadding about and keeping around an inquisitive eye, even though sometimes his body does not even move, and they do not see his soul stalwartly resisting such suggestions, they realize that this [soul] is wounded by the darts of lust. If

²²¹ Eccl. 10. 4.

²²² John 13:2.

89^r τῆς ἐπιθυμίας. Λύπην ἢ ὀργὴν ἡνίκα ἐνσπ(εῖ)ρῶσιν ἐγκαθήμενοι τῇ καρδίᾳ, διὰ τῶν κινημάτων τοῦ σώματος ἐπιγινώσκουσιν, θεωροῦντες ἢ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διαστραφέντας ἢ τοὺς ὀδόντας βρύχοντας ἢ (ὦ)χρ(ό)τητι τὸ πρόσωπον βεβαμμένον ἢ ἐρυθήματι ἐνηλλαγμένον. Καὶ οὕτως λεπτῶς ἐκζητοῦσιν καὶ 5 περισκοποῦσιν τίς τίνι ἐλαττώματί ἐστι ἐνδεδεμένος. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνῳ τῷ πάθει ἕνα ἕκαστον ἡμῶν τ(έρ)πεσθαι προδήλως ἐπιγινώσκουσιν, οὐτινος πρὸς τὴν ὑποβολὴν θεάσ(ω)νται ἡμᾶς μὴ δυσχεραίνοντας, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς σιωπῆς καὶ ἡσυχίας τὴν πρὸς αὐτ(ὸ) φιλίαν καὶ ἀδολεσχίαν ἐμφαίνοντας.²⁷

Καὶ οὐ θαύμα τοῦτο, εἰ δαίμονες ἀερίοις σώμασι²⁸ κεχηρμένοι ἐπιγινώσκουσι ταῦτα, ὁπότεν καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἔμπειροι τοῦτο πολλάκις ποιοῦσιν, τοῦ ἐνδοτέρου 10 ἀνθρώπου τὴν κατάστασιν ἐκ τοῦ ὀχήματος καὶ τοῦ χαρακτήρος καὶ τῆς ποι(ό)τητος τοῦ ἕξω ἀνθρώπου καταλαμβάνοντες.

89^v Τοῦτο δὲ γινώσκειν ὀφείλ(ο)μεν, ὅτι οὐ πάντες οἱ δαίμονες ὁμοῦ πάντα τὰ πάθη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑποβάλλουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν καὶ ἕκαστον πάθος ἰδικὰ καὶ ὠρισμένα 15 ἔχει πνεύματα τὰ τοῦτο ὑποβάλλοντα. Καὶ ἄλλα μὲν ταῖς ἀκαίθαρσiais καὶ τοῖς ρύποις τῶν ἡδονῶν τέρπονται, ἄλλα δὲ ταῖς βλασφημίαις, ἄλλα τῇ ὀργῇ καὶ μανίᾳ μάλλον χαίρουσιν, ἄλλα τῇ λύπῃ, ἄλλα τῇ κενοδοξίᾳ, ἄλλα τῇ ὑπερ(η)φανείᾳ. Καὶ ἐν ἕκαστον τῶν πνευμάτων τούτων ἐκεῖν(ο) φιλεῖ συνεχῶς ὑποβάλλειν, ὅπερ βλέπει τὴν ψυχὴν ἡδέως δεχομένην. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ πάλιν ἐφ' ἴσης 20 παρενοχλοῦσιν ἢ τὴν ἑαυτ(ῶ)ν κακίαν ὑποσπείρουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐνηλ(λ)αγμέν(ω)ς κατὰ τὰς τῶν κ(αι)ρῶν καὶ τόπων ἐπιτ(η)δ(ε)ι(ό)τητας.

Ὁ Γερμανὸς εἶπεν:

Τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐστὶν στοχάσασθαι μετὰ τούτων τῶν πνευμάτων τάξιν τινὰ καὶ παιδεύειν καὶ λογικὴν ἐπιστ(ή)μην καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κακίᾳ

1 ἐνσπ(εῖ)ρῶσιν Cod. ἐνσπῆρῶσιν. V104: ἂν σπείρῶσιν. V121: ἐὰν σπείρῶσιν 2 διὰ V104: ἐκ 3 διαστραφέντας V104: διαστρέφοντας 3 (ὦ)χρ(ό)τητι Cod. ὀχρώτητι 5 τίς τινι ἐλαττώματί ἐστι ἐνδεδεμένος V104: τίς τίνι ἐστὶν ἐλαττώματι ἐκδεδομένος. V121: τίς τίνι ἐλαττώματι ἐστὶν ἐκδεδομένος 6 τ(έρ)πεσθαι Cod. τρέπεσθαι. V121: τέρπεσθαι 7 θεάσ(ω)νται Cod. θεάσσονται. V121: μὴ θεάσ(ω)νται ἡμᾶς δυσχεραίνοντας 7-8 ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς σιωπῆς καὶ ἡσυχίας τὴν πρὸς αὐτ(ὸ) φιλίαν καὶ ἀδολεσχίαν ἐμφαίνοντας. The phrase ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς σιωπῆς καὶ ἡσυχίας τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸ φιλίαν καὶ ἀδολεσχίαν ἐμφαίνοντας is absent from V104 8 αὐτ(ὸ) Cod. αὐτῷ 10 ὁπότεν V104, V121: ὁπότε 10 ἄνθρωποι Cod. οἱ ἄνθρωποι. V104, V121: καὶ ἄνθρωποι 10 ἔμπειροι τοῦτο πολλάκις ποιοῦσιν V104: ἔμπειροι τοῦτο ποιοῦσι. V121: ἔμπειροι πολλάκις τοῦτο ποιοῦσι 12 ποι(ό)τητος Cod. ποιότητος 13 ὀφείλ(ο)μεν Cod. ὀφείλωμεν. In V104, the portion Τοῦτο δὲ γινώσκειν ὀφείλ(ο)μεν ... πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα (folia 89^r-91^r) has been skipped 13-14 πάντες οἱ ... τὰ πάθη V121: πάντες ἅμα οἱ δαίμονες πάντα πάθη 16 ρύποις τῶν ἡδονῶν V121: τῶν ἡδονῶν ρύποις 18 ὑπερ(η)φανείᾳ Cod. ὑπερφανία 18 ἐκεῖν(ο) Cod. ἐκεῖνω 19 ἐφ' ἴσης Cf. the same adverb ἐφ' ἴσης used *supra*, pp. 33^r (note 22, pp. 160-161); 39^r; 79^f. V121: ἐπίσης 20 ἑαυτ(ῶ)ν Cod. ἑαυτόν 20 ὑποσπείρουσιν V121: ἐπισπείρουσιν 20 ἐνηλ(λ)αγμέν(ω)ς Cod. ἐνηλαγμένως 21 κ(αι)ρῶν Cod. κερῶν 21 ἐπιτ(η)δ(ε)ι(ό)τητας Cod. ἐπιτιδιώτητα 24 ἐπιστ(ή)μην Cod. ἐπιστίμην

they stir up incitements to grief or wrath by establishing themselves into [the monk's] heart, their awareness stems from the movements of the [monk's] body, seeing either his eyes having been perverted, or his teeth groaning, or the colour of his face having grown pale or changed to blush.

89^f In this way, they scrutinize and inspect [in order to find out] | which specific fault each one is bound by. For they know that every one of us is evidently enticed by that passion, to the incitement of which they see us being not resistive and, through our silence and passivity, we display fellowship and keenness to it.

And it is no wonder that these things are discovered by daemons clothed with aerial bodies,²²³ since even men of experience can often achieve the same [knowledge], since they can grasp the condition of the inner man [considering the corporeal] vehicle and mien and quality of the outward man.

Besides, we ought to know this, that not all of the devils can implant all kinds of passions into men, but that each and every one passion is incited by a certain specific spirit of its own. And certain spirits gloat over uncleanliness and filthy lusts, | others over blasphemy, others take particular pleasure at anger and wrath, others delight in gloominess, others in vainglory, others in pride. And each one of these spirits likes continuously to implant that sin which it sees a soul indulging in with pleasure. And yet again, they harass or incite their wickedness not in a uniform manner, but in different ways, in accordance with the peculiarities of times and places.

Germanus said:

Following the preceding analysis, therefore, it is possible to assume that among these spirits there is a certain order, as well as that a specific learning and rational knowledge is preserved even in wickedness itself.

²²³ The notion of *aerial bodies* of daemons, and its implications, which I canvass in *RCR*, pp. 174–178, is absent from the Latin text. Cf. *Collationes*, VII.15: PL.49.690A: Quae ab illis aereis virtutibus ita deprehendi non mirum est ('And it is no wonder that this is discovered by those powers of the air').

90^r φυλάττεσθαι, ὅπερ ἀπίθανόν μοι φαίνεται τῆς θείας γραφῆς λεγούσης, ζητή-
σ(ει)ς παρὰ κακοῖς | σοφίαν καὶ οὐχ εὐρήσεις,^a καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἡμῶν ἀνόητοι.^b

Ὁ Σερήνος εἶπεν:

Ὅτι μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν μεταξύ τῶν κακῶν διηνεκῆς ἐν πάσιν ὁμόνοια, οὐδὲ ἐν
αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις τοῖς πάθεσιν οἷς κοινῶς τέρπεται σύμπνοιά τις, πρόδηλον τοῦτο. 5
Ἀδύνατον γάρ, καθάπερ εἰρήκατε, παρὰ κακοῖς εὐρεθῆναι ἐπιστ(ή)μην, οὐδὲ ἐν
πράγμασιν ἀπ(αι)δεύτοις μεμετρ(η)μένον²⁹ τι. Ἐν τ(ι)σιν δὲ ὅμως ἐπάναγκές
ἐστιν παρέχειν αὐτοὺς πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀλλήλοις ὁμόνοιαν, ἥτοι συνέργειαν, ὥστε
παραχωρεῖν ἀλλήλοις καὶ κ(αι)ροὺς καὶ τόπους. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ δύναται ἄμα ὑπὸ
κενοδοξίας πειράζεσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ ἐπιθυμίας πορν(ε)ίας ἐμπυρίζεσθαι, οὐδὲ τῇ 10
τῆς ὑπερ(η)φανείας οἰδήσει καὶ τῇ τῆς γαστριμαργίας ταπεινώσει· καὶ οὐδεὶς
90^v δύναται κακχασμοῖς³⁰ | ν(η)πίων καὶ γέλωτι ἐκλύεσθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κ(αι)ρῷ
τοῖς τῆς ὀργῆς κέντροις παροξύνεσθαι ἢ τοῖς τῆς λύπης λογισμοῖς καταναλί-
σκεσθαι. Ἄλλ' ἐπάναγκές ἐστιν ἐν καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν πνευμάτων τὴν ἰδίαν τάξιν
φυλάττειν καὶ πολεμεῖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον· καὶ ὅταν ἡττηθὲν ἀναχωρήσ(η), ἄλλω 15
πνεύματι σφοδροτέρῳ τὴν μάχην παραχωρεῖν.

Κάκειν(ο) δὲ μὴ ἀγνοεῖν ὀφείλομεν, ὅτι οὐ πάντες οἱ δαίμονες τῆς αὐτῆς
(εἰσιν) ἀγρι(ό)τητος καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιθυμίας, (ἀλλ') οὔτε τῆς αὐτῆς ἰσχύος ἢ
ἀδυναμίας). Ἀρχομένοις μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ ἔτι ἀσθενεστέροις ὑπάρχουσιν,
ἀσθενέστερα πνεύματα πρὸς μάχην προσέρχονται· καὶ τούτων νικηθέντων κατὰ 20
βαθμὸν αἰεὶ τὸν ἀθλ(η)τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μείζ(ο)νες ἀνταγωνισταὶ διαδέχονται. Εἰ
γὰρ μὴ κατὰ τὴν σύγκρ(ι)σιν τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς προκοπῆς τῆς ἀνθρωπί-
νης | καὶ ἡ δυσχέρεια τῆς π(άλ)λης ἐγίνετο, οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἡδύνατο
91^r (ἂν) τῶν τοσοῦτων καὶ τ(η)λικούτων πολεμίων ὑπομένειν τὴν κακίαν τε καὶ

1 ἀπίθανόν Cod. ἀπειθάνον 1-2 ζητήσ(ει)ς Cod. ζητήσῃς 2 σοφίαν V121: ἐπιστήμην.
This Prov. 14:6-portion is quoted only by Pseudo-Didymus' *DT* (which is actually Cassian's
work, Appendix II), Ephraem Syrus, and a fragment on Proverbs ascribed to Chrysostom.
No other author did ever quote this V121-variation (ἐπιστήμην) 5 τέρπεται V121:
τέρπονται 6 ἐπιστ(ή)μην Cod. ἐπιστήμην. V121: εὐρεθῆναι παρὰ κακοῖς 7 ἀπ(αι)δεύτοις
Cod. ἀπεδεύτοις 7 μεμετρ(η)μένον Cod. μεμετριμένον 7 τ(ι)σιν Cod. τῇσιν 9 κ(αι)ροὺς
Cod. κερούς 10 πορν(ε)ίας Cod. πορνίας 11 ὑπερ(η)φανείας Cod. ὑπεριφανείας. V121: οὔτε
τῇ ὑπερ(η)φανείας 12 ν(η)πίων Cod. νιπίων 12 κ(αι)ρῷ Cod. κερῷ 15 ἀναχωρήσ(η)
Cod. ἀναχωρήσει 16 παραχωρεῖν V121: παραχωρεῖ 17 Κάκειν(ο) Cod. κακείνω. V121:
δὲ ἀγνοεῖν οὐκ ὀφείλομεν 18 (εἰσιν) With V121 18 ἀγρι(ό)τητος Cod. ἀγριώτητος
18-19 (ἀλλ' οὔτε ... ἢ ἀδυναμίας) With V121 21 ἀθλ(η)τὴν Cod. ἀθλιτὴν 21 μείζ(ο)νες
Cod. μείζωνες 22 σύγκρ(ι)σιν Cod. σύγκρησιν 23 π(άλ)λης Cod. πλάνης. V121 πάλλης
[πάλλης] 24 τ(η)λικούτων Cod. τιλικούτων

^a Prov. 14:6: ζητήσεις σοφίαν παρὰ κακοῖς καὶ οὐχ εὐρήσεις. ^b Deut. 32:31.

This however seems impossible to me, since the divine Scripture says,
 90^r *Thou shalt seek wisdom among bad men | and shalt find it not,*²²⁴ *and our enemies are senseless.*²²⁵

Serenus said:

It is quite evident that there is neither lasting concord among the wicked, nor any concurrence in regard to those particular passions at which they all share a common pleasure. For, as you have said, it is impossible to find either true knowledge amidst evil people or anything considerate in a state of coarseness.²²⁶ Nevertheless, in some matters, they need to allow for some concord or collaboration to exist among themselves, which is why they yield priority to each other at different times and sundry places.

For no one can be tempted at the same time by both vainglory and lust of fornication, nor by both puffiness of pride and humiliation of gluttony.
 90^v Nor can anyone be overcome by babyish giggling | and laughter and at the same time be excited by the stings of wrath, or ruined by thoughts of grief. But it is necessary for each and everyone of the spirits to observe its own order in the war against a man. And when one [of the wicked spirits] has retreated following its defeat, it must make way for another more vehement spirit to attack.

We also ought not to ignore this: not all demons are of the same savageness, nor are they all of the same strength or feebleness, nor do they all incite the same degree of desire. For once someone is a beginner in [the struggle] for virtue and still a feeble man, only the weaker spirits join battle; and when these are beaten, then gradually stronger ones take over in the battle against the athlete of Christ. For if the difficulty of the struggle against lie were not proportionate to a man's strength
 91^r and progress, | then none of those who struggle could possibly endure the malice and savageness of so many and such great foes. Nor could a

²²⁴ Prov. 14:6.

²²⁵ Deut. 32:31.

²²⁶ This phrase is loaded with history, as explained in footnote 29 (pp. 304–305) to the Greek text. The Latin goes thus: *numquam enim poterit, quemadmodum dixistis, in rebus indisciplinatis disciplina modusque servari*. This is pretty faithful to the original, but it is the Greek, not the Latin, phraseology which reveals the historical significance of the portion and Cassian's actual liabilities.

ἀγρι(ό)τητα. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ ταῖς ἐπιβουλαῖς τούτων ἀπαντ(ή)σαι (ἄν) ἰσχύσ(ει)εν ἄνθρωπος, εἰ μ(ή) τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἀγῶνι φιλόανθρωπος μεσίτης καὶ ἀγνωσθῆτης καὶ δικαστὴς προεκάθ(η)το ὁ Χριστός, ὁ ἐξισῶν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ δυνάμει τὰ παλαιίσματα καὶ τὰς ἀμετρήτους τούτων ὁρμὰς κωλύων, καὶ ποιῶν κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμέν(ο)ν μετὰ τοῦ πειρασμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἔχβασιν τοῦ δύνασθαι ὑπενεγκεῖν.^a

5

Ταύτην δὲ τὴν πάλ(η)ν καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς δαίμονας οὐκ ἄνευ καμάτου καὶ κόπου πιστεύομεν ἐκτελεῖν. Ἐχουσι γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι μέριμναν καὶ λύπην, μάλιστα ὅταν ἰσχυροῖς καὶ ἀντιζήλοις πατράσιν ἀγίοις συμβάλ(λ)ωσιν πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα.

91^v

Ὅτι δὲ | ἀγῶν ἐστὶ καὶ πάλῃ μετὰ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἀγίων, ἀκούσατε τοῦ ἀποστόλου λέγοντος· οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλῃ πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας, πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους (τοῦ αἰῶνος) τούτου, πρὸς τὰ πνευματικά τῆς πονηρίας^b καὶ πάλιν· τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν καλὸν ἡγωνίσμαί.^c Ὅπου δὲ ἀγῶν καὶ μάχη, ἐπάναγκές ἐστιν ἐξ ἐκατέρων μερῶν ἰδρῶτα καὶ φροντίδα καὶ κάματον συνίστασθαι. Καὶ ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς νικῶντες αὐτοὺς χαίρομεν, ἥττ(ώ)μενοι

10

δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν λυπούμεθα, οὕτως ἀκακέينوις ἐπάναγκές ἐστιν τὰ αὐτὰ πάσχειν. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἀντίστασις ἦν καὶ ἀντιπαράταξις ἐξ Ἰσοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἀμέτρως προσβάλλον-

15

92^r

τες ἡμῖν μόνῃ τῷ βούλεσθαι ἀμερίμνω καὶ ἀκόπως κατεδυνάστευον ἡμῶν, | οὐ μάχη (ἄν) ἐλέγετο αὕτη οὐδὲ ἀγῶν, ἀλλ' ἀνισ(ό)της καὶ ἀλόγιστος ἐναντίωσις.³¹ Ὁμολογουμένως οὖν κάμνουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἰδροῦσι πολεμοῦντες τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ γένει. Καὶ ὅταν μὴ ἰσχύσωσι νικῆσαι, μεταστρέφεται εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνη ἢ αἰσχύνῃ, ἥτις (εἰς) ἡμᾶς ἔμε(ι)νεν (ἄν) ἡττηθέντας, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον·

20

1 ἀγρι(ό)τητα Cod. ἀγριώτητα 1 ἀπαντ(ή)σαι Cod. ἀπαντίσαι 1 ἰσχύσ(ει)εν Cod. ἴσχυσεν. I emend to the so-called 'Aeolic' form of the Optative mood, since this is more frequent in literature 2 μ(ή) Cod. μι 3 προεκάθ(η)το Cod. προεκάθιτο 3 Χριστός, ὁ ἐξισῶν V121: Χριστός, ἐξισῶν 4 γεγραμμέν(ο)ν Cod. γεγραμμένων 6 πάλ(η)ν Cod. πάλιν 6-7 κόπου V121: πόνου 7 οὗτοι V121: αὐτοί 8 συμβάλ(λ)ωσιν Cod. συμβάλωσιν. V121: ἀντιζήλοις τούτέστιν ἀνδράσιν ἀγίοις συμβάλωσι 9 Ὅτι δὲ V104, V121: Καὶ ὅτι 9 τούτων V121: αὐτῶν 11 (τοῦ αἰῶνος) So in V104, V121 12 καὶ πάλιν V104 and V121 add one more quotation: καὶ πάλιν· οὕτως πυκτεύω, οὕτως ἀέρα δέρων. [V121: οὕτω] (1Cor. 9:26) 12 τὸν καλὸν ἡγωνίσμαί V121: τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα 14 νικῶντες αὐτοὺς V104, V121: αὐτοὺς νικῶντες 14 ἥττ(ώ)μενοι Cod. ἥττόμενοι 15 ἀκακέينوις V121: ἐκείνους 15 αὐτὰ V104, V121: ταῦτα 16 ἀντίστασις ἦν V121: ἀντίστασις τις ἦν 17 ἡμῶν V104: ἡμῖν. V121: ἡμᾶς 17-18 οὐ μάχη ... ἀλλ' ἀνισ(ό)της V104: οὐ μάχη ἐλέγετο αὕτη οὐδὲ πάλῃ, οὐδὲ ἀγῶν. V121: οὐ μάχη ἐλέγετο αὕτη οὐδὲ οὐδὲ ἀγῶν, ἀλλ' ἀνισ(ό)της (sic) 18 ἀνισ(ό)της Cod. ἀνισώτης 19 κάμνουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ V104: καὶ αὐτοὶ κάμνουσι 21 ἥτις (εἰς) ἡμᾶς ἔμε(ι)νεν V104, V121: ἥτις ἡμᾶς ἔμενεν. Like Codex 573, both these codices omit the necessary εἰς, which suggests that they were copied from the same source as our codex and reproduced the same mistake, which is a phenomenon recurring heavily in them both 21 ἔμε(ι)νεν Cod. ἔμενεν

^a Cf. 1Cor. 10:13. ^b Eph. 6:12. The clause τοῦ αἰῶνος appears only in certain MSS (82, D2, Ψ, and Syriac lectionaries): they all point to this version of NT being used and quoted by an Easterner. ^c 2Tim. 4:7.

man possibly be able to meet their attacks, were it not that Christ, the merciful mediator and president of the games and judge, were not standing by, adjusting the force of the struggle to our own strength, and repelling their innumerable attacks, and acting according to that which is written, namely, *with the temptation also make a way to escape*.²²⁷

Nevertheless, our belief is that those daemons undertake this struggle not without effort on their part. For in their conflict they themselves have anxiety and depression, especially when they struggle against strong and challenging saintly fathers. That a | certain fight and conflict is waged
 91^v between these [spirits] and the saints, you should learn from the apostle, who says: *For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness*.²²⁸ And again: *I have fought a good fight*.²²⁹ Consequently, wherever fight and conflict takes place, sweat and anxiety and labour occurs on both sides. And as we either rejoice, whenever we conquer them, or come to grief when we are defeated by them, it is by the same token necessary for them to feel likewise. For if resistance and rivalry were not equally possible on both sides, and [daemons] were able to oppress us without exertion, attacking us without measure, simply
 92^f through the force of their will, | this could be called neither fight nor struggle, but only inequality and unreasonable contrariety.²³⁰ Therefore, it has to be conceded that they also exert themselves and sweat while attacking the human race. And when their efforts to win over us are frustrated, it is to themselves that shame is reverted, which [shame] would have

²²⁷ 1 Cor. 10:13.

²²⁸ Eph. 6:12.

²²⁹ 2 Tim. 4:7.

²³⁰ The Greek at this point makes use of the significant Aristotelian distinction between ἀνισότης ('inequality') and ἐναντίωσις ('contrariety'), which is a telling token of the present author being an erudite Aristotelist. I canvass this in *RCR*, p. 383. Cf. footnote 31 to the Greek text, p. 305. As a corresponding portion to the Greek οὐ μάχη (ἄν) ἐλέγετο αὕτη οὐδὲ ἀγών, ἀλλ' ἀνισ(ό)της καὶ ἀλόγιστος ἐναντίωσις, the Latin has it 'non pugna dicenda est, nec colluctatio, neque certamen, sed iniqua quaedam et irrationabilis oppugnationis oppressio'.

ἐπιστρέψει ὁ πόνος αὐτοῦ εἰς κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ κορυφὴν^a (καὶ πάλιν, ἡ θή)ρα ἣν ἔκρυψεν συλλαβέτω αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ παγίδι πεσεῖται ἐν αὐτῇ).^b Ποινοῦσι τοιγαροῦν, καθ' ἃ εἴρηται, καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἷω τρόπῳ ἡμᾶς ἐκθλίβουσιν καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμοίως ἐκθλίβονται, καὶ ἡττηθέντες οὐκ ἄνευ λύπης ἀναχωροῦσιν.

92^v Ταῦτα πάντα ἐπιστάμενος ὁ Δαβὶδ καὶ ἔχων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ ἔνδον ἀνθρώπου ὑγι(εῖ)ς, καὶ γινώσκων ὅτι χαίρουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ πτώσει ἡμῶν, ἔλεγεν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν· φώτισον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου, | μήποτε ὑπνώσω εἰς θάνατον, μήποτε εἶπ(η) ὁ ἐχθρὸς μου ἰσχυσα πρὸς αὐτόν· οἱ θλίβοντές με ἀγαλλιάσονται, ἐὰν σαλευθῶ.^c Καὶ πάλιν· μὴ ἐπιχαρείησάν μοι οἱ ἐχθραίνοντές μοι ἀδόκως^d μὴ εἴποισαν ἐν καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν εὖγε εὖγε τῇ ψυχῇ ἡμῶν, μὴ δὲ εἴποισαν ἐν καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν (κατεπίομεν αὐτόν).^e Καὶ πάλιν, ὅταν ἀναλ(ω)θέντων πάντων τῶν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐγχειρημάτων μὴ δυνηθῶσιν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ματαιωθέντος αὐτῶν καμάτου ψάλλει ὁ προφήτης· αἰσχυνθήτωσαν καὶ ἐντραπήτωσαν οἱ ζητοῦντες τὴν ψυχὴν μου^f καὶ Ἱερεμίας λέγει· (αἰσχυνθείησαν οἱ ἐχθροί μου καὶ μὴ) αἰσχυνθείην ἐγώ, ἐπάγαγε αὐτοῖς ὀργὴν θυμοῦ σου καὶ δισσὸν σύντριμμα σύντριψον αὐτούς.^g

93^r Οὐδενὶ δὲ τοῦτ(ο) ἀμφίβολον ὅτι, ὅταν (ὕ)φ' ἡμῶν νικηθῶσιν οἱ πολέμοι, διπλὴν συντριβὴν συντρίβονται. Πρῶτον, (ὅτι) | ἀνθρώπων κατορθούντων ἀγιωσύνην, ἣν ἐκεῖνοι κεκτημένοι καὶ ἔχοντες ἀπώλεσαν· ἔπ(ε)ιτα, ὅτι πνεύματα ὄντα ἐκ τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ γηγῆνων ἡττῶνται.

Ταύτας τοίνυν τὰς πτώσεις τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὰς ἰδίας νίκας βλέπων εἰς ἑκάστος τῶν ἀγίων, μετὰ ἀγαλλιάσεως ἀναβοῶσιν καταδιώξω τοὺς ἐχθρούς μου, καταλ(ή)ψ(ο)μαι αὐτούς καὶ οὐκ ἀποστραφήσ(ο)μαι ἕως ἄν ἐκλίπωσιν, ἐκθλίψω

1 ἐπιστρέψει ὁ ... ἐπὶ κορυφὴν With V121. V104 makes a more extensive quotation from this Psalm: καὶ ἐπὶ κορυφὴν αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀδικία αὐτοῦ καταβήσεται 1–2 (καὶ πάλιν ἡ θή)ρα With V121 2 αὐτ(ῇ) Cod. αὐτῶ 3–4 καὶ οἷω ... ὁμοίως ἐκθλίβονται V121: καὶ ὁν τρόπον ἡμᾶς ἐκθλίβουσιν καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμοίως ἐκθλίβονται. V104: καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡμᾶς ἐκθλίβουσιν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμοίως ἐκθλίβονται 4 καὶ ἡττηθέντες V104, V121: καὶ οὐτε ἡττηθέντες 5 ὁ Δαβὶδ καὶ ἔχων V104: ὁ ἅγιος Δαβὶδ καὶ ἔχων. V121: ὁ ἅγιος Δαβὶδ ἔχων 6 ὑγι(εῖ)ς Cod. ὑγιής 8 εἶπ(η) Cod. εἶπει 10 ἐν καρδίᾳ V121: ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ 10–11 μὴ δὲ ... καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν Psalm 34:16–25: μὴ εἴποισαν ἐν καρδίαις αὐτῶν 10–11 εἴποισαν ἐν καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν (κατεπίομεν V121: εἴποισαν κατεπίομεν 11 (κατεπίομεν αὐτόν) V104 and V121 quote more extensively from this Psalm 11 ἀναλ(ω)θέντων Cod. ἀναλοθέντων 11 ἀναλ(ω)θέντων πάντων τῶν V121: ἀναλ(ω)θέντων τῶν 13–14 ζητοῦντες τὴν ... καὶ μὴ) V104, V121: ζητοῦντες τὰ κακά μοι· καὶ Ἱερεμίας· αἰσχυνθείησαν οἱ ἐχθροί μου καὶ μὴ 16 δὲ τοῦτ(ο) ἀμφίβολον V104: δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀμφίβολον. V121: δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἀμφίβολον 16 τοῦτ(ο) Cod. τοῦτω 16 (ὕ)φ' Cod. ἄφ'. V104, V121: ὕφ' 17 Πρῶτον, (ὅτι) Cod. Πρῶτον, ὅτι 17 (ὅτι) With V104, V121 17–18 ἀγιωσύνην, ἣν ... ἔχοντες ἀπώλεσαν V104, V121: ἀγιωσύνην. Ἐκεῖνοι ταύτην κεκτημένοι ἀπώλεσαν 18 ἔπ(ε)ιτα Cod. ἔπιτα 22 καταλ(ή)ψ(ο)μαι Cod. καταλίψωμαι 22 ἀποστραφήσ(ο)μαι Cod. ἀποστραφήσωμαι 22 ἐκλίπωσιν Cod. ἐκλείπωσιν

^a Psalm 7:17. ^b Psalm 34:8. ^c Psalm 12:4. ^d Psalm 34:19. ^e Psalm 34:25. ^f Psalm 34:4.

^g Jer. 17:18 paraphrased.

burdened us, had we been defeated, according to the saying, *his mischief shall return upon his own head and pate*,²³¹ *and let his net that he hath hid catch himself; into that very destruction let him fall*.²³² Therefore, according to what has been said, they suffer, too; and in the same way they inflict upon us, they are inflicted, and once they are defeated they leave not without grief.

David, who was aware of all these and had healthy eyes of the inner man and knew that [daemons] rejoice at our fall, said to God: *Lighten my eyes, | lest I sleep the sleep of death; Lest mine enemy say, I have prevailed against him; and those that trouble me rejoice when I am moved*.²³³ And again, *Let not them that are mine enemies wrongfully rejoice over me*,²³⁴ *Let them not say in their hearts, Ah, well done, well done to our soul; let them not say, We have swallowed him*.²³⁵ And again, *they gnashed upon me with their teeth; Lord, how long wilt thou look on?*²³⁶ Again, once all their attempts against us have been exhausted and they have been unable to hurt us, the poet sings in respect of their frustrated labour: *Let them be confounded and put to shame that seek after my soul*.²³⁷ And Jeremiah says: *Let my enemies, not me, be confounded; bring upon them the wrath of your anger and destroy them with double destruction*.²³⁸

For no one can doubt that, when those foes are vanquished by us, they will be destroyed with a double destruction: Firstly, because | although [men are] simply human beings, they can attain holiness, which they [sc. daemons] lost, even though they possessed it. Secondly, because, being spiritual existences, they are vanquished by carnal and earthly ones.

Each one then of the saints, when he looks on the destruction of his foes and on his own triumphs, exclaims with delight: *I will follow after mine enemies and overtake them; and I will not turn until they are consumed. I will*

²³¹ Psalm 7:17.

²³² Psalm 34:8.

²³³ Psalm 12:4.

²³⁴ Psalm 34:19.

²³⁵ Psalm 34:25.

²³⁶ Psalm 34:16–25.

²³⁷ Psalm 34:4.

²³⁸ Jer. 17:18 paraphrased.

αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐ μὴ δύν(ω)νται στήναι, πεσοῦνται ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας μου.^a Καὶ πάλιν· δίκασον κύριε τοὺς ἀδικούντας με, πολέμησον τοὺς πολεμούντας με,^b καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Οὓς ὅταν νικῆσωμεν ἀποσβεσθέντων τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν παθῶν, ἐροῦμεν ἐκεῖνην τὴν φωνήν· ὑψώ(σω) σε κύριε ὅτι ὑπέλαβές με καὶ οὐκ ἠῤῥανας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μου ἐπ' ἐμέ.^c

5

93^v

Ταῦτα τοίνυν καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια³² | ἐγκείμενα τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν ἀναγι-
νώσκοντες καὶ ψάλλοντες, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τούτων τῶν πονηρῶν πνευμάτων τῶν ἐπι-
βουλεύοντων ἡμῖν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς τὰ γεγραμμένα παραδεξώμεθα, οὐ μόνον
οὐδεμίαν ἐκ τούτων οἰκοδομ(ή)ν πρὸς κτήσιν πρα(ό)τητος εὐρήσ(ο)μεν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ σκληράν τινα καὶ ἐναντίαν τῇ εὐαγγελικῇ διδασκαλίᾳ διάθεσιν ἀναλ(η)-
ψ(ό)μεθα. Οὐ μόνον γὰρ διδασκόμεθα ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων μὴ εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ
ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ κατεύχεσθαι καὶ λ(οι)δ(ο)ρεῖν. Ταῦτα
δὲ οὐκ ἂν π(ε)ισθεῖμεν οὕτως εἰρηκέναι ἄνδρας προφήτας καὶ ἁγίους καὶ φί-
λους Θεοῦ.³³

10

94^r

“Ὅτι δὲ οὐδαμῶς δύναμιν ἔχουσιν τὰ πνεύματα τὰ πονηρὰ εἰς τὸ βλάπτειν
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δίχα συγχωρήσεως Θεοῦ, τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰωβ
διδάσκει ἡμᾶς, ἥνίκα παραγγέλεται ὁ διάβολος μὴ ἄψασθαι τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ.^d
Καὶ σαφέστερον οἱ ἐν εὐαγγελίοις ἀναγεγραμμένοι δαίμονες ἔλεγον τῷ κυρίῳ· εἰ
ἐκβάλλεις ἡμᾶς, ἐπίτρεψον ἡμῖν ἀπελθεῖν^e εἰς τὴν ἀγέλην τῶν χοίρων. Εἰ γὰρ κατὰ
ἀλόγων οὐκ ἔσχ(ο)ν ἄνευ ἐπιτροπῆς ἐξουσίαν, πόσω μᾶλλον οὐκ (ἰσ)χ(ύς)ουσιν
ἐκτὸς συγχωρήσεως τὸν κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ γενόμενον ἄνθρωπον^f βλάψαι;

15

20

1 δύν(ω)νται Cod. δύνονται 1–2 πόδας μου. Καὶ πάλιν· δίκασον V104, V121: πόδας μου. Καθ' ὃν
εὐχόμενος ὁ προφήτης βοᾷ· δίκασον 3 νικῆσωμεν V104 and V121 quote further: πολεμούντας
με, ἐπιλαβοῦ ὅπλου καὶ θυρεοῦ καὶ ἀνάστηθι εἰς τὴν βοήθειάν μου· ἔχχον ρομφαίαν καὶ σύγκλεισον
ἐξ ἐναντίας τῶν καταδιωκόντων με· εἶπον τῇ ψυχῇ μου, σωτηρία σου εἰμι ἐγώ. Οὓς ὅτε νικῆσωμεν
4 ὑψώ(σω) Cod. ὑψωσε 4–5 ἐπ' ἐμέ V121: ἐπὶ ἐμοί. In V104, Cassian's text stops here. The
rest of the text (Cod. 573: folia 93^r–100^v) is not quoted. What follows is Cassian's *On the Eight
Considerations of Evil* 6 τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια ἐγκείμενα V121: τὰ ἱκανὰ παραπλήσια ἐγκείμενα
8 νυκτὸς τὰ γεγραμμένα παραδεξώμεθα V121: νυκτὸς γεγραμμένα δεξάμεθα 9 οἰκοδομ(ή)ν
Cod. οἰκοδομεῖν 9 πρα(ό)τητος Cod. πραώτητος 9 εὐρήσ(ο)μεν Cod. εὐρήσωμεν 10 τῇ
εὐαγγελικῇ διδασκαλίᾳ Cod. τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς διδασκαλίας 10–11 ἀναλ(η)ψ(ό)μεθα Cod.
ἀναλιψώμεθα 12 ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν V121 goes on: μηδὲ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτοὺς 12 λ(οι)δ(ο)ρεῖν Cod.
λυθωρεῖν. V121: κατεύχεσθαι αὐτῶν καὶ λ(οι)δ(ο)ρεῖν αὐτοὺς 13 π(ε)ισθεῖμεν Cod. πισθεῖμεν
15 πνεύματα τὰ πονηρὰ V121: τὰ πονηρὰ πνεύματα 18 ἔλεγον V121: λέγοντες 19 ἡμῖν
ἀπελθεῖν εἰς V121: ἡμῖν εἰς 20 ἔσχ(ο)ν Cod. ἔσχων 20 (ἰσ)χ(ύς)ουσιν Cod. ἔχουσιν. V121:
ἰσχύουσιν

^a Psalm 17:38–39. ^b Psalm 34:1. ^c Psalm 29:1. ^d Cf. Job 2:6. ^e Matt. 8:3; Mark 5:11;
Luke 8:32. The alternative ἐπίτρεψον ἡμῖν ἀπελθεῖν, instead of ἀποστείλον ἡμᾶς, transpires
in C L W and the Syriac versions, which happen to be the ones used by Cassian for the text
of Revelation in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*. ^f Gen. 1:26–27.

*break them and they shall not be able to stand; they shall fall under my feet.*²³⁹ And again: *Judge, O Lord, them that wrong me; overthrow them that fight against me,*²⁴⁰ and so on. And once we win and all passions within ourselves are quenched, we shall utter that voice [which says], *I will extol thee, O Lord; for thou hast lifted me and hast not made my foes to rejoice over me.*²⁴¹

93^v Therefore, when we read or chant these and such like passages | found in the holy lore, unless we take them as written against those spirits which lie in wait for us day and night, we shall not only fail to draw from them any edification so as to make ourselves gentle, but we shall actually take upon ourselves a certain disposition which is harsh and contrary to the evangelical teaching. For we shall not only not be taught to pray for our enemies, but actually [shall be stirred up] to imprecate and abuse them. But we are far too far from being convinced that these words were uttered in such a spirit by men who were prophets and saints and friends of God.

94^r Besides, the instance of the blessed Job, when the devil is bid not to hurt his life,²⁴² | teaches us that evil spirits have no power to hurt any man unless God allows for this. And the daemons mentioned in the gospels said this to the Lord more clearly: *If You cast us out, suffer us to go away into the herd of swine.*²⁴³ For if they had no power to harm dumb animals without permission, far more must we hold that they cannot harm *man* who is created *in the image of God*,²⁴⁴ unless they are granted [divine] permission

²³⁹ Psalm 17:38–39.

²⁴⁰ Psalm 34:1.

²⁴¹ Psalms 29:1.

²⁴² Cf. Job 2:6.

²⁴³ Matt. 8:31; Mark 5:11; Luke 8:32.

²⁴⁴ Gen. 1:26–27.

Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ταύτῃ ἴσχυσεν (ἄν) τις καθῆσαι, τοσοῦτων πολεμίων
 ταγματῶν καθ' ἡμῶν περιπεφραγμένων, εἰ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτῶν ἐξουσίᾳ ὑπῆρχεν
 βλάβπτειν ἢ πειράζειν ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἂν βούλ(ω)νται. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ τῇ πείρᾳ ἔγνωμεν
 καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν παραδεδώκασιν, μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τοὺς δαι-
 94^v μονας, ἣν εἶχον ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ κ(αι)ρῷ, | ἡνίκα ὀλίγοι μοναχοὶ ἔμενον ἐν τῇ 5
 ἐρήμῳ. Καὶ γὰρ τοσαύτη τούτων ἦν τότε ἡ ἀγρι(ό)της, ὡς μόλις ὀλίγους καὶ
 πάνυ γενναίους καὶ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ προβεβηκότας τὴν οἴκησιν τῆς ἐρήμου δύνασθαι
 ὑπομένειν. Καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς γὰρ τοῖς κοιν(ο)βίοις, ἔνθα μετ' ἀλλήλων εἶχον τὴν
 οἴκησιν, τοσαύτη ἦν τότε τῶν δαιμόνων ἡ τραχύτης καὶ ἐπιβουλὴ, ὡς ὁρατῶς
 καὶ αἰσθητῶς παραβάλλειν αὐτοῖς συνεχέστερον καὶ πειράζειν αὐτούς. Ὅθεν οὐ
 10 δεῖ ἀμφιβάλλειν τὴν νῦν ἀμεριμνίαν καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ ἀφοβίαν κατ' αὐτῶν ἐν
 ἀπὸ τῶν δῦ(ο) τούτων παρεσχηκέναι ἡμῖν· ἢ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ σταυροῦ πανταχοῦ
 λαμπύσης ἀπημβλύ(ν)θη καὶ ἐξησθένησεν ἡ πολλὴ τῶν δαιμόνων κακία, ἢ ἡ
 95^r ἡμετέρα κα(κ)ία ἐκείνους ὀκνηρ(ο)τέρους πρὸς τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν | πόλεμον ἐποίη- 15
 σεν, καταφρονούντων καὶ ἀπαξιούντων ἐκεῖν(η) τῇ ἐπιτάσει καὶ τῷ ἀγῶνι καθ'
 ἡμῶν κεχρησθαι, ᾧτινι τῷ πρὶν κατὰ τῶν δοκιμωτάτων τοῦ Χριστοῦ στρατιω-
 τῶν ἐκέχρητο. Εἰς τοσαύτην γὰρ χλιαρ(ό)τητα θεωροῦμεν καταπεπτωκ(ό)τας
 τινάς, ὥστε τοὺς πατέρας παρακαλεῖν αὐτοὺς πρᾶυτέrais ὑπομνήσεσιν, ἀντὶ
 μεγάλων κατορθωμάτων, μὴ καταλιμπάνειν τὸ μοναστήριον, ἵνα μὴ περιερ-
 20 χόμενοι καὶ βεμβόμενοι εἰς παχύτερα καὶ ὀλεθριώτερα ἐλαττ(ώ)ματα κατα-
 συρ(θ)ώσιν. Μέγα δὲ αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν κατόρθωμα οἱ πατέρες ἡγούνται, εἰ μόνον
 μετὰ οἷας δῆποτε χαυνότητος καὶ ἀδρανείας καρτερήσωσιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ τοῖς
 μοναστηρίοις.³⁴

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μὴ συγχωρεῖσθαι τοὺς δαίμονας ὑπὲρ δύναμιν πειράζειν
 95^v ἡμᾶς, ἱκανῶς | εἴρηται. Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν ἐν διαφόροις πειρασμοῖς 25
 παραδεδομένων, ἢ τῶν σωματικαῖς νόσοις ἐξεταζομένων, εἴτε τῶν ὑπὸ δαιμόνων
 (ἐνεργουμένων) καὶ καταπιπτόντων, ὡς οὐ δεῖ τούτων περιφρονεῖν ἢ ἐξουθενεῖν
 αὐτούς. Δύο γὰρ ταῦτα πιστεύειν χρή· πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ
 Θεοῦ οὐδεὶς ἀπὸ τούτων παντελῶς πειρασθήσεται· δεύτερον δέ, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ

3 πειράζειν V121: ἐπηρεάζειν [ἐπερεάζειν] 3 βούλ(ω)νται Cod. βούλονται 4 ἐξουσίαν
 ἔχειν V121: ἔχειν νῦν ἐξουσίαν 5 κ(αι)ρῷ Cod. κερῷ 6 ἀγρι(ό)της Cod. ἀγριώτης. V121:
 τοσαύτη ἦν ποτὲ ἀγριότης 8 κοιν(ο)βίοις Cod. κοινωβίσις 10 παραβάλλειν αὐτοῖς
 V121: αὐτοῖς παραβάλλειν 11 ἀμεριμνίαν καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ ἀφοβίαν V121: ἀμεριμνίαν καὶ
 ἀφοβίαν 12 δῦ(ο) Cod. δῶμα 12–13 τοῦ σταυροῦ πανταχοῦ λαμπύσης V121: τοῦ Χριστοῦ
 λαμπύσης πανταχοῦ 13 ἀπημβλύ(ν)θη Cod. ἀπημβλύθη 14 κα(κ)ία Cod. καμία
 14 ὀκνηρ(ο)τέρους Cod. ὀκνηρωτέρους 15 καταφρονούντων V121: καταφρονούντων αὐτῶν
 15 ἐκεῖν(η) Cod. ἐκείναι 17 χλιαρ(ό)τητα Cod. χλιαρώτητα 17 καταπεπτωκ(ό)τας
 Cod. καταπεπτωκώτας 19 καταλιμπάνειν Cod. καταλειμπάνειν 20 ἐλαττ(ώ)ματα Cod.
 ἐλαττώματα 20–21 κατασυρ(θ)ώσιν Cod. κατασύρῳσιν 21 πατέρες V121: γέροντες 26 ἢ
 V121: εἴτε 27 (ἐνεργουμένων) With V121

to do so. For indeed no one would be able to endure dwelling in this desert, surrounded by so many swarms of foes who lie in ambush against us, if they [viz. daemons] had unrestrained freedom to hurt or tempt us as they like.

94^v We have learned both from our own experience and from the testimony of our elders that the devils do not have now the same power as they formerly had during the early days, | when there were only a few monks living in the desert. For such was their fierceness, that it was with difficulty that a few very resolute men and advanced in age were able to endure dwelling in the desert. Even in the actual coenobia, where they lived together with each other, the brutality and hostility of daemons was so intense, that they used to come across unremittingly in visible and perceptible form, in order to try them. Whence we should not doubt that the present state of freedom from anxiety, and the [present] rest and fearlessness, has been brought about to us as a result of the following alternatives: either much of the malice of the daemons has been blunted and weakened by the grace of the Cross shining far and wide; or else, our wickedness 95^r has made them slack in the war against us, | as they scorn and shun to attack us with the same energy and resolve as that which they formerly raged against the most competent soldiers of Christ. For we see that some [monks] have fallen into so sluggish a condition, that the elders have to coax them by too gentle admonition not to forsake the monastery, instead of exhorting them to great feats, for fear lest they should be seduced to grosser and more destructive vices if they wander and gad about. And the elders regard it as a great accomplishment if these monks [are persuaded to] endure staying in the desert and the monasteries, despite their indolence and inertia.

95^v We have by now discussed fully the issue of daemons not being allowed to try us beyond the measure of our ability to withstand trial. | Subsequently, it is now necessary to speak about those who are given up to sundry temptations or tried out by bodily diseases, or those who are put to the test by daemons and fall. Our point is that we should not spurn or despise them. For we ought to maintain these two points: first, that none of them can be tempted at all by them without God's permission;

Θεοῦ αὐτοῖς ἐπιφέρονται τὰ δοκοῦντα λυπηρά, ὡς παρὰ ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς καὶ
 φιλανθρώπου ἱατροῦ, πρὸς τὸ αὐτοῖς συμφέρ(ο)ν ἐπὶ τὸ παραδοθέντας παιδα-
 γωγοῖς τ(ι)σι καὶ σωφρον(ι)σταῖς ταπεινωθῆναι, ἵνα, ἐξερχόμενοι ἐκ τούτου τοῦ
 κόσμου, ἢ καθαροὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄλλον κόσμον μετενεχθῶσιν, ἢ τιμωρίαις ἐλαφρο-
 96^τ τέραις παραπεμφθῶσιν,³⁵ παραδ(ο)θέντες ἐνταῦθα τῷ σατανᾷ | εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς 5
 σαρκὸς ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα σωθῇ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κυρίου.^a

Ὁ Γερμανὸς εἶπεν:

Καὶ ποίῳ τρόπῳ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ χώρᾳ περιφρονοῦσιν τούτων καὶ φρίττουσιν
 ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ φοβοῦνται αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς δεσποτικῆς κοινωνίας ἀπέχε-
 σθαι διηνεκῶς ποιοῦσιν, κεχρημένοι τῇ φωνῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῇ λεγούσῃ μὴ 10
 διδ(ο)σθαι τὰ ἄγια τοῖς κ(υ)σί μηδὲ βάλλειν τοὺς μαργαρίτας ἔμπροσθεν τῶν χοί-
 ρων,^b

Ὁ Σερήνος εἶπεν:

Ἐὰν πιστεύσωμεν ὅπερ ἀνωτέρω εἰρήκαμεν, ὅτι πάντα ταῦτα διὰ Θεοῦ γί-
 νεται καὶ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον καὶ λυσιτελεῖς τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν οἰκονομεῖται, 15
 οὐ μόνον τούτων οὐ περιφρονήσ(ο)μεν, ἀλλὰ αὐτῶν ὡς ὑπὲρ μελῶν ἡμετέρων
 96^ν ἀπαύστως ὑπερευξόμεθα καὶ τούτων μετὰ πολλῆς ἀγάπης καὶ εὐσπλαχνίας |
 ἀνεξόμεθα. Ὅταν γάρ, φησιν, πάσχ(η) ἐν μέλος, συμπάσχει πάντα τὰ μέλη.^c Τὴν
 δὲ ἁγίαν κοινωνίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων γερόντων οὐδέποτε μεμνήμεθα κωλυ-
 θεῖσαν, ἀλλὰ μὴν καί, εἰ ἦν δυνατόν, αὐτοῖς αὐτὴν καθ' ἡμέραν χορηγεῖσθαι 20
 ἔκρινον ἐκεῖνοι. Οὕτε γὰρ κατὰ τὴν γνώμην τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ἣν οὐχ ἄρμ(ο)δίως
 εἰρ(ή)κατε, μὴ διδ(ό)ναι τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί, πρὸς τροφήν τοῦ δαίμονος ἢ ἱερά
 καὶ ἁγία κοινωνία δίδοται, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον πρὸς καθαρισμὸν τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ
 σώματος δίδοσθαι πιστεύεται, ἥτις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑποδεχθεῖσα τὸ πνεῦμα
 τὸ πονηρόν, τὸ τοῖς μέλεσιν αὐτοῦ ἐγκαθήμενον, ὡς ἀπὸ πυρὸς ἔμπρ(η)σθὲν 25
 97^τ φυγαδεύει. Καὶ γὰρ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τὸν ἀββᾶν Ἀνδρ(ό)νικον πρὸ βρα-
 χέ(ο)ς χρόνου θεραπευθέντα ἔγνωμεν, καὶ ἄλλους | πολλοὺς. Μᾶλλον τοιγαροῦν

1 πατρὸς V121: Θεοῦ 2 συμφέρ(ο)ν Cod. συμφέρων 2 παραδοθέντας V121: παραδοθέντας
 αὐτούς 3 τ(ι)σι Cod. τησι 3 σωφρον(ι)σταῖς Cod. σωφρονισταῖς 4 κόσμον μετενεχθῶσιν
 V121: βίον μετενεχθῶσιν, παραδ(ο)θέντες 5 παραδ(ο)θέντες Cod. παραδωθέντες 6 κυρίου
 V121: τοῦ κυρίου 11 διδ(ο)σθαι Cod. διδώσθαι 11 κ(υ)σί Cod. κοισί 11 μαργαρίτας
 Cod. μαργαρίτας 14 πάντα ταῦτα V121: ταῦτα πάντα 16 περιφρονήσ(ο)μεν Cod.
 περιφρονήσωμεν 17 ὑπερευξόμεθα V121: εὐξόμεθα [εὐξόμεθα] 18 πάσχ(η) Cod. πάσχει
 19 κοινωνίαν ὑπὸ V121: κοινωνίαν ἀπὸ τούτων ὑπὸ 20 εἰ ἦν ... καθ' ἡμέραν V121: εἰ δυνατόν ἦν,
 καθ' ἡμέραν 21 ἄρμ(ο)δίως Cod. ἄρμωδίως 22 εἰρ(ή)κατε Cod. εἰρίκατε 22 διδ(ό)ναι Cod.
 διδῶναι 22-23 ἢ ἱερά καὶ ἁγία κοινωνία V121: ἢ ἱερά κοινωνία 24 δίδοσθαι Cod. διδῶσθαι
 25 τὸ Cod. τοῦ. V121: πονηρόν τοῦτο, τοῖς 25 ἔμπρ(η)σθὲν Cod. ἔμπρισθὲν 26 Ἀνδρ(ό)νικον
 Cod. Ἀνδρώνικον 26-27 βραχέ(ο)ς Cod. βραχέως

^a1Cor. 5:5. ^bMatt. 7:6. ^c1Cor. 12:26.

secondly, that all things which are brought upon them by God, even if they seem to be sad, are inflicted to their advantage such as those that are brought about by a kind father and most compassionate physician, and that therefore men are, as it were, handed over to the charge of certain schoolmasters and discipliners in order to be humbled, so that when they depart from this world they may be removed to the other world in a state of purity, or have a lighter punishment inflicted on them, as they have
 96^r been *delivered* in the present place *unto Satan* | *for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord.*²⁴⁵

Germanus said:

And how is it that, in our country,²⁴⁶ [those who are possessed, or sinners] are shunned and abhorred and feared by everybody, and, what is more, they are actually always kept away from the Lord's Communion, on account of the words of the Gospel saying not to *give that which is holy unto the dogs, neither to cast the pearls before swine?*²⁴⁷

Serenus said:

If we believe (which we have already said) that all things are brought about by God, and are administered in the interests and to the advantage of our souls, we should not only never despise them, but rather pray earnestly without ceasing for them as our own members, and sympathize
 96^v with them with all our hearts and much affection. | For [the Gospel] says, *when one member suffers, all the members suffer.*²⁴⁸

With regard to the Holy Communion, we do not recollect this ever having been forbidden [to them] by our elders; nay rather if it were possible, they thought that it ought to be given to them daily. Nor indeed according to the words of the Gospel, which you incongruously applied in this sense (namely, not giving *that which is holy to dogs*), ought we to believe that the Holy Communion is given as food to the daemon. Rather, this is believed to be given for purification of both the soul and body. For once it is received by a man, it puts to flight the spirit which has its seat in his members, as if this had been burnt by fire. For in this way we have lately seen
 97^r abba Andronicus and many others | cured. For the enemy will take more

²⁴⁵ 1 Cor. 5:5.

²⁴⁶ Greek: ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ χώρᾳ. Latin: in nostris provinciis (*Collationes*, VII.28, PL.50.708A).

²⁴⁷ Matt. 7:6.

²⁴⁸ 1 Cor. 12:26.

καὶ μᾶλλον ὁ πολέμιος γαυριάσει ἐπὶ τῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταπονουμένῳ, ὅτε τοῦτον ἀπεχόμενον καὶ χωριζόμενον τῆς θείας κοινωνίας θεάσεται. Καὶ τοσοῦτον συνεχέστερον καὶ σκληρ(ό)τερον πειράσει, ὅσον βλέπει τοῦτον ἀπὸ τῆς πνευματικῆς θεραπείας ἀμελοῦντα καὶ μακρυνόμενον καὶ καλυ(ό)μενον.

Τὸ λ(οι)πὸν ἐκεῖνοί εἰσιν ὡς ἀλ(η)θῶς ἄθλιοι καὶ ἐλε(ει)νοί, οἱ ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδίδοντες τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀκαθάρτων πράξεων ἐκουσίως δαιμονιώντες. Καὶ τοσοῦτον ἄθλιοι, ὅσον οἱ ἐνεργούντες εἰς αὐτοὺς δαίμονες λανθάνουσιν καὶ οὐχ ὁρῶνται, οὔτε τις μᾶστιξ ἢ πειρασμὸς ἐπάξιος τῶν πονηρῶν ἔργων αὐτοῖς ἐπιφέρεται. Οὔτε γὰρ ἀχιοῦνται ταχεῖας τοῦ κ(αι)ροῦ τούτου καὶ εὐκόλου
97^v θεραπείας, ὧν ἡ σκληρ(ό)της | καὶ ἡ ἀμετανόητος αὐτῶν καρδιά θησαυρίζει αὐτοῖς
10 ὀργὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως καὶ δικαιοκρισίας τοῦ Θεοῦ,^a ἔνθα αὐτῶν ὁ σκ(ώ)ληξ οὐ τελευτήσει καὶ τὸ πῦρ οὐ σβεσθήσεται.^b Περὶ ὧν ἀμφ(ο)τέρων ὁ προφήτης διασκεψάμενος, τῶν τε ἐν ποικίλοις πειρασμοῖς καὶ μᾶστιξ(ι)ν ἐξεταζομένων καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνέσει καὶ εὐθηνίᾳ³⁶ διαγόντων, ἀναβοᾷ· ἐμοῦ δὲ παρὰ
15 μικρὸν ἐσαλεύθησαν οἱ πόδες, παρ' ὀλίγον ἐξεχύθη τὰ διαβήματά μου. ὅτι ἐζήλωσα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνόμοις εἰρήνην ἁμαρτ(ω)λῶν θε(ω)ρῶν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνάνευσις τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτῶν καὶ στερέωμα ἐν τῇ μᾶστιγι αὐτῶν· ἐν κόποις ἀνθρώπων οὐκ εἰσὶν καὶ μετὰ
98^r ἀνθρώπων οὐ μαστιγωθήσονται.^c Τουτέστιν, ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι μετὰ δαιμόνων τιμωρηθήσονται | ὅσοι ἐν τῷ παρόντι οὐκ ἠξιώθησαν μετὰ ἀνθρώπων μαστιγωθῆναι, ὧν τὴν πτώσιν ὀδυρ(ό)μενος ὁ κύριος διὰ τοῦ προφήτου βοᾷ· πέπτωκεν
20 Βαβυλῶν, ἐγένετο συντετριμμένη.^d Καὶ πρὸς τὴν θεραπείαν αὐτῆς τοὺς ἀγγέλους, οἷς ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πεπίστευται φροντίς, καὶ τοὺς ἀγίους διδασκάλους καλῶν, ἔλεγεν· ὁλολύξατε ἐπ' αὐτήν·^e πρὸς (δ) ἀποκρίνονται καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁρῶντες

2 ἀπεχόμενον V121: κατεχόμενον 3 σκληρ(ό)τερον Cod. σκληρώτερον 4 θεραπείας ἀμελοῦντα καὶ μακρυνόμενον V121: θεραπείας μακρυνόμενον 4 καλυ(ό)μενον Cod. καλυόμενον 5 λ(οι)πὸν Cod. λυπὸν 5 ἀλ(η)θῶς Cod. ἀλιθῶς 5 ἐλε(ει)νοί Cod. ἐλεηνοί 7 τοσοῦτον ἄθλιοι, ὅσον V121: τοσοῦτῳ ἄθλιοι, ὅσῳ 7 εἰς αὐτοὺς V121: ἐν αὐτοῖς 8 τις μᾶστιξ ... ἐπάξιος τῶν V121: τις πειρασμὸς ἕτερος ἢ μᾶστιξ ἀξία τῶν 9 κ(αι)ροῦ Cod. κεροῦ 10 σκληρ(ό)της Cod. σκληρώτησ 10 σκληρ(ό)της αὐτῶν καρδιά V121: σκληρὰ καὶ ἀμετανόητος καρδιά 11 ἀποκαλύψεως καὶ δικαιοκρισίας τοῦ Θεοῦ V121: ἀποκαλύψεως Θεοῦ 12 σκ(ώ)ληξ Cod. σκόληξ 12–13 ὧν ἀμφ(ο)τέρων ... τῶν τε ἐν V121: ὧν ὁ προφήτης διασκεψάμενος ἀμφοτέρων, τῶν ἐν 12 ἀμφ(ο)τέρων Cod. ἀμφωτέρων 13 μᾶστιξ(ι)ν Cod. μᾶστιξην 14 ἀναβοᾷ V121: ἀνεβόα 16 ἁμαρτ(ω)λῶν Cod. ἁμαρτολῶν 16 θε(ω)ρῶν Cod. θεωρῶν 20 ὀδυρ(ό)μενος Cod. ὀδυρώμενος 22 ἀνθρώπων πεπίστευται φροντίς V121: ἀνθρώπων φροντίς ἐπετράπη 23 αὐτήν V121: αὐτῇ 23 ἀποκρίνονται καὶ αὐτοὶ V121: ἀποκρίνονται αὐτοί

^a Rom. 2:5. ^b At this point, ἔνθα is used for the scriptural ὅπου, which means that Cassian quotes Isaiah 66:24 from Mark 9:44. This version of the text of Mark containing this OT quotation transpires in a minority of MSS (e.g. A D Θ), among which are the Syriac versions *Pechita* and *Heraclensis*. ^c Psalm 72:2–5. ^d Jer. 28:8 (51:8 in textu Masoretico). Cassian uses the Hebrew text translating this for his own use. ^e Jer. 28:9.

pride once he sees the man who is possessed by him refrain and cut off from the Holy Communion. And the more often and more fearfully he tempts him, the more he will see him either neglectful of the spiritual cure, or removed [from this] or hindered.

It remains to be said that they are truly wretched and miserable who indulge in sins and willingly become possessed by daemons through their own defiled acts. The more wretched they are, the more the daemons who act upon them lie concealed and are not visible, and no scourge or chastisement proportionate to the wicked works is inflicted upon them. For since they are not vouchsafed the swift and easy remedy while they
 97^v are in this world, their *hardness | and impenitent heart treasures up unto them wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgement of God,*²⁴⁹ *where their warmth shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched.*²⁵⁰ Having considered both cases, namely, those who are tried out by means of sundry temptations and scourges, and those who live in convenience and leisure, the prophet bewails thus: *But as for me, my feet were almost gone; my steps were nigh slipped. For I was envious of the foolish, when I saw the peace of the wicked. For there are no bands in their death: but their strength is firm. They are not in trouble as other men; neither are their plagued like other men.*²⁵¹ Which means that, in the age to come, those people shall be punished together with the daemons, | to whom in this world it
 98^r was not vouchsafed to be scourged together with men. Mourning at their destruction, the Lord bewails thus through the prophet: *Babylon is suddenly fallen: she is destroyed.*²⁵² Then, in order to heal her [sc. Babylon], he summons the angels to whom the care of men is entrusted, along with the saintly doctors, and said this: *Howl for her.*²⁵³ To which they reply, seeing

²⁴⁹ Rom. 2:5.

²⁵⁰ Mark 9:44. Cf. Isaiah 66:24.

²⁵¹ Psalm 72:2–5.

²⁵² Jer. 28:8 (51:8 in textu Masoretico).

²⁵³ Jer. 51:9.

τὴν σκληρ(ό)τητα αὐτῆς καὶ ἀμετανόητον καρδίαν· ἱατρεύσαμεν τὴν Βαβυλῶνα καὶ οὐκ ἰάθη, καταλείψωμεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀπέλθωμεν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν γῆν· διήλθεν γὰρ ἕως οὐρανῶν ἡ κρ(ί)σις αὐτῆς.^a

Τοσαῦται δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις πνεύμασιν εἰσιν αἱ διαφοραί, ὅσαι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Καὶ γὰρ τινὰ τούτων, ἃ καὶ πλάνους τὸ πλήθος προσαγορεύει, 5 οὕτως ὑπονοθευτικά³⁷ καὶ γελοιώδη | τυγχάνει, ὡς (ῶ)ρισμένους τόπους τινὰς καὶ ὁδοὺς περικαθήμενα μηδαμοῦ τούτων ἀφίστασθαι, τοὺς δὲ παρερχομένους δι' αὐτῶν ἀπατώντες καὶ ἀποπλανῶντες τοῦτ(ῳ) μάλιστα τέρπονται. "Ἄλλοι ἕως γέλωτος μόνον καὶ χλεύ(ης) ἀρκοῦμενοι τούτους καταπονεῖν, διαστροφαῖς καὶ πλάναις τισὶν κεχηρημένοι, καθ' ἃ εἴρηται, καὶ ἐν τούτοις διανυκτερεύοντες. 10 "Ἄλλοι δαίμονες οὕτως εἰσιν μανία καὶ δεινότητι ὑπερβάλλοντες, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἀρκεῖσθαι τὰ σώματα τῶν παραδιδ(ο)μένων αὐτοῖς ἀνθρώπων δ(ε)ινῶ διασπασμῷ καὶ καταπτώσει συντρίβ(ει)ν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφορμᾶν κατὰ τῶν παρερχομένων καὶ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀποσφάττειν τούτους· ὅποιοι (ῆ)σαν ἐκεῖνοι, οὓς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον 99^r διαγράφει,^b ὧν διὰ τὸν φόβον δι' ἐκείνης τῆς ὁδοῦ | τὸ λ(οι)π(ὸ)ν παρελθεῖν οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα, οὓς αἵμασιν χαίρειν καὶ πολέμοις διὰ τὴν ἀκόρεστον αὐτῶν ἀγρι(ό)τητα καὶ μισανθρωπίαν οὐδεὶς ἀμφιβάλλει. "Ἄλλους δαίμονας θεωροῦμεν ὑπερ(η)φάνειαν ἐμβάλλοντας καὶ ἐξουθενούντας τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν ὧν παρειλήφασιν, οὕτως ὡς αἰεὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ ὕψος καὶ μέγεθος τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος ἀνορθοῦν. 20 "Ἄλλους δὲ εὐρίσκομεν οὐ μόνον βλάβος ἀλλὰ καὶ βλασφημίαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐμπνέοντας, οὕτινος πράγματος ἀγῶ μάρτυς ὑπάρχω ἀκηκοὼς προφανέστατα δαίμονος ὁμολογούντος δι' Ἀρείου καὶ Εὐνομίου ἀσέβειαν ἱεροσύλου δόγματος ἐκδεδ(ω)κέναι· ὅπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ Τετάρτῃ τῶν Βασιλείων β(ίβ)λῳ ἕνα ἐκ τούτων αὐτῶν τῶν δαιμόνων προφανῶς εὖρ(ο)μεν ἀναγεγραμμένον οὕτως καὶ λέγοντα·

1 σκληρ(ό)τητα Cod. σκληρώτητα 2 ἀπέλθωμεν εἰς V121: ἔλθωμεν ἕκαστος εἰς 3 κρ(ί)σις Cod. κρήσις 6 (ῶ)ρισμένους Cod. ὀρισμένους 6 τόπους τινὰς V121: τινὰς τόπους 8 τοῦτ(ῳ) Cod. τοῦτο 9 χλεύ(ης) Cod. χλεύεις 10 πλάναις τισὶν ... εἴρηται, καὶ V121: πλάναις τισί, καθ' ἃ εἴρηται, κεχηρημένοι, καὶ 11 μανία Cod. μανεία 12 παραδιδ(ο)μένων Cod. παραδιδωμένων 12 δ(ε)ινῶ Cod. δινῶ 13 καταπτώσει V121: διαπτώσει 13 συντρίβ(ει)ν Cod. συντρίβην 14 (ῆ)σαν Cod. εἶσαν 15 ὁδοῦ τὸ λ(οι)π(ὸ)ν παρελθεῖν V121: ὁδοῦ παρελθεῖν 15 λ(οι)π(ὸ)ν Cod. λυπων 17 ἀγρι(ό)τητα Cod. ἀγριώτητα 18 ὑπερ(η)φάνειαν Cod. ὑπερφάνειαν 18 αὐτῶν V121: τούτων 19 αἰεὶ ὑπὲρ V121: αἰεὶ ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὲρ 20 "Ἄλλους δὲ ... μόνον βλάβος V121: "Ἄλλους εὐρίσκομεν οὐ μόνον ψεύδος 20–21 βλασφημίαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐμπνέοντας V121: βλασφημίαν ἐμπνέοντας 22 Ἀρείου V121: δι' Ὡριγένους καὶ Ἀρείου. Origen's name must have been added by this later scribe 23 ἐκδεδ(ω)κέναι Cod. ἐκδεδοκέναι. This portion runs parallel to *Scholia in Apocalypsin* XIII; XXII; XXVI 23 τῇ Τετάρτῃ τῶν Βασιλείων β(ίβ)λῳ Cod. βλῖ λω. V121: τῇ τῶν Βασιλείων βίβλῳ 23–24 τούτων αὐτῶν τῶν V121: τούτων τῶν 24 εὖρ(ο)μεν Cod. εὐρώμεν. V121: εὐρήκαμεν 24–282.1 οὕτως καὶ ... πῶ στόματι Cod. καὶ ἔσομαι | καὶ ἔσομαι. V121: οὕτως λέγοντα· καὶ ἐξελεύσ(ο)μαι πνεῦμα ψευδὲς ἐν στόματι

^aJer. 28:9. Masoretic text rendered in Greek. ^bCf. Matt. 8:28. V121: διαγράφει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

its cruelty and unrepentant heart: *We have healed Babylon: but she is not healed. Let us forsake her, and let us go every one into his own country; for her judgment has reached even unto the heavens.*²⁵⁴

Among unclean spirits there are as many differences as among men.²⁵⁵

98^v For some of them, which the multitude calls *seducers*, are shown to be so seductive and silly | that after they have taken continual possession of certain places or roads, they adhere to them and delight themselves with laughing at the passers and mocking them, trying to tire them out by use of certain perverted and seductive devices, as already said, while spending all night at these places. Other daemons exceed in fury and ferocity so much, that they are not content with hurting the bodies of those of whom they have taken possession, by tearing them in a dreadful manner and crushing them by throwing them down; but they are also eager to rush upon those who are passing by at a distance, and attack them with the most savage slaughter, just like those described in the gospel, 99^r for fear of whom | no man dared to pass by that way.²⁵⁶ And there is no doubt that these, in their insatiable fury and misanthropy, delight in wars and bloodshed. Others we witness affect the hearts of those whom they have seized with empty pride, so that they always stretch themselves up beyond their proper height and size of their own body. Others we find to be keen on not only causing injuries to men, but also inspiring blasphemy. To which I myself can testify, since I have heard someone, who was quite evidently a daemon, openly confessing that he had published an impious and sacrilegious doctrine through Arius and Eunomius. And the same thing we found clearly written in the fourth book of Kings, where one of

²⁵⁴ Jer. 51:9 Masoretic text rendered in Greek.

²⁵⁵ The Greek has it 'differences' (διαφοραί), the Latin 'keennesses' or 'desires' (studia). *Collationes*, VII.32, PL.49.713A.

²⁵⁶ Cf. Matt. 8:28.

99^v ἐξελεύσ(ο)μαι καὶ ἔσομαι | πνεῦμα ψευδὲς ἐν τῷ στόματι πάντων τῶν προφητῶν.^a
Περὶ ὧν καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἐλέγχων τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπατωμένους, οὕτως λέγει·
προσέχοντες πνεύμασιν πλάν(οι)ς καὶ διδασκαλί(α)ς δαιμονίων ἐν ὑποκρ(ί)σει
ψευδολόγων ἀνθρώπων.^b

Εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα γένη δαιμόνων ἀφ(ώ)νων καὶ κ(ω)φῶν, ἃ τὰ ἅγια εὐαγγέλια
διδάσκει. Καὶ ἄλλα πάλιν πνεύματα ὁ προφήτης διδάσκει, τὰ ὑποβάλλοντα ἡδο-
νὰς καὶ ἀσωτίας.^c Πνεύματι γάρ φησιν πορν(ε)ίας ἐπλανήθησαν.^d Νυκτερινούς
δὲ πάλιν καὶ μεσ(η)μβρινούς^e δαίμονας ἢ γραφὴ διδάσκει, ὧν τὰς διαφοράς, εἰ
βουλ(η)θείημεν εἰπεῖν, εἰς μ(ῆ)κος ἅπειρον ἡμῖν ἐκταθήσεται ὁ λόγος. Τινὲς δὲ
ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ὀνοκένταυροι^f καλοῦνται, τινὲς σερήνης,^g τινὲς στρουθίωνες,^h τινὲς
100^r ⁱέρακες,ⁱ ἄλλος ἀσπίς,^j ἕτερος | βασιλίσκος,^k ἄλλος λέων,^l ἕτερος δράκων,^m ἄλλος
σκορπίος,ⁿ ἕτερος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ἄρχ(ω)ν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου,^o ἄλλοι πνεύματα
πονηρίας^p ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου ὀνομάζονται, ὧν πάντων τὰς προσηγορίας οὐ μά-
την οὐδ' ὥς ἔτυχεν τούτοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι ἐπιτ(ε)θε(ῖ)σθαι παραδεξόμεθα.

Ὁ Γερμανὸς εἶπεν:

Παρακαλοῦμεν διδαχθῆναι περὶ ἐκείνων τῶν τάξεων, ὧν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἀπα-
ριθμ(εῖ)ται λέγων· οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἢ πάλ(η) πρὸς αἶμα καὶ σάρκα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀρ-
χάς, πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας, πρὸς τοὺς κοσμ(ο)κράτορας τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου,
πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις.^q Πόθεν ἐκείνοις ἢ τοσαύτη
διαφορά, ἢ τίς ὁ λόγος τοῦ εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς βαθμούς τοσούτους καὶ τάξεις;

1 ἐξελεύσ(ο)μαι Cod. ἐξελεύσωμαι 3 πλάν(οι)ς Cod. πλάνησ 3 διδασκαλί(α)ς Cod. διδασκαλίας. V121: διδασκαλίᾱ 3 ὑποκρ(ί)σει Cod. ὑποκρήσει 5 ἀφ(ώ)νων Cod. ἀφόνων 5 κ(ω)φῶν Cod. κοφῶν. Cf. Mark 9:25. V121: ἀφ(ώ)νων τὰ εὐαγγέλια διδάσκει. τὰ ὑποβάλλοντα 7 πορν(ε)ίας Cod. πορνίᾱς 8 μεσ(η)μβρινούς Cod. μεσιμβρινούς 9 βουλ(η)θείημεν Cod. βουλιθείημεν 9 μ(ῆ)κος Cod. μήκος 9 ἡμῖν ἐκταθήσεται V121: ἐκταθήσεται ἡμῖν 12 ἕτερος V121: ἄλλος 12 ἄρχ(ω)ν Cod. ἄρχον 13 προσηγορίας οὐ V121: προσηγορίας οὐδὲ 14 ἐπιτ(ε)θε(ῖ)σθαι Cod. ἐπιτίθεσθαι. V121: ἐπιτεθεῖσθαι 16–17 ἀπαριθμ(εῖ)ται Cod. ἀπαριθμῆται 17 πάλ(η) Cod. πάλι 17 καὶ Cod. καὶ καί 18 κοσμ(ο)κράτορας Cod. κοσμωκράτορας 18 σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου V121: σκότους τούτου 19 ἐκείνοις ἢ τοσαύτη V121: ἢ τοσαύτη ἐν ἐκείνοις 20 εἶναι παρ' ... καὶ τάξεις; V121: εἶναι τοσούτους παρ' αὐτοῖς βαθμούς καὶ τάξεις;

^a Actually, 3 Kings (1 Kings in textu Masoretico) 22:22. Cf. 2 Paralipomenon (Chronicon 2) 18:21. ^b 1 Tim. 4:1–2. ^c Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *Scholia in Apocalypsin* XIII; XVI. ^d Hos. 4:12. Cf. 5:4. ^e Cf. Psalm 90:6. ^f Cf. Isaiah 13:22; 34:11; 34:14. ^g Cf. Isaiah 13:21; 34:13; Jer. 27:39. ^h Cf. Lev. 11:6. ⁱ Cf. Lev. 11:6; Deut. 14:17; Job 39:26. ^j Cf. Psalm 90:13; Isaiah 59:5. ^k Cf. Psalm 90:13; Isaiah 59:5. ^l Cf. Psalm 90:13. ^m Cf. Psalm 90:13. ⁿ Cf. Deut. 8:15; Ezekiel 2:6; Ecclesiasticus 39:30; 3 Kings (1 Kings in textu Masoretico) 12:14; 12:24; 12:11 (the same in 2 Paralipomenon 10:11). Luke 10:19. ^o Cf. John 12:31; 14:30; 16:11; Eph. 2:2. ^p Cf. Eph. 6:12. ^q Eph. 6:12.

99^v these daemons said this: *I will go forth and will be | a lying spirit in the mouth of all prophets.*²⁵⁷ Of which the Apostle reproving those who are deceived by these [daemons], says this: *Giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils speaking lies in hypocrisy.*²⁵⁸

There are also other kinds of daemons, which are deaf and dumb, as the gospels testify. And the prophet teaches about other spirits, which incite lust and wantonness, since he says: *For the spirit of whoredoms has caused them to err.*²⁵⁹ In the same way the Scripture teaches us that there are demons of the night and of noonday. But if we wished to expound the differences between them, our discourse could be expanded to infinite length. Some of them the Scripture calls *onocentaurs*,²⁶⁰ others *sirens*,²⁶¹ others *howls*,²⁶² others *hawks*,²⁶³ another one *asp*,²⁶⁴ another one
100^r | *basilisk*,²⁶⁵ another one *lion*,²⁶⁶ another one *dragon*,²⁶⁷ another one *scorpion*,²⁶⁸ another one in the Scripture [is called] *the prince of this world*,²⁶⁹ others are styled by the apostle *spirits of wickedness*.²⁷⁰ And we maintain that these names are given to them all not at random or haphazard.

Germanus said:

We beg you to teach us about those orders, which the Apostle enumerates saying this: *For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spirits of wickedness in heavenly places.*²⁷¹ Whence does such a difference between them arise? In other words, what is the reason for them to be classified in so many grades and ranks?

²⁵⁷ Actually, 3 Kings (1 Kings in textu Masoretico) 22:22. Cf. 2 Paralipomenon (Chronicon 2) 18:21.

²⁵⁸ 1 Tim. 4:1–2.

²⁵⁹ Hos. 4:12. Cf. 5:4.

²⁶⁰ Cf. Isaiah 13:22; 34:11; 34:14.

²⁶¹ Cf. Isaiah 13:21; 34:13; Jer. 27:39.

²⁶² Cf. Lev. 11:16.

²⁶³ Cf. Lev. 11:16; Deut. 14:17; Job 39:26.

²⁶⁴ Cf. Psalm 90:13; Isaiah 59:5.

²⁶⁵ Cf. Psalm 90:13; Isaiah 59:5.

²⁶⁶ Cf. Psalm 90:13.

²⁶⁷ Loc. cit.

²⁶⁸ Cf. Deut. 8:15; Ezekiel 2:6; Ecclesiasticus 39:30; 3 Kings (1 Kings in textu Masoretico) 12:14; 12:24; 12:11 (the same in 2 Paralipomenon 10:11). Luke 10:19.

²⁶⁹ Cf. John 12:31; 14:30; 16:11; Eph. 2:2.

²⁷⁰ Cf. Eph. 6:12.

²⁷¹ Eph. 6:12.

Ὁ Σερήνος εἶπεν:

100^v

Εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα | αἱ ὑμέτεραι προτάσεις εἰς μέγιστον καὶ ἀπέραντον ἀπο-
φέρουσιν πέλαιος, ὅπερ ἡ βραχύτης τῆς παρούσης ὥρας οὐ συγχωρεῖ διεξιέναι,
λυσιτελέστερον ὑπολαμβάνω μικρὸν ὑμᾶς ἀναθέντας καὶ ὑπὸ βραχεὶ διανα-
παύσαντας τὸ σῶμα, τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ τὰ ζητούμενα προσθῆναι. Παράσχοι δὲ
ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸν ὑμέτερον πόθον τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον προθυμίαν καὶ αἰσίαν καὶ
ἀλ(η)θῆ ἀπόκρ(ι)σιν ὑμῖν δοῦναι. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἡ τῆς κυριακῆς ἡμέρα³⁸ κατὰ
τὸ ἔθος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προσελθεῖν καλεῖ, ἀναλύοντες μετὰ τὴν σύναξιν
ταῦτα ἃ ὁ Κύριος δίδωσιν, ἀναγγελοῦμεν ὑμῖν,³⁹ τῷ δὲ Θεῷ ἡμῶν δόξα εἰς τοὺς

5

101^r

αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.^a |

10

2 αἱ ὑμέτεραι προτάσεις V121: ἡ ὑμέτερα πρότασις 2–3 ἀπέραντον ἀποφέρουσιν πέλαιος, ὅπερ V121: ἀπέραντον ζητημάτων ἡμᾶς ἀπάγει ὁ λόγος, ὅπερ 6 ἡμῖν κατὰ ... προθυμίαν καὶ V121: ἡμῖν ἐλπίζομεν κατὰ τὸν ὑμέτερον πόθον καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τελείαν καὶ 7 ἀλ(η)θῆ Cod. ἀληθῆ 7 ἀπόκρ(ι)σιν Cod. ἀπόκρησιν 7 δὲ ἡμᾶς ἡ V121: δὲ αὖ ἡ 8 σύναξιν Cod. σύνταξιν. See *infra*: τῆς συνάξεως ἀπολυσάσης 9 δίδωσιν V121: δίδωσιν ἡμῖν 9–10 ὑμῖν, τῷ ... αἰῶνας, ἀμήν V121: ὑμῖν, εἰς δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπαυστον αἶνεσιν, νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν

^a Rom. 11:36; 16:27.

Serenus said:

100^v Although | your proposals direct us to an immense and endless open
 sea [of questions], which the shortness of the time at our disposal would
 not permit us to traverse, I think it will be more profitable to carry on with
 our considerations about these questions during the next night, after we
 will have paused for a while and offered some rest to our body through
 some sleep. And may the Holy Spirit grant us willingness to respond to
 you according to your desire, and [the ability] to provide an efficient and
 truthful reply. Besides, since Sunday, according to tradition, bids us to go
 to church, we are going to consider and proclaim all the things which the
 101^r Lord imparts us after the service. And to God *be glory for ever. Amen.*²⁷² |

²⁷² Rom. 11:36; 16:27.

NOTES TO THE TEXT

1. No title in V121, in which the codex-text carries on, without introducing any new paragraph, on the same verse from the previous text on folio 234^v. Likewise, the text of V104 goes on from the previous one on the same line of folio 229^v, with no new paragraph or period introduced.

Συνεισφορὰ (also on pp. 101^r, 118^r, 118^v). The term συνεισφορὰ ('contribution') appears in the title of Cassian's dialogues. Although a term abundantly used in everyday Modern Greek, it was unknown to Classical Antiquity and cannot be traced before the second century AD. Cf. Aspasius (philosopher), *In Ethica Nichomachea Commentaria*, p. 73. Nicomachus (mathematician), *Introductio Arithmetica*, 1.3.7. Julius Pollux (Naucratis), *Onomasticon*, 8.157. The author who made it a recurrent term was Gregory of Nyssa, and his heavy usage of it remains unmatched: *Antirrheticus Adversus Apollinarium*, v. 3,1, p. 223; *De Beneficentia* (vulgo *De Pauperibus Amandis* i), v. 9, p. 98; *De Perfectione Christiana ad Olympium Monachum*, v. 8,1, p. 192; *In Ecclesiasten* (*homiliae* 8), v. 5, pp. 322; 333; *Contra Eunomium*, 1.1.627; *In Canticum Canticorum* (*homiliae* 15), v. 6, pp. 268; 287; *De Vita Mosis*, 1.16; 1.77; *De Oratione Dominica Orationes* v, pp. 266; 286; *Dialogus de Anima et Resurrectione*, PG.46:57.1; 89.5; *De Vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi*, PG.46.893.28; *De Opificio Hominis*, p. 241.

By making this a title-term, Cassian bespeaks himself to be a pupil of this Cappadocian. The rest of authors whom we have come upon used it more or less occasionally. Basil of Caesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto*, 2.4; *In Quadraginta Martyres Sebastenses*, PG.31.509.20; *In Mamantem Martyrem*, PG.31.589.49. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Constitutiones Asceticae*, PG.31.1409.30. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmina Dogmatica*, p. 433. John Chrysostom, *Adversus Oppugnatores Vitae Monasticae* (*lib.* 1–3), PG.47.377.40; *In Genesim* (*homiliae* 1–67), PG.53.287.39; *In Acta Apostolorum* (*homiliae* 1–55), PG.60.150.13. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *In Bassum Martyrem*, PG.50.719.33. Epiphanius, *Panarion*, v. 3, p. 391, line 16: (ἐπισυνεισφορὰ). Cyril of Alexandria, *De Sancta Trinitate Dialogi I–VII*, pp. 515; 525; *Quod Unus Sit Christus*, p. 734; *GlaphPent*, PG.69.481.46; *In Isaiam*, PG.70.1045.21. Procopius of Gaza, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, p. 2468. Severianus of Gabala, *Fragmenta in Epistulam i ad Corinthios*, p. 277. Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80.1912.21. Notice Marcus Eremita being present once again: *De Paenitentia*, 1; *De Melchisedech*, 11.

Greek philosophers remained uninterested in this term all the way through. Apart from the second-century Aspasius, the term appears only in the sixth-century philosopher Olympiodorus of Alexandria. *In Aristotelis Meteora Commentaria*, p. 297 (συνεισφορᾶς).

Then comes Justinian, who made the term fashionable all of a sudden into his *Novellae*, yet in no other of his texts (*Novellae*, pp. 127; 132; 136; 476; 476; 477; 478—thirteen instances in all). Since one could hardly imagine monk Cassian reading the text of Justinian's legislation (the specific points mostly arrange questions of family-law, bequests, dowries, and the like), it is Gregory of Nyssa that remains as the author who most probably inspired this vocabulary.

2. This section belongs to the same discourse along with the previous as well as the ensuing ones. This is addressed to Leontius, too, which is why the name of Leontius is not stated in title once again. It was Photius to whom we owe this information: he refers to the 'third discourse', which comprises *ScetPatr* and *SerenPrim* (though *De Panareto* was not part of the book that he had read). Photius concludes his review by saying that 'the name' of the man to whom this 'third discourse' was addressed was Leontius' (Λεόντιος δ' ἦν ὄνομα ᾧ τοῦτ' ὁ τρίτον λόγιον προσεφωνήθη). See full text of Photius, with an English translation, in *RCR*, Appendix III.

3. πρὸς τὰς ματαίας φαντασίας. Cassian's liabilities can indeed be traced, which shows that his text stands within the long tradition of Greek literature. There is no way for the present text to be a translation from Latin. Athanasius, *Orationes Tres Contra Arianos*, PG.26.337.4–6: ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν πλάνην διὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ξύλου καὶ ἀνομοιότητα τῆς ματαίας φαντασίας. Eusebius, *commPs*, PG.23.884.1–3: εἶτα δὲ ὑπνωσαν ὕπνον αὐτῶν, φαντασίαις ματαίαις ἐκδοθέντες. Ephraem Syrus, *Sermo in Abraham et Isaac (ii)* (e cod. 163 *MPT Athen. Nat. Bibl.*), p. 247: Ἐκεῖ ἔρχονται οἱ ἅγιοι, καταλιπόντες πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ βίου φαντασίαν καὶ ματαιότητα· οἱ γὰρ δοῦλοί εἰσιν ἡ φαντασία τῆς δορυφορίας τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ τὸ πῦρ. Basil of Caesarea, *Adversus Eunomium (libri 5)*, PG.29.521.26: ἡ ἐν ταῖς καθ' ὕπνον φαντασίαις, ἡ ἄλλως ἐν τοῖς ματαίοις τοῦ νοῦ κινήμασιν ἡ ψυχὴ πληρωθεῖσα. Op. cit. PG.29.524.17: Καίτοι τοσοῦτον ἀπέχει τοῦ κατὰ τῶν ματαίων μόνων καὶ ἀνυποστάτων φαντασιῶν. *Asceticon Magnum*, PG.31.921.19 & *Sermones de Moribus a Symeone Metaphrasta Collecti*, PG.32.1148.8: ἡ τὴν μνήμην τῶν θαυμασιῶν αὐτοῦ φαντασίαις τῶν ματαίων καταρρύπτειν. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaiam*, 9.224: μὴδὲν τῶν κατὰ φαντασίαν ματαίων, δυναμένων τῇ ψυχῇ ἐγγίνεσθαι. Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80.1976.18–19: ἐδείχθη ματαία τῶν λογι-

σμών ἢ φαντασία. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *Epistula ad Monachos*, line 156: φαντασίσαις τῶν ματαίων.

4. οὐ τῇ προαιρέσει, ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει. The distinction between 'nature' and 'choice' comes from Aristotle, *De Partibus Animalium*, 657b1: καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐκ προαιρέσεως, ἀλλ' ἡ φύσις ἐποίησε. It was Chrysippus, however, who engaged in a theory about this differentiation. *Fragmenta Logica et Physica*, Fr. 1016, *apud* Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos*, 9.111: ἦτοι οὖν ὑπὸ φύσεως κινεῖται ἢ ὑπὸ προαιρέσεως ἢ ὑπὸ δίνης καὶ κατ' ἀνάγκην. This categorisation became a matter of course in authors as different as doctors (Galen), historians (Polybius), sophists (Dionysius of Halicarnassus), philosophers and biographers (Plutarch), and certainly Aristotelian commentators (Alexander of Aphrodisias et al.). With respect to Christian literature, Clement (*Stromateis*, 7.7.48.2) was the author who entertained the distinction, to be followed by Origen (*schMatt*, PG.17.296.35: οὐ φύσεων συνάγει διαφορῶν, ἀλλὰ γνῶμῶν αὐτεξουσίων καὶ προαιρέσεων), as well as by a series of theologians. In Christian thought, this classification was crucial, since it was the cornerstone of rebutting Gnosticism and securing freedom of will. Cassian stands in line with this tradition, and shows himself aware of its usage. Cf. Didymus, *In Epistulas Catholicas Brevis Enarratio*, p. 78: εἶτα ἀσφαλιζόμενος, ὡς προαιρετικός καὶ οὐ φύσει υἱὸς ἐστὶ θεοῦ ὁ ἄνθρωπος. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Apologetica* (*orat.* 2), PG.35.425.39–428.3: καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ἄρα τῆς ἄκρας ἀγαθότητος, ποιῆσαι τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἡμέτερον, οὐ φύσει μόνον κατασπειρόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προαιρέσει γεωργούμενον, καὶ τοῖς ἐπ' ἄμφω τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου κινήμασιν. John Chrysostom, *De diabolo Tentatore* (*homiliae* 1–3), PG.49.259.40–41: Ἀφείσθω ὁ διάβολος ὁ σφόδρα πονηρὸς οὐ φύσει, ἀλλὰ προαιρέσει καὶ γνῶμῃ. *Op. cit.* PG.49.260.10–12: Βούλεσθε καὶ ἐφ' ἕτερον ὄνομα ἔλθω; καὶ ὕψεσθε κάκεῖνο οὐ τῆς οὐσίας οὐδὲ τῆς φύσεως ὄνομα ὄν. Πονηρὸς καλεῖται, ἡ δὲ πονηρία οὐ φύσεώς ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ προαιρέσεως· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὕτη ποτὲ μὲν ἐγγίνεται, ποτὲ δὲ ἀπογίνεται. *In Sanctum Lucianum Martyrem*, PG.50.523.34–35: μᾶλλον δὲ οὐ φύσεως μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως. *In Genesim* (*sermones* 1–9), PG.54.628.14–15: οὐ φύσεως, ἀλλὰ προαιρέσεως ἡ κακία καὶ ἡ ἀρετή. *In Matthaeum* (*homiliae* 1–90), PG.57.282.13–17: Πονηρὸν δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὸν διάβολον καλεῖ, κελεύων ἡμᾶς ἄσπονδον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχειν πόλεμον, καὶ δεικνὺς ὅτι οὐ φύσει τοιοῦτός ἐστιν. Οὐ γὰρ τῶν ἐκ φύσεως, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἐπιγινομένων ἐστίν ἡ πονηρία. Likewise, *In Acta Apostolorum* (*homiliae* 1–55), PG.60.251.11–16; *In Epistulam ii ad Timotheum* (*homiliae* 1–10), PG.62.630.59–61. Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Jeremiam*, PG.81.556.22–23: Σαφῶς ἡμᾶς ἐδίδαξεν, ὡς οὐ φύσεως, ἀλλὰ προαιρέσεως ἔργον ἡ πονηρία. Basil of Seleucia, *Sermones XLI*, p. 269: Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐ φύσεως πονηρὰς ὁ διάβολος, ἀλλὰ προαιρέσεως μοχθηρὰς. Ammonius,

presbyter of Alexandria, *Fragmenta in Joannem*, Fr. 429: οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι πιστεύειν οὐ φύσιν ἔχουσιν ἀντιπράττουσαν τῷ πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ προαίρεσιν κακὴν. διὸ ὁ διάβολος σκοτίζει αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐ κωλύει ὁ θεός. Pseudo-Caesarius, *QR*, 122: τὸν διάβολον οὐ φύσει ἀλλὰ προαιρέσει ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τραπέντα.

5. ἐκ πείρας καὶ ἐπιστήμης. Although Origen appears to have an inkling of the difference between empirical and scientific knowledge, he did not make much of it (*Cels*, IV.86 & *Philocalia*, 20, 13: πῇ μὲν ἐκ πείρας πῇ δ' ἐκ λόγου, ἔσθ' ὅτε δ' ἐξ ἐπιλογισμοῦ καὶ κατ' ἐπιστήμην). This concern actually appears during the sixth century and later on. For indeed it was the sixth-century Neoplatonist David of Alexandria who produced a theory and a detailed account of different kinds of knowledge and experience. *Prolegomena Philosophiae*, p. 43: ἰστέον ὅτι ἡ γνῶσις ἢ μερική ἐστιν ἢ καθόλου καὶ ἢ μετὰ λόγου ἐστὶν ἢ ἄνευ λόγου, ὥστε ἐκ τούτων τέσσαρά τινα γίνεσθαι· ἔστι γὰρ πείρα, ἐμπειρία, τέχνη, ἐπιστήμη. Cf. the anonymous *Commentaria In Dionysii Thracis Artem Grammaticam*, *Prolegomena Vossiana*, p. 9: Μάθωμεν δὲ τί ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη, καὶ τί ἐμπειρία, καὶ τί πείρα. Op. cit. p. 112: Ἔστιν οὖν ἐπιστήμη, τέχνη, ἐμπειρία, πείρα.

Alongside all accounts pointing to Cassian being the writer of this text originally in Greek, such expressions evince him also to be a sixth-century writer. Later still, Photius (if the epistle is really a product of his pen) seems impressed by 'a wise old man' from whom he learned the distinction between πείρα and ἐπιστήμη. Although that old man was indifferent to pagan theoretical accounts, he had formed himself a theory about the two different kinds of knowledge, namely, scientific and empirical. Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 228: Ἐγὼ δὲ οἶδα πάλαι ποτὲ γέροντι σοφῷ τὰ θεία ἐνομιλικῶς, ὃς καὶ τῶν ἔξω θεωρημάτων πολλὴν ἔχων τὴν ὀλιγωρίαν, ὅμως τοιαύτην τινὰ περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου διέγραφεν θεωρίαν. τὸ εἰδέναι διττὸν ἔλεγεν εἶναι, τὸ μὲν ἐπιστήμη, τὸ δὲ πείρα.

6. ἡ ὑπόνοια ἢ ὁ ὀρισμός. Once again, a simple expression is pregnant with information evincing Cassian to be a sixth-century writer. During earlier centuries, ὑπόνοια betokened the concealed meaning suggested by means of metaphor or allegory (*PHE*, pp. 28; 363). However, in Cassian's times, and with writers such as John Philoponus, it came to bespeak the common (even not common) *conception* of a certain notion. John Philoponus (perhaps making much of a casual remark by the fifth-century Neoplatonist Hermias of Alexandria) entertained this distinction as a conscious philosophical notion that was employed by later authors, too. Hermias of Alexandria, *In Platonis Phaedrum Scholia*, p. 229: Τί οὖν; τὸν Ἑρωτα τί λέγομεν, τῶν ἀπλῶν ἢ τῶν ἀμφιβόλων; τοῦτο δὲ εἶπε διὰ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν τὴν τῶν πολλῶν· οὐ γὰρ

δυνατὸν ἐν πράγμα τοὺς ἐναντίους ἔχειν ὁρισμούς· ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι πρὸς διαφόρους ὑπολήψεις διάφοροί εἰσιν οἱ ὁρισμοί. John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Analytica Posteriora Commentaria*, p. 414 (commenting on Aristotle's *Analytica Priora et Posteriora*, 97b26): 'Αεὶ δ' ἐστὶ πᾶς ὅρος καθόλου: 'Επειδὴ ἔλεγεν ἐκ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα εὐρίσκεσθαι τοὺς ὁρισμούς τῶν εἰδικωτάτων καθόλου ὄντων (αἱ γὰρ κοινότητες τῶν μερικῶν ὁρισμοὶ τῶν καθόλου εἰσὶ) καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰδικωτάτων εὐρίσκεσθαι τοὺς ὁρισμούς τῶν γενῶν, ἴσως ἂν τις ὑπενόησεν εἶναι τῶν μερικῶν κυρίως τοὺς ὁρισμούς, διὰ δὲ τὰ μερικὰ ἐφαρμόζειν καὶ τοῖς καθόλου. ἀναιρῶν οὖν τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ταύτην φησί· πᾶς ὁρισμὸς τῶν καθόλου ἐστὶ κυρίως.

I have no doubt that Cassian had read his contemporary John Philoponus. As a matter of fact, the abundance of Aristotelian terms occurring in this text are owing to Philoponus' texts to a considerable extent. For example, the notions of διαίρεσις, ὑπόνοια, ὁρισμός, which Cassian entertains in this work, can be found in a single brief phrase by Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Analytica Posteriora Commentaria*, v. 13,3, p. 408: ἐν τῷ συνάγειν τὰ μέρη τοῦ ὁρισμοῦ ἐκ τῆς διαιρέσεως, ὡς εἵπομεν ἄνωθεν, τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ταύτην θεραπεύει. Besides, Philoponus was a Christian theologian and the instance of Cassian identifying ὑπόστασις with οὐσία (Cod. p. 83^v) can only be an influence by an erudite Monophysite, such as John Philoponus.

This is an important point: were this text originally written in Latin, it would have had *substantia* for both terms, and no need for alternatives ὑπόστασις and οὐσία should be needed in the alleged Greek translation. This specific phraseology by John Philoponus did not pass unnoticed by Aristotelian commentators, both contemporary and later to him. Cf. Asclepius of Tralleis (sixth cent. AD), *In Aristotelis Metaphysicorum Libros A–Z Commentaria*, p. 443: Δείξας ὅτι οὐ δυνατόν εἶναι τῶν ἀτόμων ὁρισμὸν, ἐντεῦθεν φησιν ὅτι ἐπὶ τῶν αἰδίων λανθάνει τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ γίνεται ὑπόνοια ὅτι ἐστὶ δυνατόν ὁρισμὸν *** ἀπάτη ἐκ τῆς αἰδιότητος *** αἰδίων πραγμάτων ὑπάρχουσιν (οἱ) ὁρισμοί. Eustratius of Nicaea (eleventh–twelfth cent. AD, a disciple of John Italus), *In Aristotelis Analyticorum Posteriorum Librum Secundum Commentarium*, p. 34: τὸ αὐτὸ δὴ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὁρισμοῦ ἀναγκαῖον ποιεῖν τῷ ὑπόνοιαν μὲν δόντι τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι τῇ ἀποδείξει, ἕτερον δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τοῦτον εἶδῶτι καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἰδίαν τινὰ παραδιδόναι μέλλοντι θεωρίαν.

7. νοὺς ἐμπαθής. (Cf. 39^v: τοὺς ἐμπαθεῖς καὶ φιληδόνους λογισμούς. 40^v: τῆς ἐμπαθοῦς διαθέσεως. 43^v: οἱ ἐμπαθεῖς ἄνθρωποι). The expression is definitely a liability to Evagrius, and this is actually a Neoplatonic one: Cf. Plotinus, *Enneades*, 4.7.13: Οὐκ οὐδὲ ὁ ταύτης νοὺς ἐμπαθής. A fanatic such as Cyril of Alexandria could hardly be aware of this when he used the expression just once (*De Adoratione*, PG.68.956.27). Perhaps unawareness is less likely as regards

translators of Ephraem Syrus, *Precationes ad Dei Matrem*, Prayer 6, p. 384. When Evagrius used this, he was undoubtedly aware of its origin, still he went ahead defiant. Evagrius, *Practicus (capita centum)*, Prologue-chapter-epilogue 83; *De Oratione*, PG.79.1197.40; *Expositio in Proverbia Salomonis*, pp. 116; 118; *Scholia in Proverbia*, Scholia 333; 344. Origen's catenae-fragments are phrased after Evagrius' vocabulary, and probably some of them were compiled by him. Cf. Origen, *selPs*, PG.12: 1085.23; 1676.9; *expProv*, PG.17: 241.1–2; 245.53. Besides, the notion shows in Marcus Eremita, *Ad Nicolaum Praecepta Animae Salutaria*, 10: τὸν ἐμπαθῆ ἔτι καὶ ἄθλιον μαινίνουσι νοῦν. This is therefore one more point attesting to Cassian's liabilities to Evagrius.

8. ἐπιμόνου μνήμης τῶν ἀγαθῶν. This simple expression bespeaks Stoicism. The vocabulary of Cassian has at points a Stoic tenor as much as it has an Aristotelian one. This notion of 'persevering memory' (ἐπιμόνου μνήμης) occurs in Stobaeus describing the Stoic ethics. Stobaeus, *Anthologium*, 2.7.3c: περὶ δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν εὐσυνεσία, εὐφυΐα, φιλοπονία, ἐπιμονή, μνήμη. Op. cit. 2.7.7b: Περὶ ψυχὴν μὲν εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα· εὐφυΐαν, προκοπὴν, μνήμην, ὀξύτητα διανοίας, ἔξιν καθ' ἣν ἐπιμονοὶ εἰσιν ἐπὶ τῶν καθηκόντων.

As far as 'memory of good things' (μνήμη τῶν ἀγαθῶν) is concerned, this is an expression of Plutarch within a similar (moral) context. Plutarch, *Consolatio ad Uxorem* (608a–612b), 610E8: ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοιούτοις ὁ μάλιστα τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπαρυστόμενος καὶ τοῦ βίου πρὸς τὰ φωτεινὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ μεταστρέφων. Like most erudite Christian scholars, Theodore of Mopsuestia was to all appearances aware of Plutarch's writings, and subsequently adapted the notion to his own purposes. *expPs*, Psalm 75:11b: τῶν σῶν ἀγαθῶν τὴν μνήμην.

Such precedents would have played a role in an erudite rendering of Ephraem Syrus in Greek, where the almost identical expression τῶν καλῶν μνήμη is used. Ephraem Syrus, *Institutio ad Monachos*, pp. 337–338: Ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ νοῦς καὶ ἡ διάθεσις τῆς ψυχῆς εἰς τὴν μελέτην καὶ ἐπιπόθησιν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀπασχολῆται, καὶ τὰς ἐννοίας τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν καλῶν, ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀληθὴ καὶ δίκαια καὶ εὐφημα καὶ σεμνά, καὶ τῇ ἀγάπῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ πάντοτε κατὰ κόσμον τελείαν κατόρθωσιν λαμβάνει. Notice the virtually same text in Pseudo-Macarius, *Epistula Magna*, pp. 263–264: καὶ ἐπιποθήσει τοῦ θεοῦ αἰεὶ ἀπασχολῆται καὶ τὰς ἐννοίας τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν καλῶν, ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀληθὴ καὶ δίκαια καὶ εὐφημα καὶ σεμνά, καὶ τῇ ἀγάπῃ τοῦ θεοῦ πάντοτε κατακοσμή. Likewise, Ephraem Syrus, *Institutio ad Monachos*, p. 338 (the same in Pseudo-Macarius, *Epistula Magna*, p. 264): τοῦ μὴ τῶν καλῶν μνήμη ἔρᾶν τῶν ἄνω, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν γηγίνων ἐννοιῶν ἢ ἐπιθυμιῶν τινῶν τὴν προαίρεσιν δελεάζειν. Since the foregoing texts by Pseudo-Macarius and Ephraem are in fact a duplicate of each other, research is called for in

order to determine liabilities. We should recall that Rudolf Riedinger made a convincing case about the Pseudo-Macarian texts having been a product of the monastery of the Akoimetoι, where Cassian lived for a long time. Furthermore, Pseudo-Macarius, *Sermones* 64 (*collectio B*), Homily 29.1.2: διὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐννοιῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν καλῶν μνήμῃ—“ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ” καὶ “δίκαια” καὶ “ἀγνά”—εἰς φόβον θεοῦ ἡ ψυχὴ προκόπτουσα τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττονα αὕξησιν λαμβάνειν δύνηται. In view of this background, it hardly comes as a surprise that Cassian entertains the notion conveniently.

9. ἀεικίνητος τῇ φύσει ἐστίν. Cassian argues that ‘mind is ever-moving’, which is an interesting and serious proposition. Many ancient Greek authors had argued that *the soul* is ever-moving. According to Aetius, Thales (as well as Plato, according to Pseudo-Plutarch) had urged that ‘the soul is ever-moving, but mind is immovable’. Pseudo-Plutarch, *Placita Philosophorum*, 899B6: Πλάτων ἀεικίνητον μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν, τὸν δὲ νοῦν ἀκίνητον τῆς μεταβατικῆς κινήσεως. The idea of ‘mind’ ever-moving came into view with Plotinus (*Enneades*, V.1.12), but John Philoponus criticised Plotinus, ‘who was misled by Plato’: Plotinus read in Plato that ‘the soul is ever-moving, in the sense that it incessantly comprehends, which made him infer that “human mind”, too, which always comprehends, is ever-moving’ (Πλωτῖνος ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος· ἀκούσας γὰρ ἐξ ἐκείνου ὅτι ἡ ψυχὴ ἀεικίνητός ἐστιν, ἐνόμισεν ἀεικίνητον αὐτὸν λέγειν τῷ ἀεὶ νοεῖν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἶεται εἶναι νοῦν ἀεὶ νοοῦντα. φησὶν οὖν ὁ Πλωτῖνος ὅτι ἐνεργείᾳ νοῦν λέγει τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν τὸν ἀεὶ νοοῦντα). Hence John Philoponus puts things in order: ‘there are four theories concerning acting mind, notably, those by Alexander [of Aphrodisias], Marinus, Plotinus, and Plutarch, and each one of those theories advances its own arguments’ (τοσαῦταί εἰσιν αἱ γινόμεναι δόξαι περὶ τοῦ ἐνεργείᾳ νοῦ, τέτταρες τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἡ Μαρίνου, ἡ Πλωτίνου, ἡ Πλουτάρχου, καὶ ἐκάστη αὐτῶν δικαιολογίαις κέχρηται). John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Libros De Anima Commentaria*, v. 15, p. 535. In other words, to posit the soul as perpetually moving is one thing; but to argue the same about the ‘mind’ is quite another. It is hard to come upon any Greek philosopher arguing for the latter: there is only Plotinus’ account, yet even this one is ambiguous, which is why it invited criticism by John Philoponus.

Therefore, Cassian’s assertion about ‘mind being ever-moving’ comes as quite an unexpected one. How did he arrive at this? The sole explanation is that he was influenced by Proclus, which becomes all too clear in the Appendices to the present volume. Proclus made a comment on a proverbially obscure portion of Plato in the *Respublica*, 546b (which obscurity later authors such as Cicero and Censorinus criticised): ἔστι δὲ θεῖω μὲν γεννητῷ

περίοδος ἦν ἀριθμὸς περιλαμβάνει τέλειος ('Now for divine begettings there is a period comprehended by a perfect number'). This is the portion which Proclus commented upon (*In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 2, p. 15). He took it that the case is about 'an intelligible cause', which is a dynamic one: a 'perfect number' betokens that which 'tends to perfection, though it never actually becomes perfect, and it is always in a state of becoming' (ἀριθμητὸν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀριθμὸς καὶ τελειούμενος καὶ οὐδέποτε τέλειος, αἰὶ γιγνόμενος). As a matter of fact, 'for each of the ever-moving entities, there is a certain mind, which recapitulates in itself its own life and corporeal restoration' (ὁ τέλειος ἀριθμὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ἐστὼς πρὸ τοῦ κινουμένου. καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν ἀεικινήτων ἔστιν τις νοῦς, ὃς καὶ τὴν ζωὴν τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ συμπεραίνει καὶ τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τὴν σωματικὴν). Therefore, 'one should not seek to determine what the perfect number is', since it underlies 'myriads' of perfect (that is, cyclical) motions'.

Cassian's heavy reading of Proclus was the origin for him to believe that 'mind is ever-moving', even though it is possible that Proclus did not interpret Plato accurately. Granted, Plato is obscure, but so is Proclus rendering Plato. The fact of the matter is that the idea of 'mind ever moving' thereafter transpires in Christian rather than pagan literature, yet even so it shows in only a few instances. Maximus Confessor, *Expositio Orationis Dominicae*, line 497: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατὰ μὲν τὸν νοῦν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀεικίνητος ὢν. Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae*, 233: "Ὅτι καλὸν μὲν ὁ νοῦς καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἔχοντες τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος, καὶ καλὸν τοῦ νοῦ ἡ ἐνέργεια, καὶ ὅτι, ἀεικίνητος ὢν οὗτος, πολλάκις μὲν φαντασιοῦται περὶ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων ὡς ὄντων. Theodore Studites, *Parva Catechesis*, Catechesis 100: Οὕτω πολλῷ μᾶλλον οὐδὲ ἡμῖν ὀφείλει ἐπιλείπειν ἀγαθὴ ἔννοια ἀποβλέπουσιν εἰς τὸ ἄπειρον πέλαγος τῶν θαυμασίων τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐν οἷς ἐμφιλοχωρῶν ὁ νοῦς οὐκ ἄγει σχολὴν ἐμμεταιάζειν τῷ βίῳ καὶ τοῖς τῆς πονηρίας λογισμοῖς συναναπλέκεσθαι. Φύσει γὰρ ἀεικίνητος ὢν οὐ δύναται ἡρεμεῖν. Symeon Neotheologus, *Capita Theologica*, 2.18: ὁ ἀεικίνητος νοῦς. *Catecheses* 1–34, Oration 10: ἀεικίνητον πρᾶγμα ὁ νοῦς. Michael Psellus, *Opuscula Logica, Physica, Allegorica, Alia*, Opusculum 36: τοιοῦτος δὲ γίνεται ὁ προσεγγίσας νοῦς τῷ θεῷ καί, ὅτι ἀποξέσας τοῦ ἐκεῖθεν κάλλους καὶ τοῦ ἀπορρήτου μεγέθους αὐτὸς περὶ ἑαυτὸν στρέφεται, ἀκριβῆς γεγινώς νοῦς καὶ οὐχ οἶος ὁ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἐστίν. ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἀεικίνητος γίνεται κατὰ τὴν ἐξωτάτην περιφορὰν, σφίγγει τε καὶ συνέχει τὰ ψυχικὰ πάντα νοήματα.

Two points should not elude us. First, once again, the 'Epistles' attributed to Basil of Caesarea come up with unique parallels in Cassian, and with no parallel in Basil's works. Secondly, Theodore Studites reproduces Cassian's ideas once again.

Finally, the question of the *soul* being perpetually moving is different from the foregoing references to the *mind*. Although beyond my scope, it should be noted that only a few references of this Greek theme appear in Christian literature. A text ascribed to Origen's pupil Gregory Thaumaturgus might well be the product of Cassian's environment, or even of himself. Pseudo-Gregory Thaumaturgus, *Ad Tatianum De Anima Per Capita Disputatio*, PG.10.1144.17–22: 'Ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ αὐτοκίνητος οὖσα, οὐδέποτε τοῦ εἶναι διαλείπει. Ἀκολουθεῖ γὰρ τῷ αὐτοκινήτῳ, τὸ αἰεὶ κινήτὸν εἶναι· τὸ δὲ ἀεικίνητον, ἀπαυστὸν ἐστὶ· τὸ δὲ ἀπαυστον, ἀτελεύτητον· τὸ δὲ ἀτελεύτητον, ἀφθαρτον· τὸ δὲ ἀφθαρτον, ἀθάνατον. Εἰ τοίνυν ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοκίνητός ἐστιν, ὡς ἀνωτέρω ἀπεδείχθη, ἔσται ἀφθαρτος καὶ ἀθάνατος. Pseudo-Justin suggests that the notion applies to the stars, but he argues that this is more befitting the soul. *Confutatio Dogmatum Quorundam Aristotelicorum*, 148D: Εἰ διὰ μὲν τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βαρύτητα καὶ κουφότητα ἐστὶ σῶμα αἰεὶ κινήτὸν περὶ τὸ μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ σῶμα, ἀνάγκη ἄρα ὅλον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κινεῖσθαι περὶ τὸ μέσον. 156C: Εἰ ἡ φύσις δέδωκε τοῖς αἰεὶ κινήτοισι τὸ σφαιρικὸν σχῆμα ἐπιτήδειον πρὸς τὴν εὐκίνησιν. 156D: Τὸ οὐσίαν ἔχειν καὶ σχῆμα αἰεὶ κινήτὸν τὰ ἄστρα καὶ στάσιν ἀκίνητον. 157B: Εἰ ἐν τοῖς αἰθίοις οὐδὲν παρὰ φύσιν, παρὰ φύσιν δὲ τὸ οὐσίαν μὲν καὶ σχῆμα ἔχειν αἰεὶ κινήτὸν, στάσιν δὲ ἀκίνητον, ἄρα οὐκ αἰθία τὰ ἐν οἷς τι παρὰ φύσιν, ἢ ψευδὲς τὸ ἐν τοῖς αἰθίοις οὐδὲν παρὰ φύσιν.

10. ἐπάναγκές ἐστι. The expression became fashionable only after the Council of Chalcedon. ACO, *Concilium Universale Chalcedonense anno 451*, 2,1,1: pp. 21; 178; 2,1,2: p. 45; 2,1,3, pp. 28; 30; 31. By that time, the alleged 'John Cassian' was long dead (since 435). But the actual author of this work, Cassian of Scythopolis, was not yet born (which was in c. 475). Before Chalcedon, no author appears to have used this expression more than once. Cf. the expression ἐπάναγκές ἐστιν in the following authors: Aristotle, *Politica*, 1301b23. Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, 11.113.1. Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 1.1.440. Palladius, *Dialogus de Vita Joannis Chrysostomi*, p. 3. Theodoret, *Eranistes*, p. 179.

Cassian uses this at other points, too. See Cod. pp. 58^r, 63^r (abba Moses); 82^r, 90^r, 90^v, 91^v (abba Serenus). Protagonist persons of the dialogues change, but the style remains the same, simply because this is Cassian's personal style. By his time, this expression had been used by contemporaries of his, such as John Philoponus and historian Procopius. Cf. John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Libros de Anima Commentaria*, v. 15, p. 569. Procopius of Caesarea, *De Bellis*, 8.20.47; *De Aedificiis* (lib. 1–6), 4.2.22; 5.2.7.

11. προαιρέσεως ραθυμία. This expression is characteristic of Chrysostom alone. Cassian clearly took this up from him: *Ad Stagirium a Daemone Vexatum* (lib. 1–3), PG.47.435.51 (ὁ Ἀδὰμ τὴν μὲν προαίρεσιν ἔχων οὕτω ῥαθυμόν); *In Sanctum Eustathium Antiochenum*, PG.50.599.17 (ἡ προαίρεσις ῥαθυμός); *In Genesim* (homiliae 1–67), PG.53.134.5 (ἡ προαίρεσις ἡ ῥαθυμός); op. cit. PG.53.189.41 (ἡ τῆς προαιρέσεως ῥαθυμία); op. cit. PG.53.189.58: τῆς προαιρέσεως τὴν ῥαθυμίαν; *In Joannem* (homiliae 1–88), PG.59.113.32: τὴν ἐκ προαιρέσεως ῥαθυμίαν; op. cit. PG.59.206.6: ἡ ῥαθυμία ἡ ἐκ τῆς προαιρέσεως; *In Epistulam ad Romanos* (homiliae 1–32), PG.60.502.59: ἡ ῥαθυμός προαίρεσις; *In Isaiam*, 1.6: προαιρέσεως ῥαθυμίαν. Therefore, a casual instance in Ephraem Syrus was probably instilled by his (Sabaite or Akoimetan) translator. *Sermo in Patres Defunctos*, p. 10: Καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ῥαθυμοὶ χαῦνοι τῇ προαίρεσει ἀπεμείναμεν.

12. ἡ ποιότης καὶ ἡ διαφορά. This is a notion as old as Aristotle, which played an important role in Greek thought, including Aristotelian commentators, Stoics, and Neoplatonists, with Simplicius championing germane considerations. Of Christians up until the sixth century, awareness of its philosophical significance appears only in Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, Didymus, Cyril of Alexandria, John Chrysostom, and scarcely in Basil of Caesarea. This came to be a distinctly sixth-century expression related to the Christological controversy over the Severian Monophysitism. Therefore, this is a language and notion evincing awareness of both Aristotle and the sixth-century Christological dispute.

13. Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *supra*, p. 62': ἡ διάνοια ἡμῶν ἀεικίνητος οὖσα. p. 82': ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς ... ὅτι μὲν ἀεικίνητος τῇ φύσει ἐστὶν καὶ οὐδέποτε παύεται τοῦ ἐνθυμεῖσθαι καὶ ἡμεῖς συντιθέμεθα.

14. Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 83': τοῦ νοητοῦ καὶ ἐνδοτέρου πολέμου. The notion of 'internal war' is as old as Christianity itself. However, the specific language is present in a casual reference by Eusebius that was taken up by Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil of Caesarea. Eusebius, *Commentarius in Isaiam*, 2.23: οἱ δὲ ἐξεδόθησαν τοῖς τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν πολεμοῦσι καὶ γεγόνασι λαὸς διηρπασμένος καὶ προνενομευμένος· ἡ γὰρ παγὶς ἔνδον ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις αὐτῶν ἄμα. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Apologetica* (orat. 2), PG.35.493.15–16: τὸν ἔνδον καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, τὸν ἐν τοῖς πάθει πόλεμον, ὃν πολεμούμεθα νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς ταπεινώσεως σώματος. *Ad Gregorium Nyssenum* (orat. 11), PG.35.837.7–9: πρὸς τὸν ἔνδον καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τὸν ἐν τοῖς πάθει πόλεμον. Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae Super Psalmos*, PG.29.357.38–39: οἱ τοῦ φρονήματος τῆς σαρκὸς ἐπανιστάμενοι

πόλεμοι. Nevertheless, none of these authors did make this a main theme, which only two theologians did, namely John Chrysostom and the mysterious Pseudo-Macarius, whose writings over and again appear akin to Cassian's ones. Once more, we are upon the Akoimetoι reproducing the vocabulary of their eminent Antioch compatriot, namely, John Chrysostom, *In Genesim* (*homiliae* 1–67), PG.53.313.29–30: τοῦ ἐνδοθεν τικτομένου πολέμου; *et passim* (some three dozens of instances). Pseudo-Macarius, *Sermones* 64 (*collectio B*), Homily 3.3.7: ὥστε ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκηδίας οὐδὲ τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀκούει. ἀναπτεροῖ δὲ ἑαυτὴν ἢ ψυχὴ δι' ὀνείρων καὶ ἐναναπαύεται ἐνυπνίοις, μὴ κατανοήσασα τὸν ἐνδον πόλεμον. Op. cit. Homily 32.2.1: οὕτω καὶ οἱ Χριστιανοὶ ὀφείλουσι φέρειν τὰς θλίψεις τὰς ἔξωθεν καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοθεν πολέμους. Op. cit. Homily 50.4.4: καὶ σχολάζων τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ ἐγκύψας ἐνδον ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῇ ἔχει πάλιν πόλεμον καὶ ἀγῶνα μέγαν πρὸς ἀντικειμένους δυνάμεις. Op. cit. Homily 50.4.6: ὥστε εἰσὶν ἀρχαὶ καὶ ἐξουσίαι καὶ κοσμοκράτορες καὶ πνευματικά τῆς πονηρίας, πρὸς ἃ δεῖ ἡμᾶς ἀγωνίζεσθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν. καὶ ποῦ εἰσι ταῦτα καὶ ποῦ πολεμοῦσιν; ἐνδον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς. Op. cit. Homily 59.2.3: ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐνδον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἄλλη πάλιν καὶ ἄλλη ἐναντιότης κρυπτὴ καὶ ἄλλος πόλεμος λογισμῶν καὶ πνευμάτων τῆς πονηρίας, καὶ ἄλλος ἀγὼν πρόκειται. Op. cit. 59.2.4: ὅτι ἐστὶν ἄλλη πάλιν καὶ πικρὴ καὶ πόλεμος ἐνδον. Op. cit. 59.2.5: καὶ τὸν ἐνδον πόλεμον. John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, PG.95.1445.24, quoting Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *De Chananaea*, PG.52.452.44: ἀλλ' εὗρισκω τὸν πόλεμον ἐνδον.

One should notice that Cassian's phraseology is akin not to Christian usage, but it stands close to Proclus. Cassian the Sabaite, *Octo Vitae*, p. 47^r: κατὰ τῶν ἐνδον παθῶν ἅπας ἡμῖν ἔστω ὁ πόλεμος. Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 1, p. 13: ἡ δὲ ἀνδρεία τὴν καθαρτικὴν (τὸ γὰρ ἄτρωτον ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν ἀληθινῶν ἡμῖν πολεμίων ἐνδον ἐγκαθημένων ταύτης ἐξαίρετον).

Theodore Studites is the author who reproduced Cassian's vocabulary and conceptions one more time. Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 174: Στήθι οὖν ἔτι, τέκνον μου, ὑποφέρων τὸν κόπον τῶν ἐνδον λογισμῶν· μέγας γὰρ οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ἀκατάληκτος μέχρι τέλους ζωῆς. 194: Διό, ἀδελφε, θερμότερον ποιοῦ μοι τὴν προσευχὴν, ἵνα στερεότῃ τῇ ψυχῇ τούς τε ἐνδοθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν ἐχθρούς πολεμήσαιμι.

15. τῆς ἰδίας προαιρέσεως τὴν συγκατάθεσιν. 'Assent' (συγκατάθεσις) is the link between an original disposition and considerate option (προαίρεσις) on the one hand, and actual praxis (πράξις) as a result, on the other. The point was made by Clement of Alexandria, followed by Ephraem Syrus, with an epistle ascribed to Basil of Caesarea suggesting the same notion. One should wonder who is the actual author of a similar reference in Nilus of Ancyra, since this writer has been attributed a multitude of texts aiming at obscuring

real authors disfavoured by official orthodoxy. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, 2.2.9.1–2 (comm. on Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, 1139b4): ἄλλοι δ' ἀφανοὺς πράγματος ἐννοητικὴν συγκατάθεσιν ἀπέδωκαν εἶναι τὴν πίστιν, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ἀγνοουμένου πράγματος φανεράν συγκατάθεσιν. εἰ μὲν οὖν προαίρεσις ἐστίν, ὀρεκτικὴ τίνος οὕσα, ἡ ὀρεξις νῦν διανοητικὴ, ἐπεὶ δὲ πράξεως ἀρχὴ ἡ προαίρεσις, πίστις εὐρίσκεται ἀρχὴ γὰρ πράξεως, θεμέλιος ἔμφρονος προαιρέσεως. Ephraem Syrus, *Reprehensio Sui Ipsius et Confessio*, p. 330: αἱ συγκαταθέσεις ὡς ἔργα κρίνονται, ὅτι ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἡ ὑπόστασις τῶν πράξεων συνίσταται. Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae*, 99.2: καὶ τοῖς ἐναντιούμενοις αὐτῷ φανεράν γενέσθαι τὴν συγκατάθεσιν καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἱκανὴν εἶναι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τῆς προαιρέσεως τὴν ἀπόδειξιν. Nilus of Ancyra, *Narrationes Septem de Monachis in Sina*, 3.12: ὁ θάνατος, ἀμάρτυρος ἐν συγκαταθέσει τῆς προαιρέσεως συνιστάμενος. I insist on my suggestion that the epistles ascribed to Basil need redaction, since instances which appear only in that corpus (and nowhere else in Basil) are far too like Cassian as much as they are alien to Basil's rest of writings.

16. ἡ συζυγία τούτων τῶν πνευμάτων. Over and again, Cassian shows himself being a pupil and follower of Gregory of Nyssa, since it was the latter who almost exclusively applied this rare structure. *Antirrheticus Adversus Apollinarianum*, v. 3.1, p. 212: τῇ μετὰ τῶν πνευμάτων συζυγίᾳ. In *Canticum Canticorum* (*homiliae* 15), v. 6, p. 15: ἡ ψυχὴ πρὸς τὴν ἀσώματόν τε καὶ πνευματικὴν καὶ ἀμόλυντον τοῦ θεοῦ συζυγίαν. Cf. the same portion in Procopius of Gaza, *Catena in Canticum Canticorum*, p. 1545. A point made by presbyter Ammonius of Alexandria, who was probably contemporary with Cassian, commenting on John 3:29, is remarkable. *Fragmenta in Joannem*, Fr. 96: Διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος νυμφεύεται ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀναγεννηθεῖσαν. ἡ δὲ συζυγία αὕτη ἡ πνευματικὴ διὰ τοῦ διδασκαλικοῦ λόγου συνάπτει θεῷ.

17. ἔνωσις καὶ συνάφεια. Although present in Gregory of Nyssa and Eusebius, the notion of 'union' (ἔνωσις) and 'conjunction' (συνάφεια) became a landmark of Christological dispute only during and after the fifth century. Cassian uses the two terms side by side, denoting a certain 'union' being possible between incorporeal entities (considering the possibility of evil spirits being united to human soul), which is how Gregory of Nyssa used these terms, too. In *Ecclesiasten* (*homiliae* 8), v. 5, p. 409. *Contra Eunomium*, 2.1.214: οὐ γὰρ σωματικὴν τινα συμφυῖαν ἐπὶ τῆς νοερᾶς φύσεως τὸ ὄνομα τῆς συναφείας ἐνδείκνυται, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ νοητοῦ πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν διὰ τῆς ταυτότητος τῶν θελημάτων ἔνωσιν τε καὶ ἀνάκρασιν. Also (in Trinitarian theology), *In Illud: Tunc et Ipse Filius*, p. 21. A well-known spurious text ascribed to Basil of Caesarea

entertains the terms in a more or less similar sense as Cassian does, which is an additional indication of this work being in fact Cassian's. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Constitutiones Asceticae*, PG.31.1381.46–49. Cf. op. cit. PG.31: 1385.25–30; 1421.27–32. Cyril of Alexandria used the terms in both this sense (*commProphXII*, v. 1, p. 74) and in the Christological one, namely the relation between humanity and divinity in the person of Christ: *De Sancta Trinitate Dialogi I–VII*, p. 605; *Quod Unus sit Christus*, p. 733. Theodoret applied the terms to Christological usage only. *De Incarnatione Domini*, PG.75: 1469.49–53; 1473.19. *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80.1168.27; *Eranistes*, pp. 116; 133; 175; 190. Pseudo-Macarius, writing in the same spirit as Cassian did, points out contingent union of a human soul with Christ (*Sermones* 64 [collectio B], Homily 40.2.4), which is what Eusebius did, too. *De Ecclesiastica Theologia*, 3.15.2; *commPs*, PG.23.1104.28. The councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon entertained the terminology exclusively in Christological context, and so did Justinian (*Epistula Contra Tria Capitula*, 50) during Cassian's lifetime. In *RCR*, pp. 15–16; 196 and *infra* pp. 387–389, I mention the usage of συνάφεια, which reveals that when Cassian formed his vocabulary he was aware of Nestorius' views. See in Appendix I how Caesarius (= Cassian) applies the notion in exactly the same sense.

18. ἀσώματος καὶ ἀπλὴ τὴν φύσιν. It was Origen who had taught that only the Trinity is incorporeal, whereas all other rational beings are corporeal and have bodies of sundry substances. *COT*, pp. 112–113. On the other hand, Evagrius rejected any definition of God whatsoever, even that of God being 'simple'. Cf. Socrates Scholasticus, *HE*, 3.7: Εὐάγριος δὲ ἐν τῷ "Μοναχικῷ" προπετῶς μὲν καὶ ἀπερισκέπτως θεολογεῖν ἀποσυμβουλεύει· ὀρίζεσθαι δὲ ὡς ἀπλοῦν τὸ θεῖον πάντη ἀπαγορεύει· τῶν γὰρ συνθέτων εἶναι τοὺς ὄρους φησίν. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν διδάσκει· "Πᾶσα πρότασις," φησίν, "ἢ γένος ἔχει κατηγορούμενον, ἢ εἶδος, ἢ διαφοράν, ἢ ἴδιον, ἢ συμβεβηκός, ἢ τὸ ἐκ τούτων συγκείμενον· οὐδὲν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος τῶν εἰρημένων ἐστι λαβεῖν· σιωπῇ προσκυνεῖσθω τὸ ἄρρητον."

19. κίνησιν τε καὶ διάθεσιν. The wording comes from Aristotle and was canvassed not only by his commentators, but also by the Neoplatonists, particularly Simplicius. Cassian would have received this from Clement of Alexandria (*Stromateis*, 2.22.133.6) and Gregory of Nyssa (*Contra Eunomium*, 2.1.116; *De Oratione Dominica Orationes* v, p. 276; *Dialogus de Anima et Resurrectione*, PG.46.96.6; *In Ecclesiasten (homiliae* 8), v. 5, p. 389). However, the affinities between Cassian and Simplicius in terms of philosophical vocabulary, which are explored throughout this book, are too many and they

bespeak a certain relationship, although it cannot be determined which one of them exerted influence upon the other. See discussion in Appendix II.

20. The verb ὑποτείνω is a very ambiguous one and has several meanings. At this point, it means 'suffer' or 'incur'. Cf. Suda, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter tau, entry 725 (& Alphabetic letter upsilon, entry 611): Τὸ γὰρ ἐσλεύσσειν οἰκεία πάθη, μηδενὸς ἄλλου παραπράξαντος, μεγάλας ὁδύνας ὑποτείνει. Strange though it is, despite the preposition ὑπὸ ('under') appearing as component of the verb, this notion of *under* or *underneath* appears rarely. Otherwise, it may mean also 'stretch out'. Suda, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter alpha, entry 963 (& Alphabetic letter lambda, entry 25): ἀετὸν ἐπιφοιτῶντα καὶ τὰς πτέρυγας ὑποτείνοντα. Op. cit. Alphabetic letter omicron, entry 24: ἐν τῷ περὶ Εἰρήνης δράματι φησὶν Ἀριστοφάνης· ὑπότεινε δὴ πᾶς καὶ κατάγε τοῖς κάλοις. *Etymologicum Gudianum*, Alphabetic entry kappa, page 297 (& *Etymologicum Parvum*, Letter kappa, entry 14): τὰ γὰρ ζωδάρια τὰ μὲν τελευταῖα μέρη ὑποτείνει· τὰ δὲ πρὸς τῷ τραχήλῳ κάμπτει, καὶ εἴθ' οὕτω ἐπισύρει τὰ ὀπίσθια, κάμπτουσα ἑαυτήν. In addition, it may mean 'to make a promise'. Suda, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter upsilon, entry 612: Ὑποτείνων· ὑπισχνούμενος. οὐ θωπεύων οὐδ' ὑποτείνων μισθοὺς οὐδ' ἐξαπατῶντων. *Lexicon Vindobonense*, Alphabetic letter alpha, entry 77: καὶ Συνέσιος· ὑποτείνει δὲ σμικρὸν ἀργύριον. καὶ ἀργύριον ὁ ἄργυρος. Furthermore, it may mean 'suggest' or 'propose'. *Lexicon Vindobonense*, Alphabetic letter pi, entry 134: προτείνω καὶ ὑποτείνω σοι τόδε τὸ πρᾶγμα. *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 784: Ὑποτείνουσιν· Ὑποβάλλουσιν, ἢ προτείνονται. Likewise, *Lexica Segueriana, Glossae Rhetoricae (e cod. Coislin. 345)*, Alphabetic entry upsilon, page 312: Ὑποτείνουσιν· ὑποβάλλουσι, προτείνουσιν. In Geometry, the side of a right-angled triangle opposite the right angle is called hypotenuse (ὑποτείνουσα), that is, the side which is 'extended underneath'.

21. τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἣτοι οὐσίαν (also, Cod. p. 86^v: τῇ Τριάδι ... πάσῃ τῇ νοητῇ φύσει ἐνυπάρχει δι' ὅλης τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς οὐσίας διήκουσα καὶ ἀσώματος οὐσία). Cassian appears to be ambiguous about the terms ὑπόστασις or οὐσία applied to the soul. Being an erudite Aristotelian, he would have had in mind Aristotle's criticism of Plato's theory of Ideas, which was aptly expounded by Alexander of Aphrodisias. This commentator represents Aristotle to question whether Plato actually identifies the ὑπόστασις of the ideas with their οὐσία. Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, p. 197: φησὶ δὲ [scil. Aristotle] πολλῶν ὄντων ἀτόπων τῶν ἐπομένων τῷ περὶ τῶν ἰδεῶν δόγματι (καὶ γὰρ τίς ἢ ὑπόστασις αὐτῶν ἀπορεῖ, πότερον ἢ οὐσία ἢ οὐ).

Cassian might also have had in mind some expressions of Origen, although it is clear that Origen himself had a clear grasp of the notions: *ὑπόστασις* suggests actual individual existence, whereas *οὐσία* betokens essence, that is, a common substratum. Cassian undoubtedly was aware of the analyses made by his hero Gregory of Nyssa, as well as by all Trinitarian theologians, concerning the difference between the two concepts. Nevertheless, the context at this point is not a Trinitarian one: it is about the soul's existence, which invited analysis in a Greek rather than Christian philosophical context. Cassian was influenced by Didymus, who had allowed for some *philosophical* usage of the two terms as interchangeable, or stated in apposition, once discussion is about *actual existence* of something. Didymus, *comPs* 35–39, Cod. p. 275: λέγεται ποτε ἡ οὐσία ὑπόστασις· ὡς ὅταν λέγεται ὁ υἱὸς “χαρακτήρ τῆς θεοῦ ὑποστάσεως”, τῆς θεοῦ οὐσίας καὶ ὑπάρξεως. Op. cit. p. 277: δυνατόν δὲ ὑπόστασιν λέγειν ἀντὶ οὐσίας. *frPs(al)*, Fr. 393: Δύναται δὲ νῦν Ὑπόστασις ἀντὶ οὐσίας λέγεσθαι. Op. cit. Fr. 396: Καὶ ἡ οὐσία ἀντὶ τῆς ὑποστάσεως λέγεται, καὶ αὕτη παρὰ θεοῦ ἐστὶν ὡς ἐκ δημιουργοῦ· καὶ καθὼ ὑφίσταμεθα, καὶ αὕτη ἡ ὑπόστασις ἡμῶν παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν. Op. cit. Fr. 939: τοὺτους οὖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς φλογίζει τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ κυρίου προπορευόμενον, οὐκ ἀναλίσκον καὶ φθείρον αὐτῶν τὴν οὐσίαν (ἀθάνατος γὰρ ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῶν ὑπόστασις) ἀλλ’ ἀφανίζον τὰ περὶ αὐτοὺς παραφύεντα τῆς σαρκὸς ἔργα καὶ ὑλικά φρονήματα. Op. cit. Fr. 1160: ῥητέον ἀνυπόστατον εἰρῆσθαι τὴν κακίαν τῷ μὴ εἶναι οὐσίαν καὶ ἰδίαν ὑπόστασιν· συμβεβηκὸς γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐνεργοῦσιν ὑφίσταται, καθ’ ἑαυτὴν ὑπαρξιν οὐκ ἔχουσα. Nevertheless, a different view employed for the sake of a specific exegesis should be noticed. Op. cit. Fr. 895: Δύναται τὸ τῆς ὑποστάσεως ὄνομα μὴ τὴν οὐσίαν σημαίνειν, ὡς ἡρμηνεύσαμεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν καθ’ ἣν ὑποστῆναι τις δύναται τῶν ἐπιπόνων. Nevertheless, other points evince Cassian having a clear grasp of *ὑπόστασις*. 103^v: Μὴ γένοιτο οὖν ἵνα τὸν Θεὸν ὁμολογήσωμέν ποτε δημιουργήσαντά τι καθ’ ὑπόστασιν κακόν.

Historian Socrates Scholasticus (Constantinople, fourth-fifth cent.) despised his contemporary philosophers, who used *ὑπόστασις* instead of *οὐσία*. He contended that the former term was not actually used by Classical Greece, since it was regarded as a ‘barbaric’ word. Socrates Scholasticus, *HE*, 3.7: Οἱ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν παρ’ Ἑλλήσι σοφίαν ἐκθέμενοι τὴν μὲν “οὐσίαν” πολυλαχῶς ὥρισαντο· “ὑποστάσεως” δὲ οὐδ’ ἡντιναοὺν μνήμην πεποίηνται. Εἰρηναῖος δὲ ὁ γραμματικὸς, ἐν τῷ κατὰ στοιχεῖον “Ἀττικιστῇ,” καὶ “βάρβαρον” ἀποκαλεῖ τὴν λέξιν· μηδὲ γὰρ παρὰ τισι τῶν παλαιῶν εἰρήσθαι. ... Ἰστέον μέντοι ὅτι εἰ καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ φιλόσοφοι τὴν λέξιν παρέλιπον, ἀλλ’ ὅμως οἱ νεώτεροι τῶν φιλοσόφων συνεχῶς ἀντὶ τῆς “οὐσίας,” τῇ λέξει τῆς “ὑποστάσεως” ἀπεχρήσαντο. This account by Socrates was reproduced by Theodore Anagnostes (historian, fifth–sixth cent. AD), *Epitome Historiae Tripartitae*, 3.139.

On that account, Cassian himself may well fall under this obloquy. For in his text there is an astounding replacement: whereas the standard term for 'property' (even in the gospels) was οὐσία, he uses the term ὑπόστασις meaning one's own property instead, at the point (p. 36^v) where he refers to the Philippians, who supplied Paul with goods out 'of their own properties' (ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὑποστάσεων ἐχορήγησαν αὐτῷ τὰς χρείας).

Perhaps Cassian did so because Theodoret had asserted that although the difference between the two terms is significant to Christian doctrine, to the Greeks there is no real difference between them. *Eranistes*, p. 64: EPAN. Ἐχει τινὰ διαφορὰν ἡ οὐσία πρὸς τὴν ὑπόστασιν; ΟΡΘ. Κατὰ μὲν τὴν θύραθεν σοφίαν οὐκ ἔχει. Ἡ τε γὰρ οὐσία τὸ δὴ σημαίνει, καὶ τὸ ὑφ' ἑστὸς ἡ ὑπόστασις.

Nevertheless, even before historian Socrates' era, it is plain that references where the terms ὑπόστασις and οὐσία transpired side by side did not actually purport to state *two different* notions. Rather, they were coupled in order to lay further emphasis on the notion of real existence. Cf. Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* (libri 1–2), 1.8.16: Καὶ δὴ ἀσώματον καὶ ἀνούσιον ὀνομάζει, τὴν τοῦτου οὐσίαν καὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἐκ πολλῶν γραμμάτων, ἐτέρων ἐξ ἐτέρων γεννωμένων, κατασκευάζεις. Op. cit. Fr. 29: Οὐ γὰρ ἡ ὑπόστασις οὐδὲ ἡ οὐσία τῆς κτίσεως ἐξαφανίζεται. Origen, *Cels*, I.23: Δεικνύτω τοίνυν ὑπόστασιν καὶ οὐσίαν Μνημοσύνης.

It was therefore all too natural for Cassian to take some liberties in applying the two terms as interchangeable, since he was dealing with philosophy rather than theology at that point. For what he actually did was simply making reference to the existence of the soul. There are no real philosophical implications out of using the two terms instead of only one of them, as one can see in similar references in the texts of Pseudo-Macarius, which obviously reflects also an Akoimetan spirit common in both Cassian and that author. *Sermones* 64 (collectio B), Homily 17.1.2: ἀλλ' ὑπόστασις καὶ οὐσία καὶ λάμπων θεῖον φῶς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. Op. cit. 17.1.3: ὁμολογησάτωσαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν οὐσίᾳ καὶ ὑποστάσει φῶς θεϊκὸν ἐλλάμπειν ταῖς καρδίαις τῶν πιστῶν. Op. cit. 44.3.3: ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σώματος τῆς θεότητος, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποστάσεως, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετέχουσι. Op. cit. 54.5.5: καὶ γίνεται αὐτοῖς εἰς οἶκος, μία οὐσία, μία ὑπόστασις.

22. ἐνδομυχούντας. The word is characteristic of the Pseudo-Clementine writings, and occurs also in Origen, *Scholia in Lucam*, PG.17.348.8: ἐν τοῖς ἐνδομυχοῦσι πάθεσι. Gregory of Nyssa: *Oratio Catechetica Magna*, 29: οὐ καταφάρμακεύεται τοῖς πικνοῦσι τὸ σῶμα παρὰ τῶν τεχνικῶς μεθοδεύοντων τὰ πάθη, ἀλλ' ἀναμένουσι τὸ ἐνδομυχοῦν ἅπαν ἕξω γενέσθαι, καὶ οὕτω γυμνῷ τῷ πάθει τὴν ἱατρειάν προσάγουσιν. Eusebius, *Contra Marcellum*, 2.1.1: τὴν χρόνους μακροῖς

ἐνδομυχήσασαν τῷ ἀνδρὶ κακοδοξίαν. *Vita Constantini*, 3.56.2: ὁ τῇδε ἐνδομυχῶν οὐ δαίμων οὐδέ γε θεός. 4.65.3: τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνδόμυχον ἄλλος. Pseudo-Caesarius, *QR*, 31: ἐνδομυχούντος τοῦ φθόνου.

23. τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς καταγωγίου. According to a testimony by Proclus, the idea put in these terms belongs to the Peripatetic philosopher Cleararchus of Soli (fourth–third cent. BC): the soul makes use of the body as if this were a kind of lodging. Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 2, p. 122: καθάπερ ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐν τοῖς περὶ ὕπνου φησὶν, περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, ὡς ἄρα χωρίζεται τοῦ σώματος καὶ ὡς εἰσεῖσιν εἰς τὸ σῶμα καὶ ὡς χρήται αὐτῷ οἷον καταγωγίῳ. The imagery was used by the Cappadocian brothers alike. Basil of Caesarea, *Homilia in illud: Attende Tibi Ipsi*, p. 36: καὶ θαύμασον ὅπως πρέπον αὐτὸ καταγωγίον τῇ λογικῇ ψυχῇ ὁ ἀριστοτέχνης ἐδημιούργησεν (quoted by John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, PG.95.1104.12–13). Gregory of Nyssa, *Epistulae*, 2.16: τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς σου καταγωγίον. So Basil of Seleucia, *Sermones XLI*, p. 189: Οἷον γὰρ εὐτρέπισε τῆς ψυχῆς καταγωγίον ὁ Σαοῦλ. *Homilia in Feriam Vet in Proditionem Judae*, PG.28.1049.32–34: Ἡ τοῦ Ἰοῦδα προαίρεσις τοῦ διαβόλου κλησίς· οὐ γὰρ ἀπλῶς εἰσῆλθεν, ἀλλ’ εὗρε τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς καταγωγίον. Therefore, although Cassian’s creative flare was Gregory of Nyssa, one cannot exclude simultaneous influence by Proclus’s testimony about this metaphor. As a matter of fact, its appearance in a spurious text points to an Akoimetan milieu, since there has never been any further usage of this construction. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *Eclogae i–xlviii ex Diversis Homiliis*, PG.63.624.3–4: καταγωγίον ἔσται τῷ Χριστῷ τῶν τοιοῦτων ἀνθρώπων ἡ ψυχή.

24. τῇ παχείᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ ὕλικῇ σαρκί. Cassian entertains the same vocabulary as Pseudo-Macarius, which is also the case with the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*. I cherish the hope that scholars will one day cast light upon the true writer(s) of the texts currently designated under the ‘Pseudo-Macarius’ heading. It should not come as a surprise if the author of some of these writings turned out to be Cassian himself. Cf. Pseudo-Macarius, *Sermones 64 (collectio B)*, Homily 54.3.4: καὶ καθαριζέτωσαν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ πάσης ὕλικῆς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου παχύτητος καὶ σαρκῶν καὶ αἱμάτων, τουτέστι φροντίδων καὶ δεσμῶν γηγῆνων. The spurious text ascribed to Athanasius should be a later one. *Liber de Definitionibus*, PG.28.548.44: τὸ δὲ σῶμα τὸ παχὺ καὶ ὕλικόν, ὅπερ λέγεται σάρξ.

25. Cf. *supra*, pp. 84^v–85^r: Καὶ γὰρ μόνη τῇ θεότητι, ἥτις καὶ μόνη ἀσώματος καὶ ἀπλῇ τῇ φύσει ἐστίν.

26. Cassian returns to God's omnipresence in the world, which I canvass in *RCR*, pp. 322–328.

27. This analysis is a plain and direct influence by Evagrius, who probably quoted from Origen explaining Proverbs 7:6–9. The passage is attributed to both Origen and Evagrius, with only a small portion omitted from Origen's ascription, which I canvass in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, EN IXg. See then, Origen, *expProv*, PG.17.181.5–16 and Evagrius, *Scholia in Proverbia (fragmenta e catenis)*, 89 (& *Expositio in Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 87): ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα προσεκτέον τί φησιν ὁ Σολομών περὶ τῆς κακίας, ὅτι οὐχ αὕτη τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν ἀρχαίς ἐπὶ τὴν κακίαν ἀπάγει, οὐδ' ἀναγκάζει πορεύεσθαι ἐν διόδοις οἴκων αὐτῆς, ἢ προσεγγίζειν γωνία, ἢ λαλεῖν ἐν σκότει ἐσπερινῶ· ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἴδῃ τινὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδιδόντα ταῖς ἡδοναῖς, εὐθὺς συναντᾷ αὐτῷ, εἶδος ἔχουσα πορνικόν, ἢ ποιεῖ νέων ἐξαπατᾶσθαι καρδίας.

28. I canvass the notion of 'aerial bodies' of daemons and its implications in *RCR*, pp. 174–178.

29. 'Αδύνατον γάρ, καθάπερ εἰρήκατε, παρὰ κακοῖς εὐρεθῆναι ἐπιστ(ή)μην, οὐδὲ ἐν πράγμασιν ἀπ(αι)δεύτοις μεμετρ(η)μένον τι. This is a token of immense erudition. Cassian reproduces the Platonic thesis that righteous action is the result not simply of 'true knowledge', but also of the ability to apply 'measure' (μετρητικῆς) and moderation to this. Plato, *Protagoras*, 357d–e: καὶ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ὡμολογήκατε ἐπιστήμης ἐνδεία ἐξαμαρτάνειν περὶ τὴν τῶν ἡδονῶν αἵρεσιν καὶ λυπῶν τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας—ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ τε καὶ κακὰ—καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐπιστήμης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἥς τὸ πρόσθεν ἔτι ὡμολογήκατε ὅτι μετρητικῆς· ἡ δὲ ἐξαμαρτανόμενη πράξις ἄνευ ἐπιστήμης ἴστε ποῦ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὅτι ἀμαθία πράττεται. Cf. *op. cit.*, 345b5: αὕτη γὰρ μόνη ἐστὶ κακὴ πράξις, ἐπιστήμης στέρηθη. Iamblichus tells us that Aristotle also sustained that 'true knowledge of good and evil is a science that is analogous to Geometry'. Iamblichus, *De Communi Mathematica Scientia*, 26 (Aristotle, *Fragmenta Varia*, Category 1, treatise 6, fr. 52): φασὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν εἶναι τὴν τῶν ἀδίκων καὶ δικαίων καὶ κακῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπιστήμην, ὁμοίαν οὖσαν γεωμετρίᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ταῖς τοιαύταις. The notion of 'measure' being inherently involved with wise and knowledgeable action was applied to God by Cyril of Alexandria. Cassian's phraseology is remarkably similar to this. Cf. Cyril of Alexandria, *commProphXII*, v. 2, p. 296: οἷς καὶ ὠρίσθαι φησὶν, οὐχ ὥς καὶ ἐν ἀπλῇ καὶ μεμετρημένῃ κινήσει τυχόν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐν ἀκράτῳ τε καὶ ἀσχέτῳ θυμῷ. ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, φησὶν, ἐπαΐδευον τοὺς ἐμούς, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς πέρα μέτρου πάσχειν ἤθελον. No wonder that this pattern was also taken up by Cassian's admirer Theodore Studites, advising a Byzantine

patrician how to make use of military power in a letter to that patrician's wife. Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 508: καὶ παιδευτικῶς μὲν πλήττοντα, φιλανθρώπως δὲ καὶ μεμετρημένως μαστίζοντα. By the same token, Proclus associated 'evil' with lack of moderation, that is, with excess and disproportion. In *Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 3, p. 314: καὶ πῶς οὐ πολλῶ μάλλον παρ' οἷς ἢ δύναμις, παρ' οἷς ἢ αὐτοτελὴς φύσις, παρ' οἷς ἢ σύμπασα ἀγαθότης, οἷς ἐναντίον ἐστὶ τὸ κακόν; ἀδύναμον γὰρ καὶ ἀτελὲς καὶ ἀμέτρητόν ἐστι κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν. The notion of divine 'nature which is complete in itself' (αὐτοτελὴς φύσις) involved in this account of Proclus' was taken up by *DT*, which I argue to be Cassian's work (Appendix II).

30. I do not emend to the normal καγχασμοῖς, because we have another colloquialism here. As strange as it may seem, this is a word occurring in the *Magica* and was recorded by Hesychius of Alexandria (fifth–sixth cent. AD), *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter kappa: entries 369 (κακχάζει); 1931 (κακχάζοι); 1940, (κακχάζει). *Magica*, *Papyri Magicae*, (Preisendanz) number 13: lines 164 (κακχάσαντος); 172: (κακχάσαι); 191: (κακχάσαντος); 192: (κακχάζων); 475: (κακχάσαντος); 486: (κακχάσαι).

31. Reference to ἀνισότης ('inequality') and ἐναντίωσις ('contrariety') is a valuable token of the present author being an erudite Aristotelist. See *RCR*, ch. 7, p. 383. The Latin rendering stands not too far from the Greek. However, once again, a meaningful Aristotelian distinction is desperately lost. Cf. *Collationes*, VII.21, PL.49.695C–696A: Ubi vero alio cum sudore luctante, alius cum otio ac securitate confligit, et ad deiciendum aemulum sola pro viribus utitur voluntate, non pugna dicenda est, nec colluctatio, neque certamen, sed iniqua quaedam et irrationabilis oppugnationis oppressio. ('But where one fights with ease and security against another who struggles with great effort, and in order to overthrow his rival makes use of his will alone as his strength, there it ought not to be called a battle, struggle, or strife, but a sort of unfair and unreasonable assault and attack').

32. Ταῦτα τοίνυν καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια is a rhetorical construction coming from very old times. Cf. Aeschines (rhetor, fifth–fourth cent. BC), *In Ctesiphontem*, 53. Anaximenes of Lampsacus (historian, rhetor, fourth cent. BC), *Ars Rhetorica*, 1.7; 4.2; 6.3; 7.5; 8.8. Subsequently, it transpires in authors, all of whom we have come across studying Cassian's *Scholia in Apocalypsin*. Diodore of Sicily, *Bibliotheca Historica* (lib. 21–40), 30.18.2. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae*, 2.16.2; 6.36.4; 6.77.3; 9.17.5; 10.3.3; 10.29.1; 11.35.1; 11.35.3; *De Demosthenis Dictione*, 51. Philo, *Quod Deus Sit Immutabilis*,

60; *De Ebrietate*, 175; *De Specialibus Legibus* (*lib. i–iv*), 1.112; 1.235; 4.229. Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, 2.53; 13.79; *Contra Apionem*, 2.208. Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, pp. 264; 407; *In Aristotelis Meteorologicorum Libros Commentaria*, p. 177. Whereas none of the three Cappadocians used the expression, it transpires in Origen's *Philocalia*, 24.4. At the same time, Eusebius is the author who used the expression abundantly: *PE*, 7.11.9; 7.22.32; 8.8.42; 10.4.6; *HE*, 3.33.3. Otherwise, Christians did not actually make too much of it. Cf. Hippolytus, *Refutatio Omnium Haeresium*, 4.6.2. Epiphanius of Salamis, *Ancoratus*, 118.7; *Panarion*, v. 2, p. 413. John Chrysostom, *De Virginitate*, 36; *De Paenitentia* (*homiliae 1–9*), PG.49.303.20; *et passim* (mostly spuria). Theodoret, *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio*, 6.88; *HE*, p. 65; *Epistulae: Collectio Patmensis* (*epistulae 1–52*), 8; *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, p. 160; *Interpretatio in Jeremiam*, PG.81: 556.14; 673.37. During this study, some spurious writings, in which the expression occurs, have been surmised as probably related to Cassian's pen. Once again, we come upon some them: Pseudo-Clement of Rome, *Epistula Clementis ad Jacobum*, 6.4; 12.3; *Homiliae*, 1.2.1; 17.6.1; *Epistulae De Virginitate*, 1.8.4; *Pseudo-Clementina*, 2; 150. Pseudo-Justin, *De Resurrectione*, p. 589. Pseudo-Athanasius, *Doctrina ad Antiochum Ducem*, 1.6; 1.8 (bis); 2.8 (bis); 2.10; *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae*, PG.28.300.53. The expression transpires in Sabaite writings, to which translations of Ephraem Syrus should be probably included. Pseudo-John of Damascus, *Vita Barlaam et Joasaph*, p. 156. Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 79, line 40; Homily 130, line 49; Homily 130, line 68. Ephraem Syrus, *Sermo Compunctorius*, pp. 113; 115; *Sermo de Communi Resurrectione*, p. 228; *De Virtutibus et Passionibus*, p. 407, line 13. Likewise, Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 464. The Latin (*Collationes*, VII.21, PL.50.697B) reads thus: Haec igitur omnia et his similia sacris inserta voluminibus. Cf. *Const*, Cod. p. 8^r: ἢ τι τῶν ὁμοίων τούτοις. Cod. p. 20^r: Τούτοις γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις τούτοις).

33. 'To hate and curse one's enemies' is a thesis running sheer contrary to the Gospel (Luke 6:27–28). Christian theologians extolled the scriptural maxim. There is only one portion ascribed to Origen (probably written by Evagrius) which elaborates on this: Jesus bid us pray for our enemies, meaning those who are *human* beings (νενομοθέτηκεν εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν, ἡγούσων τῶν ἀνθρώπων), *expProv*, PG.17.228.41–42. Cassian allows for praying for the destruction of those enemies who are not human but daemons. Eusebius banned any interpretation that could concede that David prayed for the destruction of his enemies. *commPs*, PG.23: 305.10–14; 472.54f.; 752.5f. He rebuked those who espoused such an interpretation about David, which

might be similar to Cassian's one as it goes at this point (*commPs*, PG.23: 1292–1293). So does a spurious text ascribed to Athanasius, *Argumentum in Psalmos*, PG.27.60. Didymus (or his excerptor) reviews different interpretations and opts for David actually *prophesying* the destruction of God's enemies: *frPs(al)*, Fr. 343. The author who banned cursing one's enemies altogether was Chrysostom, indeed he did so staunchly. This dissent from Chrysostom makes it impossible for Cassian (who allows for cursing non-human enemies) to be his pupil, that is, it is impossible for 'John Cassian' (allegedly a pupil of Chrysostom) to be the author of this work. Cf. John Chrysostom, *De Cruce et Latrone* (*homilia* 2), PG.49.416; *Peccata Fratrum non Evulganda*, PG.51.353f; *Non Esse Desperandum*, PG.51.363f; *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG.55: 43.13–17; 64.30f; *In Matthaeum* (*homiliae* 1–90), PG.57.284.48f; *In Epistulam ii ad Corinthios* (*homiliae* 1–30), PG.61: 433.11f; 436.4f; *In Epistulam i ad Timotheum* (*homiliae* 1–18), PG.62.531.42f; *De Laudibus Sancti Pauli apostoli* (*homiliae* 1–7), Homily 2.3. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *Eclogae i–xlviii ex Diversis Homiliis*, PG.63.588.53f.

34. In fact Cassian describes a sixth-century experience, amidst a state of decay. This cannot be a description of a fifth-century state of affairs in the desert of Egypt. Were this so, Cassian would have never regarded their life as an exemplar in order to compose his *Conferences* and *Institutions*.

35. There is a notion of 'degrees of punishment' sustained by Cassian.

36. ἐν ἀνέσει καὶ εὐθηνίᾳ. The mystery of Pseudo-Macarius' influence upon Cassian is once again facing us. The specific text, along with the wider context, suggests that Cassian would have had in mind portions from works that are currently ascribed to both Pseudo-Macarius and Palladius. Cf. Pseudo-Macarius, *Homiliae* 7 (*collectio HA*), Homily 54.9 & Palladius, *Historia Lausiacae* (*recensio G*), Vita 47.16: μήποτε μετὰ τῶν θαυμάτων ἡ ἀνεσις καὶ εὐθηνία. An attenuated parallel in Chrysostom should be quoted. *De Lazaro* (*homiliae* 1–7), PG.48.1036.1–3: μετὰ τὸν λιμὸν εὐθηνία πέρας οὐκ ἔχουσα, μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν ἀνεσις ἀκατάλυτος.

37. A scriptural word (2 Macc. 4:26), which was used by authors only casually, indeed once apiece: Eusebius, *HE*, 10.6.4. Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, v. 2, p. 41. The adjective ὑπονοθευτικὸς thrived during the sixth century. Ephraem Syrus, *De Virtute; Ad Novitium Monachum* (*capita quattuor*), 1; *De Vera Renuntiatione*, line 23. Justinian, *Novellae*, p. 623. John Malalas, *Chronographia*, pp. 46; 95; 219; 274; 350. Leontius, presbyter of Constantinople

(fifth–sixth cent. AD), *In Transfigurationem (homilia 14)*, line 154. Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, pp. 118;120. Hesychius of Alexandria, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter upsilon, entry 707. We should notice this usage entertained by both the translators of Ephraem Syrus and Cyril of Scythopolis. As a matter of fact, both relate to Cassian, in terms of the strong possibility of Ephraem's texts having been translated at the Laura of Sabas: two monks of this monastery, namely Abramius and Patricius, translated many of them from Syriac into Greek, during the late eighth century. Several codices contain such extensive translations by the two Sabaites monks. See *RCR*, pp. 35–36. In any event, the epithet ὑπονοθευτικός is a sixth-century usage.

38. ἡ τῆς κυριακῆς ἡμέρα. Cassian follows Eusebius, who wrote not only of κυριακὴ ἡμέρα (which almost all theologians did), but also of ἡμέρα τῆς κυριακῆς. *HE*, 5.23.2: ἐν ἄλλῃ ποτὲ τῆς κυριακῆς ἡμέρα. *Op. cit.* 5.24.11: ἐν μόνῃ τῇ τῆς κυριακῆς ἡμέρα. *Vita Constantini*, Table of contents, 4.18: Τῆς κυριακῆς τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ παρασκευῆς νομοθεσία τιμᾶν. The expression appears in an apocryphon which I have surmised to be not a second-century text, but one not earlier than the fifth century (Cf. my discussion about John styled θεολόγος, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, EN IVb). *Acta Joannis*, 6: καὶ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ κυριακῆς οὔσης. Cf. my *PHE*, pp. 85; 263; 342.

A couple of other instances are either dubious or spurious. The anonymous author who set out to emulate Chrysostom's style and made a fake ascription, did not notice that Chrysostom spoke of 'dominical day' (κυριακὴ ἡμέρα, *Adversus Judaeos [orationes 1–8]*, PG.48.872.5), not of ἡμέρα τῆς κυριακῆς. Cf. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *In Psalmum 118 (homiliae 1–3)*, PG.55.696.75–76: ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς θείας ἀναγνώσεως, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς τῆς ἀγίας κυριακῆς ἡμέραις.

Once again, we come upon the spurious work that I have surmised to be Cassian's, which different editors have attributed to different authors. Pseudo-Theodoret, *QetR*, p. 118 (the same text in Pseudo-Justin, *QetR*, p. 468) (Irenaeus, *Fragmenta Deperditorum Operum*, Fr. 7): καὶ περὶ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, ἐν ᾗ οὐ κλίνομεν γόνυ, ἐπειδὴ ἰσοδυναμεῖ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κυριακῆς.

39. ἀναγγελοῦμεν ὑμῖν. According to Photius, this is the end of the 'third discourse', which was addressed to Leontius, too, and this is the point where Photius' reading and review ends. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 197, p. 161b: Οἷς καὶ ὁ τρίτος συμπληροῦται λόγος, ἐπαγγελλομένου διαλαβεῖν τοῦ Σερήνου ἐν καιρῷ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἡρωτημένου, ὅπερ ἦν "Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλῃ, πρὸς αἶμα καὶ σάρκα" καὶ ἐξῆς. Λεόντιος δ' ἦν ὄνομα ᾧ τοῦτ' τὸ τρίτον λόγιον προσεφωνήθη. This means that Photius read 'the Book of Cassian's' as we have it in Codex

573, except for the final treatise, namely, the second contribution by Serenus (*De Panareto*, Cod. pp. 100^v–118^v). The first discourse is the tract on the rules governing monasteries in Egypt and the East; the second discourse is about the eight dispositions to evil (Photius, op. cit. p. 161a); the third is the tract *On Discretion* (p. 161^r), followed by the teaching entitled ‘first contribution by abba Serenus’. See full text of Photius’ review, with an English translation, in *RCR*, Appendix I.

CONTRIBUTION BY ABBA SERENUS
ON THE PANARETUS WISDOM

† ΣΥΝΕΙΣΦΟΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΒΒΑ ΣΕΡ(Η)ΝΟΥ
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΝΑΡΕΤΟΥ¹

Πληρωθ(ει)σών τών ἡμερῶν τῆς Τεσσαρακοστῆς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ Κυριακῇ,² τῆς συνάξεως ἀπολυσάσης ἐπανήλθαμεν μετὰ τοῦ ἀγίου γέροντος εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ ξενίαν καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς ἀγάπης προέθηκεν ἡμῖν μεταλαβεῖν τῆς εὐλογίας, παρά- 5 κλησιν ποιήσας καὶ ἐπιρράνας³ ἐπὶ τῷ ὕδατι τῆς ἄλμης ραν(ίδα) τοῦ ἐλαίου, ὃ καὶ ἔθος ἐστὶν τοῖς πατράσιν, οὐ διὰ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἐπιρραίνειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν δαίμονα τῆς κενοδοξίας. Παρέθ(η)κεν δὲ ἐκάστῳ καὶ πρὸς ἑ ἐλαίας καὶ πρὸς δύο μυξά(ρ)ια⁴ καὶ πρὸς ἕν ισχάδ(ιο)ν,⁵ ὃ ἐστὶν κανονικὸν μέτρον πᾶσιν πατρά- 10 σιν καὶ ὁ τοῦτο παραβ(αί)ν(ω)ν κ(αί) γε ἀναμφιβόλως μεμπτέ(ο)ς ἐστίν. | Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μετάλ(η)ψιν τῆς εὐλογίας καὶ τὴν συνήθη εὐχαριστεῖαν, ὁ ἅγιος γέρ(ω)ν ἔφη πρὸς ἡμᾶς· νῦν προτείνατε εὐκ(αί)ρως τὴν ἐρώτησιν ὑμῶν, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸ κατὰ δύνάμιν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι πληρ(ο)φορήσωμεν τὴν ἀγάπην ὑμῶν.⁶

Ὁ Γερμαν(ὸ)ς εἶπεν:

Παρακαλοῦμεν μαθεῖν πόθεν (ῆ) τοιαύτη ποικ(ι)λία τῶν ἀντικειμένων ἐξου- 15 σιών τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἡ διαφορὰ αὐτῶν πόθεν προήλθεν, ἣν καὶ ἐξαριθμ(εῖ)ται ὁ ἅγιος Παῦλος λέγων· οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλ(η) πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας,^a καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Καὶ πάλιν, οὕτε ἄγγελοι οὕτε ἀρχαὶ οὕτε

1 ΣΕΡ(Η)ΝΟΥ Cod. Σερίνου 3 Πληρωθ(ει)σών Cod. πληρωθησών 6 ραν(ίδα) Cod. ράν 8 Παρέθ(η)κεν Cod. παρέθικεν 9 μυξά(ρ)ια Cod. μυξάσια, which is a nonexistent word 10 παραβ(αί)ν(ω)ν Cod. παραβένον 10 κ(αί) Cod. κέ 10 μεμπτέ(ο)ς Cod. μεμπτέωσ 11 μετάλ(η)ψιν Cod. μετάλιψιν 11 γέρ(ω)ν Cod. γέρον 12 εὐκ(αί)ρως Cod. εὐκέρωσ 13 πληρ(ο)φορήσωμεν Cod. πληρωφορήσωμεν 14 Γερμαν(ὸ)ς Cod. Γερμανῶς 15 ποικ(ι)λία Cod. ποικηλία 16 ἐξαριθμ(εῖ)ται Cod. ἐξαριθμήται 17 πάλ(η) Cod. πάλι

^a Eph. 6:12.

When the period of the Forty-Day term [before Easter] was complete, which was on [palm] Sunday, and the congregation had been dismissed, we returned along with the old man to his cell. According to the custom of charitable hospitality, he offered us to partake of the repast as a blessing. He recited an entreaty and poured a drop of oil into the salty water, the pouring of which is a custom among the fathers to perform, not for the purpose of receiving any enjoyment from the taste of it, but in order to repel the daemon of vainglory. He then set before each one [of us] five olives and two onions and a small dried fig,²⁷³ which is the normal quantity of meal among the fathers and anyone who exceeded this amount of food was reprehensible. | After we had partaken of this offering of blessing, and the usual prayer of thanksgiving had been recited, the saintly old man said to us: Now is the proper time for you to state your question, so that we may advise your love to the extent we are able to do so by God's grace.

Germanus said:

We entreat you [to advise us] about the origin of such a variety of powers which are adversary to men. What is the source of this difference, which also Saint Paul recounts saying, *For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers*²⁷⁴ and the rest? And again:

²⁷³ Gibbon was informed about this, which he calls 'the small dried fish of the Nile'. His remarks are interesting and learned: "The fervor of new monasteries was insensibly relaxed; and the voracious appetite of the Gauls could not imitate the patient and temperate virtue of the Egyptians. The disciples of Anthony and Pachomius were satisfied with their daily pittance, of twelve ounces of bread, or rather biscuit, which they divided into two frugal repasts, of the afternoon and of the evening. It was esteemed a merit, and almost a duty, to abstain from the boiled vegetables which were provided for the refectory; but the extraordinary bounty of the abbot sometimes indulged them with the luxury of cheese, fruit, salad, and the small dried fish of the Nile. A more ample latitude of sea and river fish was gradually allowed or assumed; but the use of flesh was long confined to the sick or travelers; and when it gradually prevailed in the less rigid monasteries of Europe, a singular distinction was introduced; as if birds, whether wild or domestic, had been less profane than the grosser animals of the field". Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, edited with Introduction, notes and appendices by J.B. Bury, (7 vols.), vol. 4, p. 73.

²⁷⁴ Eph. 6:12.

102^f δυνάμεις οὔτε τις κτ(ί)σις ἐτέρα δυνήσεται ἡμᾶς χωρ(ί)σαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ
θεοῦ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.^a Πόθεν οὖν τοσαῦτα κακία ἡμῖν |
φθονηραὶ καὶ ἐξουσαὶ ἐναντία ἀνεφύησαν κατὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἵνα βαθμοῖς καὶ
τάξεσιν κατ' αὐτοῦ στρατεύ(ω)νται;

Ὁ Σερήνος εἶπεν:

5

Ὁ πλατυσμός τῶν θείων γραφῶν⁷ παραδείσῳ ἔοικεν διαφόροις δένδροις
καρποφόροις κεκοσμημένῳ· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὰ τὰ ἐγκείμενα ἄρρητα τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ
τρέφει καθολικῶς τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔξ(ι)ν. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτάρτυτά⁸ εἰσιν διὰ
φανερὰς φράσεως, ὥς τὸ ἄκουε Ἰσραὴλ· κύριος ὁ Θεός σου κύριος εἷς ἐστίν,^b καὶ τὰ
ἐξῆς· καὶ τὸ ἀγαπήσ(ε)ις κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου,^c καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.^d Τινὰ δὲ ἀλληγορίας
χρήζοντα, ὥσπερ πύργος, εἰς ὁμαλισμὸν φράσεως,⁹ ὥς τὸ ἔσ(τωσαν) αἱ ὁσφύες
ὑμῶν περιεζωσμένοι καὶ οἱ λύχνοι καιόμενοι^e καὶ ὁ μὴ ἔχων ξίφος πωλ(ή)σει
10 τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀγ(ο)ράσει ἑαυτῷ ξίφος^f καὶ ὁ μὴ λαμβάνων τὸν σταυρόν
αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθῶν με | οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος.^g Τινὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐκατέραν¹⁰
102^v (ἐκ)δοχὴν, λέγω δὴ ἱστορικὴν καὶ ἀλληγορικὴν, ὥς τὸ εἴ τις σε πατάξει εἰς τὴν
δεξιὰν σιαγ(ό)να, παράθες αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην^h καὶ πάλιν· ὅταν διώκ(ω)σιν ὑμᾶς
εἰς τὴν πόλιν ταύτην, φεύγε(ε) εἰς τὴν ἄλληνⁱ καὶ πάλιν· ἐὰν θέλῃς τέλειος εἶναι,
ἄπελθε, πώλησον πάντα ὅσα ἔχεις καὶ δὸς πτωχοῖς καὶ ἔξ(ει)ς θησαυρόν ἐν οὐρανοῖς
καὶ δεῦρ(ο) ἀκολουθ(εῖ) μοι.^j

10

15

Διὰ τῶν θεωριῶν οὖν τούτων τρέφει ὁ Θεὸς τὰς ἔξεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὴν
20 ν(η)πιώδη λέγω,¹¹ καὶ τὴν πρακτικὴν καὶ τὴν γνωστικὴν,¹² καθὼς γέγραπτ(αι)·
ἀνθρώπους καὶ κτ(ή)νην σώσ(ει)ς κύριε.^k

20

1 κτ(ί)σις Cod. κτήσις 1 χωρ(ί)σαι Cod. χωρήσαι 4 στρατεύ(ω)νται; Cod. στρατεύονται
8 ἔξ(ι)ν Cod. ἔξην 10 ἀγαπήσ(ε)ις Cod. ἀγαπήσις 11 ἔσ(τωσαν) Cod. ἔσονται
12 πωλ(ή)σει Cod. πωλίσει 13 ἀγ(ο)ράσει Cod. ἀγωράσει 14 ἀκολουθῶν με Cod.
ἀκολουθῶμεν 15 (ἐκ)δοχὴν Cod. ὑποδοχὴν 16 σιαγ(ό)να Cod. σιαγῶνα 16 διώκ(ω)σιν
Cod. διώκουσιν 17 φεύγε(ε) Cod. φεύγεται 18 ἔξ(ει)ς Cod. ἔξῃς 19 δεῦρ(ο) Cod. δεῦρω
19 ἀκολουθ(εῖ) Cod. ἀκολουθεῖ 21 ν(η)πιώδη Cod. νιπιώδη 21 γέγραπτ(αι) Cod. γέγραπτε
22 κτ(ή)νη Cod. κτίνη 22 σώσ(ει)ς Cod. σώσησ

^a Rom. 8:38–39. ^b Deut. 6:4: κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν κύριος εἷς ἐστίν. ^c Deut. 6:5. Cf. 11:3; Matt. 22:37; Mark 12:30; Luke 10:27. ^d In fact Cassian quotes from Mark 12:29, where both Deuteronomic sayings (6:4–5) are quoted by Jesus. ^e Luke 12:35. ^f Luke 22:36: ὁ μὴ ἔχων πωλησάτω τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀγορασάτω μάχαιραν. ^g Matt. 10:38: καὶ ὅς οὐ λαμβάνει τὸν σταυρόν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ ὀπίσω μου, οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος. ^h Cf. Matt. 5:39: ὅστις σε βαπτίζει εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγῶνα, στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην. Luke 6:29: τῷ τύποντί σε ἐπὶ τὴν σιαγῶνα πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην. ⁱ Matt. 10:23. ^j Matt. 19:21. Cf. Mark 10:21; Luke 18:22. ^k Psalm 35:7.

*Neither angels, nor principalities, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.*²⁷⁵ Whence

102^v is it then that so many vices that are envious of us | and adversary powers arise against man, so that they assault him while they are arranged in orders and ranks?

Serenus said:

The exegesis of the holy scriptures²⁷⁶ is like a paradise decorated with sundry fruit-bearing trees. For indeed the ideas that lie hidden behind the explicit pronouncements in the divine Scripture nourish the entire ethos of men. Some of them are expressed plainly by means of an explicit phrase, such as, *Hear, O Israel: The Lord your God is one Lord*,²⁷⁷ and the rest. So is the [phrase], *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God*,²⁷⁸ and the rest. Other [expressions] stand out, as if they were towers [within the text], therefore they need a proper adjustment of the phrase, such as [the saying], *Let your loins be girded about, and your lights burning*,²⁷⁹ as well as [the passage], *He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one*,²⁸⁰ and *He that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, | he is not worthy of me*.²⁸¹ Other passages are susceptible of either interpretation, namely, both historical and allegorical one, such as the [passage], *But whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also*.²⁸² Likewise, *But when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another*,²⁸³ and in like manner, *If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come and follow me*.²⁸⁴

By means of this contemplation, God nourishes the established habit of men, namely the babyish, the practical, and the cognitive one,²⁸⁵ as it is written, *O Lord, thou preservest men and beasts*.²⁸⁶

²⁷⁵ Rom. 8:38–39.

²⁷⁶ ὁ πλατυσμὸς τῶν θείων γραφῶν. See endnote 7 (pp. 347–348) to the Greek text. The Latin has no inkling of this significant expression. Collationes, XIII.3, PL.49.722A: Divinarum Scripturarum auctoritas.

²⁷⁷ Deut. 6:4: κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν κύριος εἷς ἐστίν. Cf. the same quotation with ‘your’ (σου) instead of ‘our’ God (ἡμῶν) *infra*, Cod. p. 114.

²⁷⁸ Deut. 6:5. Cf. 11:1; Matt. 22:37; Mark 12:30; Luke 10:27.

²⁷⁹ Luke 12:35.

²⁸⁰ Luke 22:36.

²⁸¹ Matt. 10:38.

²⁸² Cf. Matt. 5:39.

²⁸³ Matt. 10:23.

²⁸⁴ Matt. 19:21. Cf. Mark 10:21; Luke 18:22.

²⁸⁵ On this classification, see endnote 12 (pp. 351–353) to the Greek text.

²⁸⁶ Psalm 35:7.

Διόπερ, περὶ τῶν προτάσεων ὑμῶν, ἡμεῖς μὲν θαρσάλεως οὐ δυνάμεθα ὀρί-
 103^f σαι καὶ τολμηροὶ νομισθῆναι. Πλήν, διὰ τὴν ἀπροσεξίαν τῶν πολλῶν, συγκερά-
 σαι ὀφείλομεν τὴν φράσιν τῶν θείων γραφῶν | περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐρωτήσεως
 ὑμῶν, ἵνα ἀβλαβὴς πίστις καὶ ἀνοικοδομὴ γένηται τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, μηδενὸς ἀμ-
 φιβιάλλοντος περὶ τῶν δύο χαρακτήρων τῶν θείων γραφῶν, λέγω δὴ τύπου καὶ 5
 ἀλ(η)θείας, τοῦ πληρουμένου κατὰ τὸν τύπον τὸν εἰρημένον ἐν τῷ θείῳ εὐαγ-
 γελίῳ, ὅτι ὁ Ἰωάννης ἦλθεν ἐν πνεύματι Ἑλίου^a καὶ πάλιν· τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς
 ἐρημώσεως ἔστω ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ,^b ὃ ἐστὶν τὸ ξόανον τοῦ Διὸς ἐν τῷ ναφῷ τῶν
 Ἰουδαίων,¹³ ὃ καὶ μέλλει στ(ή)κειν ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ ἀντιχρ(ι)στου ἐν τῇ ἐκ-
 κλησίᾳ.^c Οὐ γὰρ ἀντιστ(ή)κει ὁ τύπος τῇ ἀλ(η)θείᾳ· μάλλον δὲ καὶ μαρτυρεῖ.¹⁴ 10
 Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡ πρὸ πάντων ζήτησις, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάνυ φαίνεται συνεχῶς μεταξὺ
 ἀνθρώπων γυμνασθεῖσα, ἀλλ' ὅμως χρὴ ἡμᾶς τὴν περὶ ταύτης ἀπόφασιν συγκε-
 103^v ράσαι καὶ πιστοποιῆσαι διὰ τῆς τῶν θείων | γραφῶν μαρτυρίας.

Μὴ γένοιτο οὖν ἵνα τὸν Θεὸν ὁμολογήσωμέν ποτε δημιουργήσαντά τι καθ'
 ὑπόστασιν κακόν.¹⁵ Λέγει γὰρ ἡ θεία γραφή· καὶ ἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς πάντα ὅσα ἐποίη- 15
 σεν καὶ ἰδοὺ καλὰ λίαν.^d Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τοιαῦται πονηραὶ (ἐξ)ουσίαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ
 (ἐ)γεγ(ό)νασιν κατὰ φύσιν κακαί, αὐτῷ (ᾧ) ἐπεγράφη καὶ ἡ πονηρία τῆς προ-
 αιρέσεως αὐτῶν· ἥτις πονηρία οὐ κατὰ φύσιν ἐκτισται ἐν αὐταῖς, ἀλλὰ αὐταὶ
 ἐφηῦραν παραβ(ῆ)ναι τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ.^e Καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν ὅρον παρὰ
 τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων μεμαθήκαμεν, πρὸ τῆς κτίσεως ταύτης τῆς ὁρατῆς τὸν Θεὸν 20
 πιστεύομεν πνευματικὰς καὶ οὐρανίους δυνάμεις πεποιηκέναι. Αἱ δ' αὖται ἅγιοι
 δυνάμεις θε(ω)ροῦσαι ἑαυτὰς χάριν δεξαμένας παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ ἐκ μηδενὸς
 104^f κτ(ι)σαντος αὐτάς, εὐχαριστη|ρίους ὕμνους ἀν(έ)πεμπ(ο)ν αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸ κατα-
 βολῆς τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου. Οὐ γὰρ νομιστέον τὸν Θεὸν ἀνενέργητον εἶναι ποτέ·¹⁶
 εἶπεν γὰρ ὁ Κύριος ὅτι ὁ πατήρ μου ἀεὶ ἐργάζεται καὶ ἐγὼ ἐργάζ(ο)μαι.^f Ὁ ἅγιος οὖν 25
 Πατὴρ διὰ τοῦ ἐνδόξου αὐτοῦ Λόγου τὰς ἀγίας δυνάμεις ἐδημιούργησεν, κατὰ

1–2 ὀρίσαι Cod. ὀρεῖσαι 6 ἀλ(η)θείας Cod. ἀλιθείας 9 στ(ή)κειν Cod. στίκειν
 9 ἀντιχρ(ι)στου Cod. ἀντιχρήστου 10 ἀντιστ(ή)κει Cod. ἀντιστίζει 10 ἀλ(η)θεία Cod.
 ἀλιθεία 16 (ἐξ)ουσίαι Cod. αἰξουσῖαι 17 (ἐ)γεγ(ό)νασιν Cod. γεγώνασιν 19 παραβ(ῆ)ναι
 Cod. παραβινήσαι. Cf. *infra*: Cod. p. 106^v: τῷ τοιοῦτῳ διαβόλῳ καὶ παραβάτῃ 22 θε(ω)ροῦσαι
 Cod. θεοροῦσαι 23 κτ(ι)σαντος Cod. κτήσαντος 23 ἀν(έ)πεμπ(ο)ν Cod. ἀναπέμπων
 25 ἀεὶ There is no manuscript-tradition rendering this saying with ἀεὶ. The scriptural
 expression is ἕως ἄρτι. Gregory of Nyssa has the expression εἰ δὲ ἀεὶ ἐργάζεται ὁ πατήρ,
 χωρὶς τοῦ υἱοῦ οὐδὲν εἰργασταί (*Adversus Arium et Sabellium de Patre et Filio*, v. 3.1, p. 75),
 but the expression ἀεὶ ἐργάζεται ὁ πατήρ in Gregory is not a quotation. Besides, a few lines
 further, Gregory quotes the scriptural expression of John 5:17 accurately. Op. cit. p. 76
 25 ἐργάζ(ο)μαι Cod. ἐργάζωμαι

^a Luke 1:17. ^b Daniel 9:27; 11:31; 12:11. ¹ Macc. 1:54. Matt. 24:15; Mark 13:14. ^c Cf. 2 Thess. 2:3–4.

^d Gen. 1:31. ^e Cf. 4 Macc. 13:15; 16:24. Matt. 15:3. ^f John 5:17.

103^f With regard to your propositions, therefore, we are unable to provide confident definitions, which might represent us as being audacious. Nevertheless, owing to the carelessness of the multitude, it is incumbent upon us to harmonize the words of the holy scriptures | in regard to your question, so that both, no harm will be caused to the faith and those who listen will be properly edified, since no one doubts that the divine scriptures have a twofold character, namely, *typos* and truth. *Typos* is fulfilled through sayings found in the divine gospel, [such as] that John came *in the spirit of Elias*,²⁸⁷ and again, *the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place*,²⁸⁸ that is, the statue of Zeus standing in the temple of the Jews, which will also stand in the Church upon the coming of the Antichrist. For *typos* does not contradict truth: rather it testifies [to truth]. Therefore, since the main question which we seek to inquire does not seem to have been sufficiently explored among men, we ought to form our own resolution in harmony with the testimonies of the divine | scriptures and to establish its soundness by means of them.

104^f God forbid that we should admit that God has created anything which is evil in essence. For the divine Scripture says, *And God saw every thing that he made was very good*.²⁸⁹ For if such sinister powers were created by God evil by nature, then the wickedness of their free will should be attributed to him. This wickedness has not been implanted in them by nature, but it is they who resolved to *transgress the commandment of God*.²⁹⁰ For indeed we have learned this tenet from the saintly elders: God created spiritual and heavenly powers before he made this visible creation. Those saintly powers used to offer thanksgiving hymns to him before the creation of this world, | seeing that they had received the grace of God, who had created them out of nothing. For we ought not believe that there was a time when God was idle, since the Lord said, *My Father always worketh hitherto, and I work*.²⁹¹ Therefore, the saintly Father created the holy powers through his glorious Logos, according to the dictum by

²⁸⁷ Luke 1:17.

²⁸⁸ Daniel 9:27; 11:31; 12:11. 1 Macc. 1:54. Matt. 24:15; Mark 13:14.

²⁸⁹ Gen. 1:31.

²⁹⁰ Cf. 4 Macc. 13:15; 16:24. Matt. 15:3.

²⁹¹ John 5:17.

τὸ ρητὸν τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὸ λέγ(ο)ν, ὅτι ἐν Χριστῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα, τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα,^a καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

Περὶ τούτων τοίνυν τὸν ἀριθμὸν, τινὰς ἄρχοντας ἢ θεία γραφὴ ἐκδιδάσκει ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ Ἰεζεκιήλ, τοῦ Κυρίου λέγοντος πρὸς αὐτόν· υἱέ ἀνθρώπου, ὕψωσον θρήνον ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα Τύρου καὶ ἐρεῖς αὐτῷ· τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ Θεός σου· σφραγίς 5
 ὁμοιώματος πλήρης σοφίας τελει(δ)ητος τῇ εὐπρεπείᾳ, εἰς τρυφὴν παραδείσου Θεοῦ γέγ(ο)νας | πᾶς λίθος τίμιος κάλυμμά σου, σάρδιος, τοπάζιον καὶ (ἰ)ασπις, 104^v
 χρυσόλιθος καὶ βηρύλλιος καὶ ὄνυχιτης, σάπφ(ε)ιρος καὶ ἄνθραξ καὶ σμάραγδος καὶ χρυσὸς ἔργον τῆς εὐπρεπείας σου, καὶ αἱ τρυφαί σου ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ ἐκτίσθης 10
 (ἡ)ὐτρεπίσθησάν σοι. Χεροῦβ ἐκταθεῖς καὶ σκεπάζων καὶ τέθ(ει)κά σε εἰς ὄρος ἅγιον τοῦ Θεοῦ. Εἰς μέσ(ο)ν λίθων πεπυρωμένων περιεπάτησας τέλειος ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς σου ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεώς σου, ἕως οὗ εὐρέθῃ ἀδικία ἐν σοί. Εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τῆς 15
 πραγματ(ε)ίας σου ἐπληρώθησαν τὰ ἐνδόσθιά σου ἀδικίας καὶ ἡμαρτες καὶ ἐξέβαλά σ(ε) ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Θεοῦ. Καὶ ἀπώλεσά σε τὸ Χεροῦβ σκεπάζ(ο)ν ἐν μέσῳ λίθων 105^f
 πεπυρωμένων. Ὑψώθῃ ἡ καρδιά σου ἐν τῇ εὐπρεπείᾳ σου, ἀπώλεσας τὴν σοφίαν σου ἀπὸ τῆς εὐπρεπείας σου· | (ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἔρριψά σε, εἰς πρό)σῳπον τῶν βασιλέων 15
 ἔδωκά σε, ἵνα ἴδωσίν σε ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν πονηριῶν σου καὶ τῆς ἀδικίας τῆς πραγματ(ε)ίας σου. Ἐμόλυνας τὴν ἀγιωσύνην σου.^b

Ὁ δὲ Ἡσαΐας περὶ τοῦ διαβόλου λέγει· πῶς ἔπρασας ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὁ ἕως φόρος, 20
 ὁ πρωτὶ ἀνατέλλων; πέπτωκας εἰς τὴν γῆν ὁ τραυματίζων τὰ ἔθνη, ὁ λέγων ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ, ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἀναβήσ(ο)μαι, ἐπάνω τῶν ἄστρων τοῦ Θεοῦ θήσω τὸν

1 λέγ(ο)ν Cod. λέγων 1 Χριστῷ Cod. χῶ, which is a *nominum sacrum* for Χριστῷ. The current scriptural expression is ἐν αὐτῷ, to which Nestle-Aland consider no alternative. However, they should. There is a manuscript tradition, which can be identified through the works of Didymus and Severianus of Gabala, with Cassian at this point adding himself to the list. The following points allow for no doubt that they quote a certain version of the scriptural text. Didymus, *comPs* 29–34, Cod. p. 140: “ἐν Χριστῷ”, φησίν, “ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα, εἴτε ἀρχαί εἴτε ἐξουσίαι· πάντα δι’ αὐτοῦ ἔστιν· καὶ αὐτὸς ἔστιν πρὸ πάντων καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκεν”. Likewise, *In Genesim*, Cod. p. 2A. Severianus of Gabala, *In Illud: Quando Ipsi Subiciet Omnia*, p. 162: “Ὁ Παῦλος πάλιν μερίζων τὰ ἀόρατα ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρωμένων λέγει πῶς διδάσκων· “Ὅτι ἐν Χριστῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα τὰ τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὰ τε ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα, καὶ εὐθέως ἀριθμεῖται τὰ ἀόρατα λέγων· Εἴτε θρόνοι, εἴτε ἀρχαί, εἴτε ἐξουσίαι, εἴτε κυριότητες. So the Latin goes. *Collationes*, VIII, PL.49.732B: quia in Christo creata sunt omnia 4 ὕψωσον Cod. ὕψωσον, which is a literary rendering of the Hebrew text. LXX: λαβέ 6 τελει(δ)ητος Cod. τελειώτητος 7 γέγ(ο)νας Cod. γέγωνας 7 (ἰ)ασπις Cod. ἡ ἀσπις 8 σάπφ(ε)ιρος Cod. σάπφειρος 10 (ἡ)ὐτρεπίσθησάν Cod. εὐτρεπίσθησαν 10 τέθ(ει)κά Cod. τέθηκά 11 μέσ(ο)ν Cod. μέσων 13 πραγματ(ε)ίας Cod. πραγματίας 13 ἐνδόσθια A colloquialism used as an alternative for ἐντόσθια, which appeared for the first time in LXX 13–14 ἐξέβαλά σ(ε) Cod. ἐξέβαλας 14 σκεπάζ(ο)ν Cod. σκεπάζων 15–16 ἀπώλεσας τὴν ... εὐπρεπείας σου Cod. ἀπώλεσας τὴν σοφίαν σου ἀπὸ τῆς εὐπρεπείας σου· |[105^f] ἀπώλεσας τὴν σοφίαν σου 18 πραγματ(ε)ίας Cod. πραγματίας 21 ἀναβήσ(ο)μαι Cod. ἀναβήσωμαι

^a Col. 1:16. ^b Cf. Ezekiel 28:12–18, paraphrased at points.

the apostle saying, *For in Christ were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible,*²⁹² and the rest.

Concerning the number of them, the divine Scripture advises us about certain rulers in the book of Ezekiel, where the Lord says to him: *Son of man, take up a lamentation upon the king of Tyrus, and say unto him, Thus saith the Lord God; Thou saealest up the sum, full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty. Thou hast been in enjoyment of the paradise of God | every precious stone was thy covering, the sardius, the topaz, and jasper, chrysolite and the beryl and the onyx, the sapphire and the carbuncle, and the emerald and gold: the workmanship of thy beauty and your delight were prepared in thee in the day that thou wast created. Thou art anointed cherub that covereth; and I have set thee upon the holy mountain of God. Thou hast walketh in the midst of the stones of fire. Thou wast perfect in thy ways from the day that thou wast created, till iniquity was found in thee. By the multitude of thy merchandise they have filled the midst of thee with iniquity and thou hast sinned and I cast thee out of the mountain of God. And I destroyed thee, O covering cherub, from the midst of the stones of fire. Thine heart was lifted up because of thy beauty, thou hast corrupted thy wisdom by reason of thine beauty, | I cast thee to the ground, I laid thee before kings, that they may see thee in the multitude of thine iniquity and the wickedness of thine merchandise. Thou has defiled thine holiness.*²⁹³

Isaiah also says this about the devil: *How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, who rise in the morning? You are cast down to the ground, who didst wound the nations, who hast said in thine heart, I will exalt my throne above*

²⁹² Col. 1:16.

²⁹³ Cf. Ezechiel 28:12–18.

- θρόνον μου, καθιούμαι ἐν ὄρει τῆς διαθήκης ἐν τοῖς πλευροῖς τοῦ βορρά, ἀναβήσομαι ἐπὶ τ(ὸ) ὑψώμα τῶν νεφελῶν, ἔσ(ο)μαι ὅμοιος τῷ Ὑψίστῳ.^a "Ὅντινα οὐ μόνον ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς μακαρίας στάσεως πεπτωκέναι ἢ γραφῇ μνημονεύει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ
105^v τρίτον μέρος τῶν ἄστρων τὸν δράκοντα ἐκείνον μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ | ὁμοῦ ἐλκύσαντα.^b
Εἷς γὰρ τῶν ἀποστόλων λέγει· ἀγγέλους δὲ τοὺς μὴ φυλάξαντας τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρ- 5
χήν, ἀλλ' ἐγκαταλείψαντας τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον, εἰς κρ(ί)σιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας δεσμοῖς
αἰωνίοις ἐκέλευσεν κολαζομένους τ(η)ρεῖν.^c "Ἐτι δὲ κάκειν(ο), ὅπερ πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέ-
γεται· ὑμεῖς δὲ ὡς ἄνθρωποι ἀποθνήσκει(ε) καὶ ὡς εἷς τῶν ἀρχόντων πίπτει(ε).^d
Τί δὲ ἄλλ(ο) τοῦτο σημαίνει, εἰ μὴ ὅτι πολλοὺς ἀρχοντας καὶ διαφόρους πεπτω-
κέναι σημαίνει, οἵτινες καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν πονηρίᾳ φυσικῶς τὰς ἀξίας ἔχουσιν 10
βιοφοροῦντες^e ἀλλήλους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπίστους ἀνθρώπους, τοὺς χλευαζο-
μένους ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπάτης αὐτῶν;
'Ο Γερμαν(ὸ)ς εἶπεν:
'Ἡμεῖς μὲν διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιστεύσαμεν τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς πτώσεως,
106^r ἥτοι παραβάσεως τῆς διαβολικῆς, γεγονέναι | στάσεως διὰ τὸ ἰδικῶς φθονῆσαι 15
τῷ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῇ Εὕᾳ καὶ τούτους ἐξαπατήσαι.
'Ο Σερήνος εἶπεν:
"Ὅτι περ οὐκ ἔστιν αὕτη τῆς παραβάσεως ἐκείνης ἥτοι πτώσεως ἢ ἀρχή,
ἢ Γένεσις σαφῶς δηλοῖ ἐν τῷ ὀνομάζειν τὸν ἀπατ(ε)ῶνα ὀνόματι ἐφυβρίστω,
λέγω δὴ τοῦ ὄφews· λέγει γάρ· ὁ δὲ ὄφεις ἦν φρον(ι)μώτατος πάντων τῶν θηρίων 20
τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅπερ ὁ Ἑβραῖος ἐκδίδωσι,¹⁸ ὁ δὲ ὄφεις ἦν σκληρ(ὸ)τερος πάντων
τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.^e Συνήκατε οὖν ὅτι περ πρὸ ἐκείνης τῆς ἀπάτης τοῦ
πρώτου ἀνθρώπου ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγγελικῆς ἀνακεχωρ(ή)κει ἀγίωσύνης. Οὕτως δὲ
ἦν ἐκπεσὼν ὥστε καὶ τοιοῦτου ἐφυβρίστω ὀνόματος καταξιοθῆναι. Οὕτε γὰρ
ἡρμοξε τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ὄφews τ(ῷ) ὀνόματι τοῦ Γαβριήλ καὶ Μιχαήλ, ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ 25
106^v τοιοῦτῳ διαβόλῳ καὶ παραβάτῃ. | "Ὅθεν καὶ ὁ δημιουργός, μετὰ τὴν παράβασιν
τὴν ἀπόφασιν διδοὺς τῇ γυναικί, ἐπωφελῇ ἔχθραν ὠριζεν μεταξὺ αὐτῆς καὶ
τοῦ ἐπιβούλου ὄφews καὶ τοῦ σπέρματος ἐκείνου, τοῦ μηκέτι θαρρεῖν ταῖς

2 τ(ὸ) Cod. τῷ 2 ἔσ(ο)μαι Cod. ἔσωμαι 3–4 τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῶν ἄστρων This means that Cassian treats the Book of Revelation as a canonical book, which is why 'the Book of Cassian' contains the *Scholia in Apocalypsin* 6 κρ(ί)σιν Cod. κρήσιν 7 τ(η)ρεῖν Cod. τιρεῖν 7 κάκειν(ο) Cod. κάκεινω 8 ἀποθνήσκει(ε) Cod. ἀποθνήσκειται 8 πίπτει(ε) Cod. πίπτεται 9 ἄλλ(ο) Cod. ἄλλω 13 Γερμαν(ὸ)ς Cod. Γερμανῶς 19 ἀπατ(ε)ῶνα Cod. ἀπαταιῶνα 20 φρον(ι)μώτατος Cod. φρονημώτατος. Cassian uses the LXX, Gen. 3:1 21 σκληρ(ὸ)τερος Cod. σκληρώτερος 23 ἀνακεχωρ(ή)κει Cod. ἀνακεχωρίζει 25 τ(ῷ) Cod. τὸ

^a Isaiah 14:12–14. ^b Rev. 12:4. Cassian makes the selfsame point by means of the same instances in *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XXXVIII. ^c Jude 6, paraphrased. ^d Psalm 81:7. ^e Gen. 3:1.

*the stars of God; I will sit upon the mount of the covenant in the sides of the north; I will ascend above the sides of the clouds; I will be like the most High.*²⁹⁴

The Holy Scripture relates that not only has he fallen from that blessed standing, but also this dragon dragged down together with himself *the third part of the stars.*²⁹⁵ | One of the Apostles too says: *And the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath commanded to be reserved in everlasting chains, unto the judgement of the great day.*²⁹⁶ *But ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes.*²⁹⁷ What could this possibly mean other than bespeaking that there are many and various rulers that have fallen? And although they live in their own wickedness, still they bear the titles which they possessed by nature [in their former rank], while they cause distress to each other, as they do to the unfaithful people, who are mocked by their deceit.

Germanus said:

In respect of this question and the commencement of the fall, which was diabolical transgression, up until now we used to believe that the revolt took place | because [the devil] was particularly envious of Adam and Eve and deceived them.

Serenus said:

That it was not that [incident] which was the beginning of that transgression, or fall, is clearly declared by Genesis, which appoints for the deceiver a disdainful name, namely, snake. For it says: *And the serpent was the most wise among all the beasts of the earth.*²⁹⁸ Which the Hebrew editor renders, *And the serpent was more cruel among all the beasts of the earth.*²⁹⁹ You see then that he had departed from the angelic holiness even before he deceived the first man. And such was his fall, that he was stamped with such an ignominious name. For the title of serpent was suitable not to Gabriel and Michael, but to a devil and transgressor such as this one. | Therefore, the Creator, upon delivering his verdict to the woman after her transgression, established a beneficial enmity between her and the malevolent serpent and its seed, for the purpose of her no longer daring to

²⁹⁴ Isaiah 14:12–14. Cassian uses the Hebrew text, slightly paraphrasing this.

²⁹⁵ Rev. 12:4. Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XXXVIII.

²⁹⁶ Jude 6, paraphrased.

²⁹⁷ Cod. πίπτετα. Psalm 81:7.

²⁹⁸ Gen. 3:1.

²⁹⁹ The Latin mentions not 'the Hebrew editor' (ὁ Ἑβραῖος), but 'the Hebrew copies' (Hebraici exprimunt libri). The alternative (Hebrew) rendering is, callidior cunctis bestiis. *Collationes*, VIII.10, PL.49:737A.

ἐκείνου ὑποβολαῖς, ἐν ᾧ σαφῶς διδασκ(ό)μεθα ἵνα ἀπὸ τῶν κακῶν βουλευμάτων ἐκκλίνωμεν.¹ Ὅτι περὶ ὁ τῆς ἀπωλείας αἴτιος αἰδῖφ τιμωρίᾳ ὑπερβαλλόντως καταδικάζεται, καὶ οὐχ ὅσον ὁ ἀπατ(ώ)μενος κατὰ τὸ ὁμῖωμα τῆς Εὐας, ἣτις πόνοις κατεδικάσθη γεννᾶν, ὁ δὲ διάβολος κρ(ί)σει αἰωνία παρεδ(ό)θη.²

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν αὐτῶν πνευμάτων μανθάνομεν ὅτι οὕτως συσφίγ-
γεται ὁ ἀήρ³ τῇ π(υ)κνότητι αὐτῶν, ὥστε μεταξὺ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ἐκχύνεσθαι
107^r ἕως τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς. Κατ' οἰκονομίαν δὲ Θεοῦ ἀόρατοί εἰσιν | πρὸς τὸ
ἀκινδύνως καὶ ἀνεπηρεάστως τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζῆν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Ἐξευρί-
σκουσι γὰρ μορφάς, ἃς ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσις οὐκ ὑποφέρει ποτέ, μάλιστα τὰς
ὀργίλους καὶ θυμώδεις. Αὐτ(οί) τοίνυν <ταῖς> ἀντιπολεμήσεσιν, αἷς τοῖς ἀνθρώ-
ποισ ἐνοχλοῦσιν, ταῖς αὐταῖς καὶ ἀλλήλ(ο)ις πολεμοῦσιν τῆς αὐτῶν πονηρίας
ἐνεκα. Μανθάνομεν οὖν τοῦτο διὰ τῶν ρημάτων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαβριὴλ τῷ Δανιὴλ
λαληθέντων, ἐν τῷ λέγειν αὐτῷ· *Μὴ φοβοῦ, φησιν, Δανιήλ ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς*
ἔδωκας τὴν καρδίαν σου εἰς τὸ συνιέναι καὶ κακουχεῖσθαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἡκού-
σθησαν οἱ λόγοι τῆς προσευχῆς σου καὶ γὰρ ἦλθον διὰ τὰ ρήματά σου· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς
107^v *τῶν Περσῶν | ἀντεστάθῃ μοι εἰκοσ(ι)μίαν ἡμέραν, καὶ ἰδοὺ Μιχαὴλ εἰς τῶν ἀρχόν-*
των τῶν πρώτ(ω)ν ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν βοήθειάν μου, καὶ γὰρ ἀπέμεινα ἐκεῖσε ἐγγὺς τοῦ
βασιλέως τῶν Περσῶν. Ἦλθον οὖν διαγγεῖλαί σοι τὰ ἐπερχόμενα τῷ λαῷ σου ἐπ'
*ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν·*⁴ ὄντινα ἄρχοντα τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Περσῶν τὴν ἐναντίαν
ἐξουσίαν <ἔξεστιν> εἰπεῖν εἶναι, ἣτις συνεργεῖ τῷ πλήθει τῶν Περσῶν ἐχθραί-
νοντι τῷ λαῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐμποδίζει τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ αὐτοῦ.
Καὶ πάλιν λέγει· νῦν ἐπιστρέφω πολεμῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα Περσῶν. Ἐν τῷ γὰρ
ἔξιναι με ἐφάνη ὁ ἄρχων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐρχόμενος· ὅμως δὲ ἀναγγελῶ σοι ὅπερ
πεφανέρωται ἐν τῇ γραφῇ τῆς ἀλ(η)θείας καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν βοθηήσας μοι ἐν τούτοις
108^r εἰ μὴ Μ(ι)χαὴλ ὁ ἄρχων ὑμῶν.⁵ | Διὰ τοῦτο δὲ οὐ δύναται μεταξὺ τῶν πονηρῶν
25 ἀρχῶν ὁμόνοια εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ κρατοῦντες τῶν ἀπίστων ἐθνῶν ἀλλήλοις ἀντί-
κεινται κεκρατημένοι φθόνῳ καὶ φιλον(ε)ικία.

1 διδασκ(ό)μεθα Cod. διδασκόμεθα 3 ἀπατ(ώ)μενος Cod. ἀπατούμενος 4 κρ(ί)σει Cod. κρήσει 4 παρεδ(ό)θη Cod. παρεδῶθη 6 π(υ)κνότητι Cod. ποικνότητι 8 The expression is repeated: κατ' οἰκονομίαν δὲ Θεοῦ ἀόρατοί εἰσιν πρὸς τὸ ἀκινδύνως καὶ ἀνεπηρεάστως τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, which is subsequently deleted by means of strikethrough at this point 10 Αὐτ(οί) Cod. αὐτῶν 11 ἀλλήλ(ο)ις Cod. ἀλλήλαις 16 εἰκοσ(ι)μίαν Cod. εἰκοσημίαν 17 πρώτ(ω)ν Cod. πρώτον 23 ἐξίναι Cod. ἐξείναι 24 ἀλ(η)θείας Cod. ἀλιθείας 25 Μ(ι)χαὴλ Cod. Μηχαὴλ 27 φιλον(ε)ικία Cod. φιλονικία

^a Gen. 3:15–16.

^b Cf. Eph. 2:2.

^c Daniel 10:12–14, tr. from Hebrew.

^d Daniel 10:20–21, tr. from Hebrew.

indulge in its [viz. the serpent's] stratagems, which clearly teaches us to refrain from wicked counsels. For indeed he who caused the destruction was condemned to eternal punishment, which is not analogous to the [punishment] imposed upon the one who was deceived, which is illustrated by the person of Eve: she was condemned to bring forth children in sorrow,³⁰⁰ whereas the devil was given over to everlasting punishment.

In regard to the multitude of those spirits, we are taught that the air³⁰¹ is so filled with a thick crowd of them, that they are poured everywhere between heaven and earth, up to the [remotest] boundaries of the earth.

107^r Besides, by God's dispensation, they are invisible | so that the human race may live on earth without any danger or influence by them [stemming from their look]. For they invent countenances which human nature could never stand facing, all the more so those of them which are raging and ferocious. And it is quite clear that, due to their vileness, they direct even against each other the same attacks, with which they assault men. And this we learn very clearly from the words which Gabriel spoke to Daniel, that read thus: *Fear not, Daniel, he says; for from the first day that thou didst set thine heart to understand, and to chasten yourself before thy God, thy words of prayer have been heard and I am come for thy words. But*
 107^v *the king of the Persians withstood me | one and twenty days: but lo, Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me; and I remained there by the king of the Persians. Now I am come to make thee understand what shall befall thy people in the latter days.*³⁰² The designation 'ruler of the kingdom of Persians' should be understood as suggesting the adversary power. For this is the one that supports the crowd of Persians, which is hostile to the people of God and obstructs their freedom.

He further says: *And now I return to fight with the king of the Persians; and when I went forth, there appeared the prince of the Greeks coming. But I shall shew thee that which is noted in the scripture of truth; and there is none*
 108^r *that holdeth with me in these things, but Michael your prince.*³⁰³ | This is why there can be no harmony among evil powers. For dominant though they are among unfaithful nations, they confront each other due to envy and quarrel.

³⁰⁰ Gen. 3:15–16.

³⁰¹ Cf. Eph. 2:2.

³⁰² Daniel 10:12–14.

³⁰³ Daniel 10:20–21, tr. from Hebrew.

᾽Οτι δὲ ἀρχαὶ καὶ ἐξουσίαι ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰσιν σαφῶς ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ εὐαγγελίῳ διδασκ(ό)μεθα, βωόντων αὐτῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ περὶ τῆς προσηγορίας αὐτῶν. Τοῦ γὰρ Κυρίου λέγοντος, τί σου τὸ ὄνομα; ἀπεκρίθη, λεγεών, πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐσμεν.^a Καὶ πάλιν, οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καταψευδόμενοι τοῦ Κυρίου ἔλεγον· ἐν Βεζεβεοῦλ¹⁹ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια.^b Ὅπου γὰρ ἀρχὴ ὀνομάζεται, δηλὸν ὅτι καὶ 5

108^v (᾽Ο)τι δὲ ἄρχοντες τοῦ σκότους^c λέγονται καὶ ὁ Κύριος εἶπεν: Ἦλθεν ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου καὶ ἡῦρεν ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐδέν.^d | Ἐτι δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος, τότε παραδίδωσιν, φησὶν, τῷ Θεῷ, ὅτε κενώσκει πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐξουσίαν καὶ κυρι(ό)τητα^e ὅπερ οὐκ (ἂν) ἐλέγετο ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ, εἰ μὴ ἦσαν κατὰ ἀλ(ή)θειαν ἀρχαὶ καὶ 10 ἐξουσίαι. Πλὴν, καὶ τῆς κατὰ Θεὸν παρρησίας ἐκπεσοῦσαι, τυραννικῶς χρῶνται ταῖς ἐξουσίαις αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸν πλεονασμὸν τῆς πονηρίας αὐτῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ ἐξουσίαι καὶ κυρι(ό)τητες ὀνομάζονται. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ προσηγορία τοῦ ὀνόματος τῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ ἐξουσιῶν ἐκ τοῦ εὐαρέστου ὀνόματος ἐλήφθη,^f εὐλόγως ἐνέμεινεν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ αὐτ(ό) ὄνομα εἰς ἔλεγχον τῆς ἐκουσίου 15 πτώσεως αὐτῶν.^g Καὶ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ τὸ καθήκον μνηύειν τοὺς ἀγγέλους (οὕτω) λέγεσθαι μεμαθήκαμεν, τουτέστιν μνηυτάς, ἀρχαγγέλους δὲ ἐπειδὴ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγγέλων προϊστανται· | κυρι(ό)τητες δὲ ὅτι τῶν ἐξουσιῶν δεσπόζουσιν, θρόνοι δὲ ὅτι τῷ Θεῷ γ(ε)ιτιοῦσιν καὶ κεκόλληνται, ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς ὁ δεσπότης Θεὸς ὡς ἐν 20 θρόνοις καταθυμίως²⁰ πάντ(ο)τε θεραπεύεται ἀναπαυόμενος.

Διοικεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα ὑπὸ τῶν πονηρ(ο)τάτων ἐξουσιῶν σαφῶς μανθάν(ο)μεν, ἐν τῷ λέγειν τὸν Κύριον τοῖς ἐξ ἀριστερῶν πορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός,^h τὴν ἡτ(οι)μασμένην τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ.ⁱ Μανθάνομεν δὲ καὶ δι' ὁράσεως τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἀληθοῦς. Καὶ γὰρ συνέβ(η) 25 τινὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τόπον ἔρημον καί, διὰ τὸ μὴ φοβᾶσθαι τὴν οἰκουμένην, κατέλαβεν σπήλαιον ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ τῇ ἑσπερινῇ καὶ εἰσελθὼν

2 διδασκ(ό)μεθα Cod. διδασκώμεθα 4 Βεζεβεοῦλ Cod. Βεζεεβοῦλ 7 (᾽Ο)τι Cod. ἔτι
9 κυρι(ό)τητα Cod. κυριώτητα 10 ἀλ(ή)θειαν Cod. ἀλίθειαν 13 κυρι(ό)τητες Cod.
κυριώτητες 15 αὐτ(ό) Cod. αὐτῷ 18 κυρι(ό)τητες Cod. κυριώτητες 19 γ(ε)ιτιοῦσιν
Cod. γιτιοῦσιν 20 πάντ(ο)τε Cod. πάντωτε 21 πονηρ(ο)τάτων Cod. πονηρωτάτων
22 μανθάν(ο)μεν Cod. μανθάνωμεν 23 ἡτ(οι)μασμένην Cod. ἡτυμασμένην 24 συνέβ(η)
Cod. συνέβει

^a Mark 5:9. Cf. Luke 8:30. ^b Matt. 12:24; Mark 3:22; Luke 11:15. ^c Eph. 6:12. ^d John 14:30.
^e 1 Cor. 15:24, paraphrased. ^f Cf. Eph. 1:21; 3:10; Col. 1:16; 2:10. ^g Cf. 1 Cor. 15:24; Eph. 6:12;
Col. 2:15. ^h Matt. 5:22; 18:9; Mark 9:43. ⁱ Cf. Matt. 25:41.

Besides, we are clearly taught by the Gospel that there are principalities and powers among them, since they speak loudly to the Lord with regard to their identification. For when the Lord said, *What is thy name? he answered saying, Legion, for we are many.*³⁰⁴ Likewise, the Pharisees in their lying against the Lord said: *He casts out devils by Beelzebub the prince of the devils.*³⁰⁵ For indeed, wherever the name of *dominion* appears, it betokens that there are also those who are subordinate to this dominion.

As for those who are called *rulers of the darkness* the Lord himself declared: *The prince of this world is come and has found nothing in me.*³⁰⁶

108^v | Furthermore, the apostle says: *Then he delivers [the kingdom] to God, when he shall have annuled all principalities and powers and dominions.*³⁰⁷ This would not have been said, unless there are indeed *principalities and powers*, which though, once distanced themselves from their trust in God, use their power in this world in accordance with the excess of their vileness; hence they are called *powers* and *dominions*. And since the same appellation of the names of *principalities* and *powers* was received from the honorific designation, quite appropriately the same name was maintained in them, too, so that it should bespeak reprehension for their voluntary abasement. For indeed we have been taught that *angels* are so termed because they announce one's duty, which means that they are messengers. Others are called *archangels* since they are leaders of
109^f the same angels; | *dominions* are so titled because they rule over *powers*, whereas *thrones* [are so named because] they live in the vicinity of God and are attached to him, and the Lord God, resting on them as on a throne, is always tenderly worshiped.

Furthermore, that unclean spirits are ruled over by most evil powers, we learn from the Lord saying *unto them on the left hand* to depart to the *Gehenna of fire*,³⁰⁸ *prepared for the devil and his angels.*³⁰⁹ We also learn this from true visions of our holy fathers. As a matter of fact, it came to pass that one of our brethren made a journey to an uninhabited place.

³⁰⁴ Mark 5:9. Cf. Luke 8:30.

³⁰⁵ Matt. 12:24; Mark 3:22; Luke 11:15.

³⁰⁶ John 14:30, slightly paraphrased. Actually the scriptural portion is in Present Tense; Cassian rendered this in Past Tense, writing ἤδρεν for ἔχει.

³⁰⁷ A paraphrase of 1 Cor. 15:24.

³⁰⁸ Matt. 5:22; 18:9; Mark 9:43.

³⁰⁹ Matt. 25:41.

109^v ἔμεινε ἐκεῖσε. Μείνας δὲ ἕως μέσ(η)ς νυκτὸς καὶ ψάλας τὰς νυκτερινὰς εὐχὰς
 ἡσύχασεν | μικρὸν πρὸς τὸ ἀναπαύσαι τὸ κεκοπωμένον σῶμα. Ἀθρ(ώ)ς δὲ
 ἐπῆλθεν πλήθος δαιμόνων τῷ σπηλαίῳ, ὥστε ἐκπλαγῆναι τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἰς τὸ
 φοβερόν· πλήθος αὐτῶν· ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἀταξίᾳ αὐτῶν σχῆμα πολλῆς εὐταξίας,
 προηγούμενων καὶ ἐπομένων τῷ ἰδίῳ ἄρχοντι, ὃς ὑπῆρχεν ὑψηλ(ό)τερος πάν- 5
 των. Καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐκέλευσεν τριβουνάλιον²¹ τεθ(ῆ)ναι, ἐφ' οὗ καθήσας ἐκέλευσεν
 προσενεχθῆναι αὐτῷ ἀκολουθῶν τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους δαίμονας, οὓς καὶ τὰς
 ἀποκρ(ί)σεις ἀπαιτῶν, ἐδόξαζεν τοὺς ἐν πονηρίᾳ εὐδοκ(ι)μήσαντας, ἡτίμαζεν
 δὲ καὶ ἐβδελύσσετο τοὺς περὶ πονηρίαν ραθυμήσαντας. Ὑστερον δὲ πάντων
 προσήλθεν αὐτῷ δαίμων πονηρ(ό)τατος ἐξαγγέλων ταῦτα, ὅτι μοναχός, φησίν, 10
 110^r ἐστίν | ἐν τῷ Πηλουσίῳ, ὃ δεκαπέντε ἔτ(η) προσ(ή)δρευσα ἐνεδρεύων αὐτῷ, καὶ
 μόλις ποτὲ τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ἰσχυσα καταλαβεῖν αὐτὸν μετὰ τινος ἀγίας κόρης. Ὁ
 δὲ ἄρχων τοῦτο ἀκούσας μεγάλοις ἐπαίνοις αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο, στεφανώσας αὐτῷ
 καὶ μετὰ τιμῆς προπέμψας. Ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης, ὁ ἀδελφὸς συνελογίζετο ἐν
 ἑαυτῷ εἰ ἄρα τὸ ψευδὲς γένος τῶν δαιμόνων ἀληθεύει. Ἐκδραμὼν δὲ ἕως τοῦ 15
 Πηλουσίου εὗρεν τὸ πρᾶγμα καθὼς ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος προε(ρ)ρέθη.
 Ἐν πείρᾳ οὖν ἔχ(ο)μεν,²² ὥσπερ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγίας γραφῆς ἐμάθομεν, ὅτι περ
 ἐν τοῖς παραβάταις ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἄρχοντές εἰσιν καὶ ὑποκείμενοι, καὶ ἐξουσίαι
 καὶ ἐξουσιαζόμενοι, ἐνὶ δὲ ἑκάστῳ ἡμῶν δύο παραμένουσιν ἄγγελοι,²³ τοὔτέστιν 20
 110^v καλὸς καὶ κακός. | Καὶ περὶ τούτου ἡ θεία γραφή μαρτυρεῖ. Περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν
 καλῶν ὁ σωτὴρ λέγει· μὴ κωλύετ(ε) τὰ παιδία ἔρχεσθαι πρὸς με· ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω
 ὑμῖν ὅτι οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτῶν πάντ(ο)τε βλέπουσιν τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ
 ἐν οὐρανοῖς.^a Ἐτι δὲ καὶ τ(ὸ) ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ εἰρημένον· παρεμβαλεῖ ἄγγελος κυρίου
 κύκλῳ τῶν φοβουμένων αὐτὸν καὶ ρύσεται αὐτούς.^b Καὶ τὸ ἐν Πράξεσιν ἐγκείμενον
 περὶ τοῦ ἀγίου Πέτρου, ὅτε πρὸς τὴν Ῥόδην κόρην ἔλεγεν ὅτι ὁ ἄγγελος αὐτοῦ 25
 ἐστίν.^c Περὶ δὲ ἑκατέρων ἡ βίβλος τοῦ Ποιμ(έ)νος πληρεστάτως διδάσκει.²⁴
 Ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰώβ διδασκ(ό)μεθα περὶ τοῦ ἐνεδρεύοντος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ

1 μέσ(η)ς Cod. μέσις 2 Ἀθρ(ώ)ς Cod. ἀθρῶος 5 ὑψηλ(ό)τερος Cod. ὑψηλότερος
 6 τεθ(ῆ)ναι Cod. τεθεῖναι 8 ἀποκρ(ί)σεις Cod. ἀποκρήσεις 8 εὐδοκ(ι)μήσαντας
 Cod. εὐδοκῆσαντας 10 πονηρ(ό)τατος Cod. πονηρώτατος 11 ἔτ(η) Cod. ἔτι
 11 προσ(ή)δρευσα Cod. προσέδρευσα 16 προε(ρ)ρέθη Cod. προερέθη 17 ἔχ(ο)μεν Cod.
 ἔχωμεν 21 κωλύετ(ε) Cod. κωλύεται 22 πάντ(ο)τε Cod. πάντωτε 23 τ(ὸ) Cod. τῷ
 26 Ποιμ(έ)νος Cod. ποιμαίνος 27 διδασκ(ό)μεθα Cod. διδασκώμεθα

^a Cf. Matt. 18:10; Mark 10:14. ^b Psalm 33:8. ^c Acts 12:15.

Since [upon his return] he had not reached any populated site and it was already evening, he found a cave, entered that and settled himself. He remained until midnight chanting the prayers of the night office and then
 109^v he lied down | for a while, so that his tired body should rest. Then all of a sudden a crowd of daemons invaded the cave, which was so horrendous a crowd that the brother was astounded. Although individually disordered, on the whole there was a shape of quite an order [in that crowd], with some [daemons] preceding and others following their prince, who was the tallest of all. Once he arrived, he commanded that a tribunal chair be placed. After he sat down, he ordered his subordinate daemons to be brought before him, and after he had questioned them, he praised those who flourished in wickedness and reprimanded those who had been slack in vileness. Finally, a most evil daemon appeared before him and said that
 110^r there is a certain monk | in the Pelusium, at whom I have lain in ambush attacking him during the last fifteen years, and it was only this night that I was able to make him have intercourse with a certain consecrated maid. Once the prince heard this, he extolled him with the highest praise, he crowned him and sent him forth with great honours. Consequently, at break of day, the brother was reflecting to himself whether it is possible for the liar race of daemons to tell the truth. But after he made his way to Pelusium, he found out that the case was exactly as it had been described by the daemon.

It is therefore our experience, as much as it is our lesson from the Holy Scripture, that among the transgressed angels there are princes and subordinate ones, powers and those under those powers, and there are
 110^v two angels, a good and a bad one, who cling to each one of us. | The Holy Scripture bears witness to this, too. About the good ones the Saviour says: *Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.*³¹⁰ Likewise, the saying in the Psalm: *The angel of the Lord shall encamp round about them that fear him and shall deliver them.*³¹¹ To this we should add the instance of the Acts, about Peter, who said to damsel Rhoda, *It is his angel.*³¹² As a matter of fact, about both sorts [of angels] the book of the Shepherd teaches us very fully. And from the book of Job we learn about [the daemon] who lies in ambush against all men and asks to

³¹⁰ Cf. Matt. 18:10; Mark 10:14.

³¹¹ Psalm 33:8.

³¹² Acts 12:15. Actually it was not Peter who said this to Rhoda.

111^f ἐξαιτούντος τοῦ λαβεῖν ἐξουσίαν παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, τοῦ κατ' οἰκονομίαν εἰς σωτηρίαν παιδεύοντος καὶ προβιάζοντος πάντας τοὺς πιστοὺς εἰς τὸ μεταλαβεῖν τῆς ἀγιοσύνης αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ὁ Κύριος πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον Πέτρον εἶπεν: Ἰδοὺ ὁ σατανᾶς ἐζήτησεν ὑμᾶς τοῦ σινιάσαι,^a καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἰούδα ὁ ψαλμὸς λέγει· καὶ διάβολος στήτω ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ.^b

5

Περὶ δὲ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῶν δαιμόνων δι' ἐκείνων τῶν δύο φιλοσόφων μανθάν(ο)μεν, τῶν κατὰ φθόνον ἐξαποστειλάντων πολλοὺς καὶ διαφόρους δαίμονας κατὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀντωνίου καὶ μηδὲν ἰσχυσάντων. Καὶ γὰρ κατεγίνωσκον τῶν δαιμόνων ὡς ἀδρανῶν ὄντων· ἐδοκούσαν γὰρ δι' αὐτῶν σχεδὸν τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελ(ή)νην καταφέρειν, οἵτινες οὐδὲ ἕως βήματος τὸν στρατιώτην τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἀντώνιον ἐξωθεν τ(ή)ς κέλλης αὐτοῦ κινήσαι ἴσχυσαν· ὥστε ὑπὲρ τούτου τοῦ θαύματος εὐθέως ἔλθειν τὸν φιλόσοφον πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον Ἀντώνιον, καὶ καθ' 10 ὑπόκρ(ι)σιν ἐξομολογήσασθαι αὐτῷ ὅτι μέγας ἐστὶν ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θέλομεν Χρ(ι)στιανοὶ γενέσθαι. Ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Ἀντώνιος ἐπυνθάνετο παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἣ τὸς δαίμονας ἐξαπέστειλαν κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι τῇ αὐτῇ 15 ἡμέρᾳ σφοδροτέρως (ὡ)χλεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν λογισμῶν διὰ τῶν ἀκαθάρτων δαιμόνων νυττόμενος.

Χρῆ δὲ εἰδέναι ἡμᾶς ὅτι τοῖς δυσὶ τρόποις τὰ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑπακούουσιν· κατὰ μὲν φόβον τοῖς ἁγίοις, κατὰ κολακ(ε)ίαν δὲ καὶ θωπ(ε)ίαν τοῖς γόησιν. Καὶ ποτε μὲν τῶν γοήτων καταφρονοῦσιν ὡς κολάκων, τῶν δὲ ἁγίων οὐδέποτε τολμῶσιν καταφρονῆσαι ἢ παρακοῦσαι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ φρικτῷ λόγῳ αὐτῶν ὑπὸκείνται, τοὺς δὲ γόητας ἑαυτοῖς ἔχουσιν 20 ὑποτεταγμένους μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων δαιμόνων.

112^f Ὁ Γερμανὸς εἶπεν:

Ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῆς Γενέσεως πρὸ ὀλίγου κατὰ Θεοῦ οἰκονομίαν ἐνετύχουμεν, ἥτις ἡμ(ῖν) εὐκαίρως ὑπέμνησεν περὶ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀποστατῶν ἀγγέλων, περὶ ὧν λέγεται ὅτι συνεμίγησαν ταῖς θυγατράσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων,^c τούτου χάριν ἐξαιτοῦμεν μαθεῖν εἴ γε τοῦτο δύναται τῇ πνευματικῇ φύσει κατὰ τὸ γράμμα ἢ κατὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀρμόζειν· ἢ πάλιν ψευδὲς ἐστίν, κατὰ τὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ρητόν, ὅπερ περὶ τοῦ διαβόλου προεῖρηται, ὅτι ψεύστης ἐστὶν καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ.^d Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιθυμοῦμεν μαθεῖν, τίς ἐστὶν τοῦ διαβόλου πατὴρ κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς προειρημένης λέξεως;

30

6–7 μανθάν(ο)μεν Cod. μανθάνωμεν 10 σελ(ή)νην Cod. σελίνην 11 τ(ή)ς Cod. τοσ
13 ὑπόκρ(ι)σιν Cod. ὑπόκρησιν 14 Χρ(ι)στιανοὶ Cod. χρηστιανοὶ 16 (ὡ)χλεῖτο Cod.
ὁχλεῖτο 19 κολακ(ε)ίαν Cod. κολακίαν 20 θωπ(ε)ίαν Cod. θωπίαν 26 ἡμ(ῖν) Cod. ἡμᾶς

^aLuke 22:31. ^bPsalms 108:6. ^cGen. 6:2–4. ^dJohn 8:44.

111^f be granted power by the Lord, who by reason of his dispensation afflicts and causes to improve all the faithful, so as to make them able to partake | of his holiness. Besides, the Lord said to Saint Peter: *Behold, Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat.*³¹³ And of Judas, the Psalm says, *Let Satan stand at his right hand.*³¹⁴

Concerning the difference that there is between demons, we learn by means of those two philosophers, who out of envy sent many and different daemons against Saint Anthony, yet to no avail. They reproached the daemons as being indolent. For they thought that by means of them they would bring the sun and moon down, even though they were unable just to drive the soldier of Christ, namely, Anthony, even only one step from his cell. The result of this miracle was that the philosopher came over to 111^v Saint Anthony and made to him a hypocritical confession, | [saying] that your God is great and by reason of this we wish to become Christians. Saint Anthony asked them to tell him what was the day on which they had sent the daemons against him, and then said that on that same day he was harassed more violently by wicked thoughts since he was incited by the unclean daemons.

Furthermore, we must know that unclean spirits are obedient to men in two ways. Either out of fear [they obey] the saints, or as a result of flattery and charm [they obey] sorcerers. And it sometimes happens that they despise sorcerers as flatterers; but they never dare despise or disobey the saints, since they are subservient to their awesome words, whereas 112^f they have the sorcerers | subordinate to them as [these filthy spirits] have other daemons [subordinate to them], too.

Germanus said:

Since a little while ago by the providence of God we happened to study the [book of Genesis], which opportunely reminded us of those rebellious angels, about whom it is said that they copulated with the daughters of men,³¹⁵ we take this opportunity to ask you to teach us whether this can apply to the spiritual nature literally (that is, in actuality), or is this a lie, in accordance with the saying in the gospel about the devil, namely, *He is a liar, and the father of it.*³¹⁶ Likewise, we also wish to learn who the devil's father is, according to the words of the foregoing passage.

³¹³ Psalm 108:6.

³¹⁴ Psalm 108:6.

³¹⁵ Gen. 6:2–4.

³¹⁶ John 8:44.

᾽Ο) Σερήνος εἶπεν:

112^v Δύο ζητήσεις οὐ μετρίας ὁμοῦ προσηγάγετ(ε), περὶ ὧν τὸ κατὰ | δύναμιν τῇ
τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι ἀποκρινοῦμαι τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἀγάπῃ. Οὐδαμῶς οὖν πιστευτέον
ἐστὶν τὰς πνευματικὰς φύσεις συνάπτεσθαι μετὰ (γυ)ναικῶν σαρκικῶς, εἰ καὶ
τινα ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα διαφθείρει γυναῖκας πρὸς τὸ νομισθῆναι ἐν συλλήψει 5
εἶναι. Καὶ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἀπαραλλάκτου φύσεως²⁵ τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ἐξ
ἀρχῆς συναπτ(ο)μένης, ὁ Ἐκκλησιαστὴς λέγει· οὐδὲν πρόσφατον²⁶ ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον,
ἵνα τις εἴπ(η) ἰδοὺ τοῦτο πρόσφατόν ἐστιν καὶ γε αὐτὸ πρὸ αἰώνων τῶ(ν) πρὸ ἡμῶν.^a
Λύεται οὖν ἡ ζήτησις²⁷ τῆσδε τῆς προτάσεως δι' ὧν λέγειν μέλλομεν.

Μετὰ τὸ τὸν κατάρατον Κάϊν φ(ο)νεῦσαι Ἄβελ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, ἐγέν- 10
νησεν ὁ Ἀδὰμ τὸν Σήθ. Προσεκαρτέρουν οὖν τῇ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ ταῖς θείαις
113^r λειτουργίαις. Μετὰ δὲ πολλ|λὰς γενεάς, συμπάσχ(ο)ντες οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ Σήθ τοῖς
υἱοῖς τοῦ Κάϊν, κατήλθαν εἰς ἐπίσκεψ(ι)ν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν γῆν τοῦ Να(ῖδ), ὅπου
καὶ κατώκησαν. Θεωρήσατες οὖν τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῶν καὶ τερφθέντες, ἔλα-
βον ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας, ἃς ἠθέλησαν, παραβάντες τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν 15
Σήθ, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἐχρημάτιζον δὲ πρὸ τούτου ὡς ἄγιοι υἱοὶ Θεοῦ καὶ
κατὰ σάρκα ἄγγελοι. Οὐκοῦν ἡ θεία γραφὴ αὐτοὺς ὀνομάζει ἀγγέλους κατὰ τὴν
ἔξ(ι)ν τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἀσώματον φύσιν. Ἐξέπεσαν δὲ εἰς συνάφειαν
τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν λεγ(ο)μένων ἀνθρώπων, οὐ κατὰ τὴν θείαν εἰκόνα, ἀλλὰ
κατὰ τὴν σαρκικὴν καὶ κτηνώδη ζωὴν, περὶ ὧν εἰκότως λέγει· ἐγὼ εἶπα θεοὶ ἐστέ 20
καὶ υἱοὶ ὑψίστου πάντες, ὑμεῖς δὲ | ὡς ἄνθρωποι ἀποθνήσκειτ(ε) καὶ ὡς εἰς τῶν ἀρ-
113^v χόντων πίπτειτ(ε).^b Ἐτι δὲ διαστέλλων ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς ἰδίους ἀπὸ μίξεως ἀκαθάρτου,
ἔλεγεν· τὴν θυγατέρα σου οὐ δώσεις τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ εἰς γυναῖκα, μηδὲ ἐκ τῶν θυγα-
τέρων αὐτῶν λήσῃ τῷ υἱῷ σου, διότι ἀπατῶσιν τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν τοῦ ἀναχωρήσαι
ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ προσκολληθῆναι καὶ λατρεῦσαι τοῖς θεοῖς αὐτῶν.^c 25

2 προσηγάγετ(ε) Cod. προσηγάγεται 4 μετὰ (γυ)ναικῶν Cod. μεταφ ναικῶν 5 διαφθείρει
Cod. διαφθείρειν 7 συναπτ(ο)μένης Cod. συναπτωμένης 8 εἴπ(η) Cod. εἶπει 8 τῶ(ν) Cod.
τῷ 10 φ(ο)νεῦσαι Cod. φωνεῦσαι 12 συμπάσχ(ο)ντες Cod. συμπάσχωντες 13 ἐπίσκεψ(ι)ν
Cod. ἐπίσκεψην 13 Να(ῖδ) Cod. Ναήθ 18 ἔξ(ι)ν Cod. ἔξην 19 λεγ(ο)μένων Cod.
λεγωμένων 21 ἀποθνήσκειτ(ε) Cod. ἀποθνήσκειται 22 πίπτειτ(ε) Cod. πίπτεται

^a Cf. Eccl. 1:9–10.

^b Psalm 81:6–7. Cf. John 10:34.

^c Deut. 7:3–4, paraphrased from the

Hebrew.

Serenus said:

112^v You have set forth concurrently two not unimportant questions, to which | I will reply to your love³¹⁷ by God's grace to the best of my ability. On no account, should anyone believe that spiritual natures can have carnal intercourse with women, even though some filthy spirits infect women so as to make them give the [false] impression that they are pregnant. For indeed, with regard to the invariable nature,³¹⁸ which originates in the Creator and which [is said to have been involved] in intercourse, the Ecclesiastes says: *There is nothing new under the sun, so that a man can say: Behold this is new; for it has already been in the ages which were before us.*³¹⁹ Therefore, the question that has been raised may be resolved by means of what we are now going to say.

113^f After the cursed Cain killed his brother Abel, Adam begot Seth. Subsequently, they adhered firmly to prudence and divine observances. However, after many generations, | since the descendants of Seth felt compassion for the descendants of Cain, they went down to visit them in the land of Nod, where they actually settled themselves. But when they saw their daughters [sc. of the descendants of Cain] they received those of them whom they liked as their women, thus transgressing the commandment of their father Seth, indeed that of God himself. Before this incident, they lived as saintly sons of God, actually as angels living in flesh. Well, it is they that the Holy Scripture styles angels, yet not on account of their incorporeal nature, but of their virtue. They lapsed into intercourse with the daughters of the so-called men, as regards not the divine image [in them], but the carnal and bestial life, of which it is befittingly said: *I have said, ye*
113^v *are gods; and all of you are children of the most High. But ye| die like men, and fall like one of the princes.*³²⁰

Furthermore, God, aiming at segregating his own people from any filthy intercourse, said: *Your daughter you shall not give unto his son, nor his daughter shall you take unto your son. For they deceive your hearts, that you may abandon our God and attach to and worship their gods.*³²¹

³¹⁷ The expression τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἀγάπῃ was, and still is in the East a hackneyed one among clerics and has to be rendered in English simply as 'you', despite the niceties involved. Cf. *Ad Leontium Hegumenum Contributio Sereni Abbatis De Panareto*, p. 101^v: Θεοῦ χάριτι πληροφορήσωμεν τὴν ἀγάπην ὑμῶν.

³¹⁸ τῆς ἀπαράλλακτου φύσεως. See endnote 25 (pp. 361–362) to the Greek text.

³¹⁹ Cf. Eccl. 1:9–10.

³²⁰ Psalm 81:6–7. Cf. John 10:34.

³²¹ Deut. 7:3–4. A paraphrase of the Hebrew text.

Ὁ Γερμανὸς εἶπεν:

Δικαίως ἂν <τις> ἡδύνατο <εἰπεῖν> αὐτοῖς ἐκ ταύτης τῆς κατὰ θάρρῃσιν συζυγίας τὸ ἐγκλημα ἐπιφύεσθαι²⁸ τῆς παραβάσεως, εἰ ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἐντολὴ τοῦ μὴ συνάπτεσθαι ἄλλοτρίας θυγατρᾶσιν· ὁ γὰρ νόμος οὐ τὰ παρελθόντα εἶωθεν ἐγκλήματα, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέλλοντα κρίνειν.²⁹

5

Ὁ Σερήνος εἶπεν:

114^f

Ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον κτίζων | πᾶσαν φυσικὴν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔννομον³⁰ ἐνέταξε γνῶσιν, ἣν καὶ ἐφύλαττεν ἀκριβῶς, εἰδὼς ὅτι παρὰ Κυρίου ταύτην ἐκομ(ί)σατο. Δι' ὃ οὐδὲ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ νόμου χρεῖα ἦν· ἐφυλάττετο γὰρ αὕτη παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχ(αί)οις δικαίοις. Ὅτε δὲ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακεξίαν ἡ ἐντολὴ εἰς λήθην παρεπέμφθ(η), χρεῖαν ἔσχεν ἡ φύσις τοῦ γραπτοῦ νόμου. Νῦν δὲ ἡ θεία γραφὴ φησιν· δικαίῳ νόμος οὐ κεῖται^a καὶ πάλιν· ὁ νόμος διὰ τὴν παράβασιν προ(σ)ετέθη· καὶ πάλιν, ἐκ στόματος Θεοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἀβραάμ· ἐγὼ οἶδα τὸν θεράποντά μου Ἀβραάμ ὅτι παραδώσει τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις αὐτοῦ φυλάττειν τὰς ἐντολὰς Κυρίου μετ' αὐτόν.^b Καὶ συντόμως εἰπεῖν,³¹ οὐδέν ἐστιν ἕτερον ὁ γραπτὸς νόμος, εἰ μὴ βίος καὶ | σκοπὸς τῶν προλαβόντων δικαίων, δ(ν) καὶ τὸ γράμμα ἀνακ(αι)νίζει ἐν τ(ῷ) λέγειν· ἄκουε Ἰσραήλ, κύριος ὁ Θεὸς σου κύριος εἷς ἐστιν,^c καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Πόθεν γὰρ ὁ Ἐνὼς ἔμαθεν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου ἐπικαλεῖσθαι^d πρῶτος, εἰ μὴ ἐκ τῆς ἐννόμου καὶ φυσικῆς γνώσεως; Πόθεν δὲ καὶ Ἐνώχ εὐηρέστησεν Θεῷ^e ἔτ(η) τριακόσια,³² καὶ Νῶε κατὰ τὴν γενεάν αὐτοῦ^f καὶ Ἀβραάμ κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν πίστιν^g αὐτοῦ καὶ πολιτείαν; Καὶ Ἰσαάκ καὶ Ἰακώβ καὶ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μωϋσῆς, πῶς ἡδυνήθησαν οὗτοι πάντες πρὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῦ

10

15

114^v

20

8 ἐκομ(ί)σατο Cod. ἐκομήσατο 9–10 ἀρχ(αί)οις Cod. ἀρχέοις 10 κακεξίαν This is an acceptable colloquialism for καχεξίαν, also repeated *infra*, Cod. p. 115^f 11 παρεπέμφθ(η) Cod. παρεπέμφθαι 13 προ(σ)ετέθη Cod. προετέθη. Gal. 3:19 16 δ(ν) Cod. δ 17 ἀνακ(αι)νίζει Cod. ἀνακενίζει 17 τ(ῷ) Cod. τό 20 ἔτ(η) Cod. ἔτι

^a1 Tim. 1:9. ^bThis quotation is actually only a paraphrase, to which the closest parallel is Gen. 17:9. ^cDeut. 6:4. ^dGen. 4:26. ^eGen. 5:22&24. ^fCf. Gen. 6:9. ^gCf. Rom. 4:12&16; Gal. 3:8–9; Heb. 11:17.

Germanus said:

One could reasonably argue that the crime of transgression emerged among them out of this bold copulation, once they had been commanded not to couple with alien daughters. For law traditionally passes judgement not on past crimes, but on future ones.

Serenus said:

114^f Upon creating man, | God implanted in him full knowledge of the natural law, which [knowledge] man cherished, since he knew that he had acquired this by the Lord himself. This is why there was no need for the benevolent Law,³²² since this was observed [in effect] by the ancient righteous people. However, once the commandment was dismissed into oblivion because of wicked habits, it was then that the need for a written law emerged. Now the divine scripture says: *The law is not made for a righteous man*,³²³ and likewise, *The law was added because of transgression*.³²⁴ Also, it represents God speaking to Abraham and saying this: *I know that Abraham, my servant, will enjoin his sons and his relations to observe the commandments of the Lord after his death*.³²⁵ And to put it succinctly, 114^v the written law is nothing else than the conduct of life | and the objective of the antecedent righteous men. This [life] was renewed by means of the written letter, which said: *Hear, O Israel: The Lord your God is one Lord*,³²⁶ and the ensuing words. For whence did Enos, first [of all men] learn *to call upon the name of the Lord*,³²⁷ unless from the natural knowledge of the law? And whence did Enoch learn *to conduct a life pleasing to God*³²⁸ for *three hundred years*?³²⁹ And [whence did] *Noah in his generation*³³⁰ [know], and [whence] did Abraham in his profound faith³³¹ and conduct of life [know]? And what about Isaac and Joseph and Moses? How have all those men been able to conduct a life pleasing to God before

³²² The Law of Moses is meant here. Before Moses, there was no need of such a law since the righteous figures of the Old Testament observed it by means of natural knowledge of it, as well as by the sundry epiphanies of God the Logos in them.

³²³ 1 Tim. 1:9.

³²⁴ Cod. προετέθη. Gal. 3:19.

³²⁵ Cf. Gen. 17:9.

³²⁶ Deut. 6:4. Cf. the same quotation with 'your' (σου) instead of 'our' God (ἡμῶν) *supra*, Cod. p. 102^f.

³²⁷ Gen. 4:26.

³²⁸ Gen. 5:22&24.

³²⁹ Cf. Gen. 5:23: three hundred and sixty-five years.

³³⁰ Cf. Gen. 6:9.

³³¹ Cf. Rom. 4:12&16; Gal. 3:8–9; Heb. 11:8&17.

εὐαγγελίου εὐαρεστήσαι Θεῷ, εἰ μὴ ἡ φύσις εἶχεν τὴν ἔννομον καὶ ἔμφυτον γνῶσιν;³³

115^r Οὕτως οὖν ὁρώμεν τὸν Θεὸν δεδημιουργηκέναι τέλεια καὶ ἀνελλιπ(ῆ) τῆς αὐτοῦ προνοίας, διαμένοντα κατὰ | τὴν φύσιν ἐν ἀπαραλ(είπτῳ)³⁴ τε καὶ διακριτικῇ γνῶσει. Ὅθεν καὶ παραβεβηκυῖαν τὴν τοῦ δικαίου Νῶε γενεάν τῷ 5 κατακλυσμῷ δικαίως κατέκρινεν ὁ Θεός, μὴ ἐκκουσεύσας³⁵ ταύτην τῆς δικαίας τιμωρίας. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐνέλειψεν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ φυσικῇ γνῶσει, περὶ ἧς καὶ ὁ Σολομ(ώ)ν λέγει· ἔγνω· ὅτι περ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτὰ ἔσονται εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς τι προστεθῆναι ἢ ἀφ(αι)ρεθῆναι.^a Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστ(ιν) τοῖς δικαίοις νόμος, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀδίκτοις καὶ ἀνυποτάκτοις, 10 ἀσεβέσιν τε καὶ ἀμαρτωλοῖς, πονηροῖς τε καὶ βεβήλοις.^b Ἐκείνοις γάρ, ἐν οἷς διὰ τὴν κακεξίαν ἡσθένησεν ὁ φυσικὸς νόμος, χρεῖα ἐγένετο προστεθῆναι εἰς βοήθειαν τοῦ φυσικοῦ τὸν γραπτὸν | νόμον· ἐξ ὧν φανερῶ λόγῳ³⁶ συνάγεται τὸ μὴ τὸν γραπτὸν νόμον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δοθῆναι ὀφείλειν, ὅπερ ἦν περιττόν, στήκοντος 15 ἀκμὴν³⁷ τοῦ φυσικοῦ νόμου καὶ μὴ παντελῶς φθαρέντος, μήτε μὴν τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν τελει(ό)τητα³⁸ δύνασθαι παραδεχθῆναι πρὸ τῆς τοῦ νόμου παραφυλακῆς. Ποῦ γὰρ ἡδύνα(ν)το ἀκούειν, ἐὰν τίς σε πατάξ(ῃ) εἰς τὴν δεξιάν σιαγ(ό)να πάρα- 20 θες αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην,^c οἵτινες οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἤρκοῦντο τοιαύτης ἰσότητος, ἀλλὰ γε καὶ ἀμέτρως ἐξεδίκουν τὰς ἑαυτῶν βραχείας ὕβρεις, διὰ λακτισμῶν φημι καὶ τραυμάτων καὶ ξιφῆρων πληγῶν, καὶ πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐνὸς ὁδόντος τῶν κρουόντων τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπῆτουν; Οὕτε γὰρ ἦν δυνατόν λέγεσθαι αὐτοῖς ἀγαπάτε τοὺς 116^r ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν,^d | ἐν οἷς μέγας καρπὸς ἐνομίζετο ἐν τῷ ἀγαπᾶν τοὺς ἰδίους φίλους, καὶ ἀβλαβῶς ἐκκλ(ί)ν(ει)ν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἐχθρῶν, μὴ ἀμυνομένους αὐτοὺς μέ- 25 χρις καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θανάτου.

Καὶ περὶ οὗ ῥωτήσατε, λέγω δὴ τοῦ διαβόλου, ψεύστης ἐστὶν καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ,^e κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου λόγον, ἄτοπὸν ἐστὶ τοῦτο, κἂν ἐλαφρῶς οἴεσθαι

3 ἀνελλιπ(ῆ) Cod. ἀνελλειπεί 4 ἀπαραλ(είπτῳ) Cod. ἀπαραλλαγή, but this is a nonexistent word 5 γνῶσει The epithet διακριτικῇ applied to γνῶσει points to Cassian holding the virtue of *discretion* (διάκρισις) in high regard 8 Σολομ(ώ)ν Cod. Σολομόν 9 ἀφ(αι)ρεθῆναι Cod. ἀφερεθῆναι 10 ἔστ(ιν) Cod. ἐσται 12 κακεξίαν Cod. κακεξίαν 16 τελει(ό)τητα Cod. τελειώτητα 17 ἡδύνα(ν)το Cod. ἡδύνατο 17 πατάξ(ῃ) Cod. πατάξει 17 σιαγ(ό)να Cod. σιαγῶνα 23 ἐκκλ(ί)ν(ει)ν Cod. ἐκκλήνην

^a Eccl. 3:14. ^b 1 Tim. 1:9, paraphrased. ^c Matt. 5:39. ^d Matt. 5:44; Luke 6:27; 6:35. ^e John 8:44.

both the Law and the Gospel existed at all, unless nature itself had [implanted] the natural knowledge of the law [in them]?

We see therefore that God created [creatures] which are perfect and
 115^r not wanting in respect of his providence. By | nature they remain within
 his knowledge, which is both unintermittent and individually exercised
 [upon each one of them]. Therefore, once the generation of the righteous
 Noah lapsed into transgression, God visited them with a fair judgement,
 granting them no excuse of righteous punishment. For there was in them
 no want of the natural knowledge, of which Solomon says: *I have known*
that whatsoever God has created in the beginning they shall be for ever: and
*nothing can be put to them, or anything taken from them.*³³² This is why *the*
law is not for the righteous, but for the unrighteous and the insubordinate, for
*the ungodly and sinners, for the wicked and profane.*³³³ For the necessity to
 add a written law as a support to the natural one emerged to the purpose
 of aiding those in whom the natural law became frail, owing to their
 115^v wicked habits.³³⁴ | From this, one can infer by the clearest reasoning that it
 was not necessary for the written law to have been given at the beginning,
 which would be superfluous, since the natural law was still robust and had
 not been violated, nor could evangelical perfection³³⁵ have been granted
 before the law had been observed. For how could it have been possible to
 comply with the [command], *Whosoever smite thee on thy right cheek, turn*
*to him the other also,*³³⁶ [at a time when] people were not content to avenge
 wrongs done to them with even reciprocity, but they repaid a slight touch
 with incommensurate retaliation, such as kicks and injuries and wounds
 by swords, and very often for a single tooth they sought to take the life
 of those who had struck them? Nor could it be said to them, *Love your*
 116^r *enemies,*³³⁷ | among whom it was considered a great feat if they loved their
 friends and avoided their enemies without being eager to harm them, and
 they refrained from attacking them, which sometimes resulted in their
 death.

As regards your question about the devil, that, according to the saying
 by the Lord, *he is a liar, and the father of it,*³³⁸ it is absurd even superficially

³³² Eccl. 3:14, paraphrased.

³³³ 1 Tim. 1:9, paraphrased.

³³⁴ Again, is rendered by Cassian's unique colloquialism (or, considerate neologism) *κακείαν*. See *supra* p. 114^r.

³³⁵ *τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν τελει(δ)τητα*. See the expression canvassed in *RCR*, pp. 163–164.

³³⁶ Matt. 5:39.

³³⁷ Matt. 5:44; Luke 6:27; 6:35.

³³⁸ John 8:44.

τὸν διάβολον γεννᾶν ἢ γεννᾶσθαι. Καθὼς γὰρ καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ εἵπομεν, τὸ Πνεῦμα
τὸ ἄγιον (οὐ) γεννᾷ,³⁹ ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ψυχὴ ψυχὴν δύναται γεννήσαι, εἰ καὶ τὰ
συγκολλήματα⁴⁰ τῆς σαρκὸς οὐκ ἀμφιβάλλομεν ἀνθρωπίνῳ σπέρματι αὐξάνειν,
116^v καὶ ἐνετρεπόμεθα τούτους, οὐ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὑποταγησ(ό)μεθα τῷ πατρὶ τῶν | 5
πνευμάτων καὶ ζῆσ(ό)μεθα;⁴¹

Τί ταύτης τῆς διαιρέσεως φανερώτερον ὀρισθῆναι δυνατόν, ἥτις τῆς μὲν ἡμε-
τέρας σαρκὸς πατέρας ἀνθρώπους προαγγέλει τὸν ἀπόστολον λέγειν, τῶν δὲ
ψυχῶν Θεὸν μόνον εἶναι πατέρα ἰσχυρῶς ἐκφαίνει; Ἔστιν μὲν ὅτι περ καὶ ἐν αὐ-
τῇ τῇ τοῦ σώματος συγκολλήσει τοσαύτην εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπιγραφ(εῖ)σαν 10
διακονίαν, ἣ δὲ ὅλη τῆς δημιουργίας τῷ πάντων δημιουργῷ Θεῷ ἐπιγράφεται,
καθὼς καὶ ὁ Δαυὶδ λέγει· αἰ χεῖρ(ε) σου ἐποίησάν με⁴² ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὁ μακάριος Ἰωβ·
ἢ οὐχὶ ὥσπερ γάλα με ἤμελξας· ἔπ(η)ξάς δέ με ἴσα τυρῷ· δέρμα καὶ κρέας ἐνέδυσάς
με, ὅστ(ε)οις δὲ καὶ νεύροις ἐνείρας⁴³ καὶ ὁ Κύριος πρὸς τὸν Ἱερεμίαν· πρὸ τοῦ με
πλάσαι σε ἐν κοιλίᾳ ἔγνω σε· καὶ πρὸ τοῦ σε ἐξελεθῆν ἐκ μήτρας ἡγιάσά σε⁴⁴ καὶ 15
117^r ὁ Ἐκκλησιαστής· | πρὸ τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι τὸν χοῦν εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπι-
στρέψ(ε)ι πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν τὸν δώσαντα⁴⁵ αὐτό.⁴⁶

Τί δὲ τοῦτο(υ) φανερώτερον ἡδύνατο εἰπεῖν περὶ ἀρχῆς, μεσότητος καὶ τέ-
λους⁴⁷ τοῦ τε πνεύματος καὶ τοῦ σώματος, ὅτι ἡ ὕλη τῆς σαρκὸς, ἥντινα χοῦν
(ῶ)νόμασεν, ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου λαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς αὐτῆς 20
διακονίας, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκ τῆς γῆς⁴⁸ ἐλήφθη, εἰς ἣν διὰ τοῦ θανάτου
ἐπιστρέφει ἕως τοῦ τῆς ἀναστάσεως κ(αι)ροῦ, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα, τὸ μὴ διὰ τῆς

2 (οὐ) I added οὐ. Both the context and structure call for this emendation, which renders a precise parallel to the Latin translation. Cf. *Collationes*, VIII.25, PL.49.767B: Ut enim paulo ante diximus, spiritus spiritum non generat, sicut nec animam quidem potest anima procreare, licet concretionem carnis non dubitemus humano semine coalescere, ita de utraque substantia, id est, carnis et animae, quae cui ascribatur auctori, Apostolo manifestius distinguente. *Deinde patres*, inquit, *carnis nostrae habuimus eruditores, et reverebamur, non multo magis subijciemur patri spirituum et vivemus* 5 ὑποταγησ(ό)μεθα Cod. ὑποταγησώμεθα 6 ζῆσ(ό)μεθα; Cod. ζησώμεθα 10 ἐπιγραφ(εῖ)σαν Cod. ἐπειγραφήσαν 12 χεῖρ(ε)ς Cod. χεῖραις 13 ἔπ(η)ξας Cod. ἔπειξας 14 ὅστ(ε)οις Cod. ὀσταίοις 16–17 ἐπιστρέψ(ε)ι Cod. ἐπιστρέψαι 17 αὐτό Cod. αὐτῷ 18 τοῦτο(υ) Cod. τοῦτο 20 (ῶ)νόμασεν Cod. ὀνόμασεν 22 κ(αι)ροῦ Cod. κερου

^a Cf. Heb. 12:9; καὶ ζήσομεν. ^b Psalm 118:73. ^c Job 10:10–11. ^d Jer. 1:5. ^e Eccl. 12:7, paraphrased. ^f Cf. Wisdom of Solomon 7:18. ^g Cf. Gen. 2:7.

to imagine that devil either gives birth [to progeny] or he is given birth [as offspring]. For as we have said at another point, spirit does not beget spirit, just as soul cannot procreate soul, though we do not doubt that the constitutive elements of flesh grow from human seed. In respect of this, the apostle says: *For if, at that time, we had been tutored by our physical fathers whom we used to venerate, should we not be all the more subjected unto the Father | of spirits and live?*³³⁹

What more clear a distinction of this classification could be possibly made? For this explicates that, according to the apostle, men are the fathers of our flesh, while it clearly demonstrates that God alone is the father of our souls. Although in respect of the actual composition of the body there is a certain function which must be attributed to men,³⁴⁰ still the overall function of creation of everything is ascribed to God; which also David says: *Thy hands have made me and fashioned me;*³⁴¹ and the blessed Job: *Hast thou not poured me out as milk, and curdled me like cheese? Thou has clothed me with skin and flesh, and hast fenced me with bones and sinews.*³⁴² And the Lord to Jeremiah: *Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee; and before thou comest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee.*³⁴³ And Ecclesiastes, *| Before the dust returns to the earth, the spirit shall return to God who gave it.*³⁴⁴

What is it that could be said more explicitly about beginning, midst and ending of³⁴⁵ both spirit and body? For the matter of the flesh, which he styled *dust*, receives the beginning of its ministerial office from the seed of man, in the same way as in the beginning this was received of *the dust of the ground*,³⁴⁶ to which this shall return through death [to remain there] until the time of resurrection. The spirit, on the other hand, which is

³³⁹ Heb. 12:9, paraphrased.

³⁴⁰ As a matter of fact, the scheme συγκόλλησις σώματος, which Cassian took up from John Chrysostom (see footnote 40, p. 370, to the Greek text), is used in the context of portraying God as the maker of human body.

³⁴¹ Psalm 118:73.

³⁴² Job 10:10–11.

³⁴³ Jer. 1:5.

³⁴⁴ Eccl. 12:7, paraphrased. No author did ever render such a paraphrase of this portion as the one which transpires here. The Latin stands fairly parallel to the Greek (only adding 'sicut fuit'): Priusquam convertatur pulvis in terram sicut fuit, et spiritus revertatur ad Deum qui dedit eum. *Collationes*, VIII.25, PL.49.768A.

³⁴⁵ Cf. Wisdom of Solomon 7:18.

³⁴⁶ Cf. Gen. 2:7.

συναφείας τῶν ἐκατέρων γενν(ώ)μενον, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ μόνου παρεχόμενον, πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον αἴτιον ἐπιστρέφει, παρ' οὗ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῷ Ἀδὰμ ἐνεφυσήθη;^α

117^v Ταύταις οὖν ταῖς μαρτυρίαις τηλαυγῶς συνάγ(ο)μεν ὅτι τὸν πατέρα τῶν πνευ-
μάτων^β ἡμῶν οὐκ ἄλλον ὁμολογοῦμεν, | εἰ μὴ Θεὸν μόνον, ὅστις τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐξ
ἀρχῆς ἐκ μὴ ὄντων πεποίηκεν,⁴² τοὺς δὲ πατέρας τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν^γ ἀνθρώπους 5
ὀνομάζομεν.

Τοῖνυν καὶ ὁ διάβολος κατὰ τοῦτο, ὅτι περ πνευμά τι ἐστὶν καὶ καλῶς ἐκτίσθη
ἐξ ἀρχῆς, πατέρα οὐκ ἄλλον εἰ μὴ τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ἐν ἀγαθοῖς δημιουργήσαντα
αὐτὸν ἔχει. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκουσίως ὑπερηφανήσας καὶ εἰπὼν, ἀναβήσ(ο)μαι ἐπὶ τὸ
ὑψος τῶν νεφελῶν καὶ ἔσομαι ὅμοιος τῷ ὑψίστῳ,^δ γέγ(ο)νεν ψεύστης καὶ ἐν τῇ 10
ἀλ(η)θείᾳ οὐκ ἔστ(η)κεν.^ε Ἀλλὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου τῆς πονηρίας θησαυροῦ τὸ ψεῦδος
προβαλλόμενος, οὐ μόνον ψεύστης ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ γε καὶ πατήρ^ς αὐτοῦ ψεύδους γέγονεν,
ὅτι περ τὴν θε(ό)τητα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπαγγελ(ό)μενος καὶ λέγων ἔσεσθ(ε) ὡς
118^r θεοὶ γινώσκοντες καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν,^ς ἐν τῇ ἀλ(η)θείᾳ οὐκ ἔστ(η)κεν, | ἀλλ' ἀπ'
ἀρχῆς γέγ(ο)νεν ἀνθρωποκτόνος,^ς ἀποκτ(ε)ίνας τὸν Ἀδὰμ διὰ τῆς ἀμαρτίας, 15
τὸν Ἀ(β)ελ διὰ τοῦ φθόνου, τοὺς προφῆτας διὰ τῆς βασκανίας, χωρήσας εἰς
αἰμοχυσίαν⁴³ μέχρι τῆς σταυρώσεως τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ.

Ἀλλὰ τὸ λ(οι)π(ό)ν τὴν διάλεκτον (ῆ)μῶν τῶν δύο περίπου νυκτῶν τελειώ-
σωμεν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κυρίου Θεοῦ τῶν ζητημάτων ἀνανήψωμεν, πληροῦντες ἐν
αὐτῇ τῇ συνεισφορᾷ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τοῦ λόγου,⁴⁴ ἐν ᾧ κατὰ δύναμιν εἰρήκαμεν 20
περὶ τῆς σοφίας,⁴⁵ ἥτις μακροτέρα ἡμῶν γέγ(ο)νεν ὑπὲρ ὃ ἦν, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ
Σολομώντος φωνὴν τὴν λέγουσαν· βαθὺ βάθος τίς ἐρευνήσει;⁴

1 γενν(ώ)μενον Cod. γεννόμενον 2 ἀρχῆς τῷ Cod. ἀρχῆς τῶν τῷ 3 συνάγ(ο)μεν Cod.
συνάγωμεν 7 πνευμά τι Cod. πνεύματα 9 ἀναβήσ(ο)μαι Cod. ἀναβήσωμαι 10 γέγ(ο)νεν
Cod. γέγωνεν 11 ἀλ(η)θεία Cod. ἀλιθεία 11 ἔστ(η)κεν Cod. ἔστικεν 13 θε(ό)τητα Cod.
θεώτητα 13 ἐπαγγελ(ό)μενος Cod. ἐπαγγελώμενος 13 ἔσεσθ(ε) Cod. ἔσεσθαι 14 ἀλ(η)θεία
Cod. ἀλιθεία 14 ἔστ(η)κεν Cod. ἔστικεν 15 γέγ(ο)νεν Cod. γέγωνεν 15 ἀποκτ(ε)ίνας
Cod. ἀποκτίνας 16 Ἀ(β)ελ Cod. ἄδουελ 18 λ(οι)π(ό)ν Cod. λυπών 18 (ῆ)μῶν Cod. ὑμῶν
21 γέγ(ο)νεν Cod. γέγωνεν

^α Cf. Gen. 2:7. ^β Cf. Heb. 12:9. ^γ Heb. 12:9. ^δ Isaiah 14:14. ^ε John 8:44. ^ς John 8:44.

^ς Gen. 3:5. ^β John 8:44. ^ι Cf. Eccl. 7:24: καὶ αὐτὴ ἐμακρύνθη ἀπ' ἐμοῦ μακρὰν ὑπὲρ ὃ ἦν, καὶ
βαθὺ βάθος, τίς ἐρευνήσει αὐτό;

not begotten by intercourse between the sexes, but is given by God alone, by whom in the beginning this was breathed into Adam,³⁴⁷ returns to the very cause of its own existence.

Therefore, from these testimonies we clearly infer that we can profess
 117^v *Father of our spirits*³⁴⁸ no one other | than God alone, who made the heavens in the beginning out of non-being, whereas it is men that we designate as *fathers of our flesh*.³⁴⁹

Subsequently, the devil also, in as much as he was created a certain spirit which was well created in the beginning, has no father other than God, who created him along with the good things. But once he became puffed up by pride out of his own free will, and said, *I will ascend above the sides of the clouds; I will be like the most High*,³⁵⁰ he became a liar, and abode not in the truth.³⁵¹ In addition, by bringing forth a lie from the deposit of his own wickedness, he is not simply a liar, but he became the father³⁵² of the lie. For by promising divinity to man, and by saying *Ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil*,³⁵³ he abode not in the truth.³⁵⁴ | Instead, he became
 118^r a man-killer from the beginning,³⁵⁵ since he killed Adam by means of sin, and Abel by means of envy, and the prophets by means of malignity, and he went on with causing bloodshed until the time of crucifixion of Lord Christ, our Saviour.

But let us bring our conversation (which has occupied almost two nights) to a close, and retire from examining questions about God our Lord. Let this contribution conclude our examination of the scriptural words, in which we spoke about *wisdom*, which, according to the saying by Solomon, *now stands farther off than it was; That which is exceeding deep, who can find it out?*³⁵⁶

³⁴⁷ Cf. loc. cit.

³⁴⁸ Heb. 12:9.

³⁴⁹ Loc. cit.

³⁵⁰ Cf. Isaiah 14:14.

³⁵¹ John 8:44.

³⁵² John 8:44.

³⁵³ Gen. 3:5.

³⁵⁴ John 8:44.

³⁵⁵ John 8:44.

³⁵⁶ Eccl. 7:24. Cassian hereby confirms that the title-epithet *panaretus* (πανάρητος) for wisdom points to Ecclesiastes. Cf. endnote 1 (pp. 343–345) to the Greek text.

118^v Διὰ τοῦτο τὸν Κύριον ἱκετεύομεν ἵνα ἐν ἡμῖν σπεῖρ(η) τὸν φόβον αὐτοῦ^a καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην, | ἥτις οὐκ οἶδεν ἐκπίπτειν⁴⁶ ἀκίνητος διαμένουσα, ἣτις δύνатаι σοφοὺς ἡμᾶς ἐν πᾶσιν^b ποιῆσαι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ διαβόλου βελῶν ἀβλαβεῖς φυλάξαι. Ἐδύνατον γάρ ἐστίν τινα ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς παγίδα διαβολικὴν, εἰ ἐν ταῖς δύο ταύταις τοῦ Κυρίου ἀντιλήψωσιν φυλάττεται.

5

Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν τῇ δυνάμει τῶν ῥημάτων ταύτης τῆς συνεισφορᾶς τοῦ ἁγίου γέροντος οὕτως ηὐφράνθημεν, ὥστε πληροφορῆσαι ἑαυτοὺς εἴ τι περ ποθοῦντες προσδοκοῦμεν κατατρυφήσαι τοῦ ἁγίου γέροντος τῆς διδασκαλίας, τῷ δὲ Θεῷ ἡμῶν δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν.

1 σπεῖρ(η) Cod. σπεῖρει 4 διαβολικὴν, εἰ Cod. διαβολικὴν, ἢ εἰ 8–9 τῷ δὲ ... αἰῶνας ἀμήν
This closure is identical with the one of *SerenPrim* (p. 100^v).

^a Cf. *supra*, Cod. p. 19^r (p. 56), ‘fear of God’ posited as ‘the first step to virtue and beginning of our salvation’. ^b Cf. Gen. 21:22; Deut. 15:18.

118^v Wherefore we entreat the Lord that sows in ourselves both *his fear* and *his love* | which knows of no failure,³⁵⁷ since it stands steadfast and can make us wise *in all things*³⁵⁸ and shield us unharmed from the darts of the devil. For once one protects oneself by means of these two observances of the Lord,³⁵⁹ it is impossible to fall into any devilish snare.

As for us, we enjoyed ourselves so much at this contribution by the saintly old man that we thought to ourselves that if there is something that we long for in anticipation, this is to study further the teaching of the saintly old man. And to our God *be glory for ever. Amen.*³⁶⁰

³⁵⁷ Cf. 1 Cor. 13:8.

³⁵⁸ Cf. Gen. 21:22; Deut. 15:18.

³⁵⁹ That is, fear of the Lord and love. Cassian recapitulates the course toward perfection which he set out at the conclusion of his text on the Institutions of monasteries (pp. 19^r–22^r), which posits fear of Lord as the first step toward perfection.

³⁶⁰ Rom. 11:36; 16:27.

NOTES TO THE TEXT

1. The actual meaning of this title is ‘contribution to wisdom by abba Serenus’. At the end of this section Serenus says, ‘we have spoken about wisdom’ (εἰρήκαμεν περὶ τῆς σοφίας, p. 118’).

The epithet *πανάρετος* was a designation for ‘books of wisdom’, which was assumed to be enshrined in the writings ascribed to either Solomon or Jesus the son of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus). There is a long tradition of this epithet being used in such a context, but there is no unanimity as to exactly which OT-wisdom-work was this applied to.

The most ancient testimony comes from Eusebius, who contends that it was the Proverbs of Solomon that the apologist Hegesippus, as well as Irenaeus, along with ‘the entire assembly of the ancient writers’ (καὶ πᾶς τῶν ἀρχαίων χορός), styled *πανάρετος*. (Eusebius, *HE*, 4.22.9. Hegesippus, *Fragmenta*, p. 218). This is the view of Clement of Alexandria, who was probably the source for Eusebius to make this assertion (*Stromateis*, 2.22.136.3, paraphrasing Ecclesiasticus 4:15). This is also what the letter attributed to Clement of Rome sustained (*Epistula i ad Corinthios*, 57.3, quoting Prov. 1:23). However, at another point, Eusebius clearly suggests that the epithet *πανάρετος* was ascribed to the Wisdom of Solomon (*PE*, 11.7.5, quoting Wisdom of Solomon 7:17). Yet again, the same historian later assures that the designation was applied to the book of wisdom written by Jesus the son of Sirach (*DE*, 8.2.71). This specific testimony by Eusebius was reproduced by later chroniclers: *Chronicon Paschale* (seventh cent. AD), p. 331. George Syncellus (eighth–ninth cent. AD), *Ecloga Chronographica*, p. 333. George Monachus (Alexandria, ninth cent. AD), *Chronicon*, pp. 292 & 435; *Chronicon, Breve*, PG.110: 348.7–9; 508.43–45. George Cedrenus (eleventh–twelfth cent. AD), *Compendium Historiarum*, v. 1, p. 340.

Later still, Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus (thirteenth–fourteenth cent. AD) writing about Hegesippus, reproduces one of the views of Eusebius’ and notes that it was ‘not only Irenaeus, but also all eminent men of old’ who accorded the epithet *πανάρετος* to ‘the Proverbs of Solomon’ along with Hegesippus (*HE*, 4.7).

Epiphanius of Salamis tells us that the designation was applied to both the Wisdom of Solomon and the Book of Jesus son of Sirach. However, he sustains also that both books were not treated as sacred ones by the Jews, even though they are ‘virtuous and upright’ ones (ἐνάρετοι καὶ καλοί). *De*

Mensuris et Ponderibus, apud John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei*, 90, excreptum Graecum 8.

Hippolytus had some different information to provide us with. He associated the designation πανάρετος with the Wisdom of Solomon, but he rejected the idea that this book had actually been written by Solomon. He acknowledged authorship by the king only as far as the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song were concerned. He subsequently argued that not only did 'the ancient and blessed fathers' dismiss the Wisdom of Solomon as being 'alien', but also they argued that the style of the book itself testifies to its irrelevance (ἡντινα ξένην καὶ ἀλλοτρίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπιστάμεθα, οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν μακαρίων πατέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς βίβλου. *In Canticum Canticorum* [paraphrasis], 1.4).

By contrast, Methodius of Olympus argued unqualifiedly that through the Wisdom of Solomon the Holy Spirit speaks, which means that he held this book to be a canonical one (τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ταῦτα μελωδεῖ, *Symposium* sive *Convivium Decem Virginorum*, Oration 1.3, quoting Wis. 4:1), and quotes from this conveniently (so in op. cit. 2.7, quoting Wis. 15:10–11). Of course, he styles this book πανάρετος σοφία.

Gregory of Nyssa moved along the same line, which is important, since Cassian himself regarded him as the highest authority. When Gregory comes upon the question, he takes πανάρετος σοφία as betokening the Wisdom of Solomon, from which he accordingly quotes (*Contra Eunomium*, Proem. 8.6; 3.6.67; Wis. 7:18 at both points).

Likewise, Didymus applies the designation πανάρετος to the same book by Solomon. *commZacch*, 1.393, quoting Wis. 1:3; op. cit. 2.254, quoting Wis. 4:8; op. cit. 2.290, quoting Wis. 1:4; op. cit. 4.63, quoting Wis. 11:26; *commEccl* (9.9–10.20), Cod. p. 288, quoting Wis. 17:1.

All instances attributed to John Chrysostom styling the Wisdom of Solomon πανάρετος σοφία are spurious. Those in *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae* are ascribed to either Athanasius or Chrysostom: Cf. the same text in both PG.28.376.48 & PG.56.370.14&30. I believe, however, that this is a sixth-century work. On the other hand, another spurious text ascribed to Chrysostom has it that πανάρετος σοφία represents the Song of Songs. *In Illud: Memor Fui Dei*, PG.61. 689.63 & 693.25.

The dissent went on during later times. Isidore of Pelusium (fifth cent. AD) took the designation πανάρετος as pointing to Ecclesiasticus (*Epistulae* [1414–1700], 1550: Σοφός τις ἀνὴρ, ὁ τοῦ Σιράχ φημι, ὁ τὴν Πανάρετον σοφίαν συγγράψας). On the other hand, a life of Symeon the Stylite opts for the Wisdom of Solomon (*Vita Symeonis Stylitae Junioris*, 37: καὶ τὴν πανάρετον σοφίαν Σολομώντος).

Alongside Christian tradition, πανάρετος βίβλος was the title of a book allegedly written by Hermes Trismegistus relating ‘the birth of the spirit of fire and of darkness’ (*Papyri Magicae*, Preisendanz number 13 line 981). This book was held in high esteem by such astrologers as Paul of Alexandria (fourth cent. AD, *Elementa Apotelesmatica*, p. 47) and Heliodorus (fourth cent. AD, *Commentarium in Paulum Alexandrinum*, pp. 42; 51; 55).

Cassian’s epithet πανάρετος in title actually suggests ‘divine wisdom’. A certain reference to Wisdom of Solomon 7:18, on Codex-p. 117, suggests this, but one has not to appeal to that point. Were the actual question about the precise meaning of πανάρετος, no doubt should remain that Cassian would have abided by his hero Gregory of Nyssa affirming that the epithet designates the Wisdom of Solomon. Into the text of Cassian, there are four references to Solomon’s Ecclesiastes, one to Solomon’s Wisdom, and none to the Wisdom of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus).

In conclusion, once the very last section of the present work is taken into account (namely Cassian’s phrase, πληροῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ συνεισφορᾷ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τοῦ λόγου, ἐν ᾧ κατὰ δύναμιν εἰρήκαμεν περὶ τῆς σοφίας), it is Ecclesiastes that Cassian has in mind through the designation πανάρετος σοφία, since he says that he spoke of ‘wisdom’, while making a quotation from Ecclesiastes.

2. Πληρωθ(ει)σὼν τῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς Τεσσαρακοστῆς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ Κυριακῇ. This suggests that the ensuing discussion took place in the morning of Palm Sunday, just after the liturgy in church was finished.

3. ἐπιρράνας, (& ἐπιρραίνειν). The verb, although occurring once in LXX (2Macc. 1:21: ἐπιρράναι), is distinctively Aristotelian: *De Generatione Animalium*, 730a20 (ἐπιρραίνει); 755b6 (ἐπιρράνη); 756a19 (ἐπιρράνη); 756a24 (ἐπιρραινόμενα); 756a27 (ἐπιρραίνουσι); 757b9 (ἐπιρραίνουσιν); 758a16 (ἐπιρραίνει); *Historia Animalium*, 567b4 (ἐπιρράνη); 567b5 (ἐπιρραίνει); 567b6 (ἐπιρρανθῇ); 567b9 (ἐπιρραίνει); 568b31 (ἐπιρραίνουσι); *Mirabilium Auscultationes*, 833a26 (ἐπιρραινόμενον). It occurs also in certain authors, who all happen to be relevant to the vocabulary of the Codex. During the lifetime of Cassian, John Philoponus entertained the verb abundantly, commenting on Aristotle. John Philoponus, *In Libros de Generatione Animalium Commentaria*, v. 14,3, pp. 143 (ἐπιρραίνουσιν); 146 (ἐπιρράνη); 148 (ἐπιρραίνει); 148; (ἐπιρραινόμενον); 149 (ἐπιρραίνειν, ἐπιρραίνεσθαι); 150 (ἐπιρράνη); 151 (ἐπιρραίνει). This is also a recurrent term in both Galen and Plutarch. Cf. Galen, *De Compositione Medicamentorum Secundum Locos Libri x*, v. 12, p. 488 (ἐπιρράνων); v. 13, p. 104 (ἐπιρραίνομένων); *De Compositione Medicamentorum Per Genera Libri vii*, v. 13, p. 512 (ἐπιρραίνει); p. 748; (ἐπιρραίνει); 936

(ἐπιρραίνων); *De Simplicium Medicamentorum Temperamentis ac Facultatibus Libri xi*, v. 12, p. 204 (ἐπιρρῶνθέντος). Plutarch, *Aetia Physica* (91c–919e), 916D9 (ἐπιρραينوμένων); *De Primo Frigido* (945f–955c), 950B5 (ἐπιρραινόμενον).

Christian authors that entertained the term are notably the ones whom Cassian was familiar with. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, 5.8.48.43 (ἐπιρραίνων). Eusebius, *Commentarius in Isaiam*, 2.27 (ἐπιρραίνειν). Gregory of Nyssa, *De Beneficentia*, v. 9, p. 1015 (ἐπιρραίνει). Theodoret, *Historia Religiosa* (*Philotheus*), Vita 8, 14 (ἐπιρρᾶναι); *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80.1248.10 (ἐπιρρῶναντες). Cyril of Alexandria, *GlaphPent*, PG.69: 549.24 (ἐπιρρᾶντισθῆ); 552.41; (ἐπιρρᾶντισθῆ); 557.40 (ἐπιρρᾶίνων); 577.32 (ἐπιρρᾶίνεσθαι); *commProphXII*, v. 2, p. 419 (ἐπιρρᾶνθέν.); *De Adoratione*, PG.68.829.25 (ἐπιρρᾶντισθῆ).

4. Cassian actually intends *μυξάρια*, which was a kind of onion flourishing in Egypt, according to the eleventh-century polymath Symeon Seth, *Syntagma de Alimentorum Facultatibus* (the extant fragment is an account of what a *μυξάριον* is). The medical doctor Paul of Nicaea refers to the beneficial effect by eating this plant root: *Liber Medicus*, 73; so does another doctor, namely, Paul of Aegina (seventh century), *Epitomae Medicae Libri Septem*, 4.57.5. Paul of Nicaea informs us that *μυξάρια* were consumed along with *ισχάδια*, which is what Cassian says at this point, too. Furthermore, the *Apophthegmata* mention *μυξάρια* as part of the medication given to monks upon illness. *AP (collectio alphabetica)*, p. 225; *AP (collectio anonyma)* (*e cod. Coislin.* 126), *Apophthegm* 156; the same text in *AP (collectio systematica)* (*cap. 1–9*), 4.78.

5. *ισχάς* is a dried fig. *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 479. Therefore, *ισχάδιον* is a small dried fig. *Cod. ισχάδην*. See footnote 271 (p. 313) to the English translation.

6. *τὴν ἀγάπην ὑμῶν*. Cf. p. 112^v: *τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἀγάπῃ*. To make an address by using ‘your love’, instead of simply ‘you’, transpires in Pseudo-Caesarius (= Cassian), *QR*, 10 (*τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην*); 138 (*τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγάπης*). This monastic and clerical platitude appears in letters by Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil of Caesarea (Epistle 42 by the former and Epistle 47 by the latter is the same text; who the actual author is, I do not know. Probably it is in fact neither of them). There is also one instance in Gregory of Nyssa (*Contra Fornicarios*, v. 9, p. 217). John Chrysostom had a predilection for this cliché. *Ad Populum Antiochenum* (*homiliae 1–21*), PG.49.38.26; *In Principium Actorum* (*homiliae*

1–4), PG.51.71.4; *Sermo Antequam Iret in Exsilium*, PG.52.430.47&49; *In Genesim (homiliae 1–67)*, PG.53: 27.7; 131.15; 197.58; 207.22; 232.26; 305.37; 369.14; PG.54: 414.18; 456.54; 493.49; 494.49; 540.45. *In Epistulam ii ad Corinthios (homiliae 1–30)*, PG.61.437.11; *Catecheses ad Illuminandos 1–8 (series tertia)*, Catechesis 1.9; *De Regressu*, 18.3; 20.5. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *De Paenitentia (sermo 1)*, PG.60.698.32. Cyril of Alexandria used the idiom only casually, indeed no more than twice: *Ad Carthaginiense Concilium (epist. 85)*, p. 423, and in a letter addressed to certain presbyters, deacons, and monks, which is recorded by the acts of Ephesus (1,1,4, p. 49). This style was not like him anyway. It appears also in the acts of the Local Synod of Constantinople in 536, where Cassian was present and definitely heard the address himself. The same expression is part of an epistle by Pope Agapetus that had been written in Latin and was read to the synod loudly in Greek translation by a deacon called Christodorus. ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, p. 152. So on p. 52 (letter by Pope Ormisdas); also on pp. 75 (twice); 87; 181; 182. Before this, it had been used at Chalcedon. *Concilium Universale Chalcedonense Anno 451*, 2,1,1, pp. 42; 51; 2,1,2, p. 119. Assuming that Cassian is the author of the ‘Questions and Answers’ by ‘Caesarius, during his stay at Constantinople’, it would have been all too natural for him to employ this idiom, which showed in no other synod after 536.

7. The expression ὁ πλατυσμός τῶν θείων γραφῶν is a stunning one. In addition to the literal sense of ‘enlargement’, or to the Old Testament usage intending ‘rejoicing’ or ‘relief’ (2 Kings 22:20&37; Psalms 17:20; 117:5; 118:45), the noun means ‘analysis’ or ‘interpretation’ of a certain text (poetic, religious, philosophical, etc.). This meaning was unknown to ancient authors, except for Athenaeus in his *Deipnosophistae*, 13.91, mentioning a phrase by the Sceptic philosopher Timon of Athens (320–230 BC), who had commented on a text arguing that his exposition was nothing more than ‘elaboration’ on previous lore, hence that text did not propound anything new (ἐν δὲ πλατυσμός πολυμαθημοσύνης, τῆς οὐ κενώτερον ἄλλο). The eleventh-century rhetorician John Doxapatres says that the work by Hermogenes *Περὶ Εὐρέσεως* is simply exegetical of the book by the same author under the title *Περὶ Στάσεων* (John Doxapatres, *Prolegomena in Hermogenis Librum Περὶ Εὐρέσεως*, v. 14, p. 366). In like manner, relevant anonyma use the term πλατυσμός in this extremely rare sense at various points. *Anonymi in Hermogenem* (Cf. *Commentarium in Librum Περὶ Στάσεων*, v. 7, p. 266; *Commentarium in Librum Περὶ Εὐρέσεως*, v. 7, pp. 722 & 839). Furthermore, another anonymous work dealing with the art of rhetoric makes an important contribution by explaining the ‘five ways in which an analysis (πλατυσμός) should be made’.

Epitome Artis Rhetoricae, v. 3, p. 625. Another anonymous author, who also engages in exploring the secrets of rhetoric, uses πλατυσμός in exactly the same sense. In *Aristotelis Artem Rhetoricam Commentatrium*, p. 225: ἵσως γὰρ τὸ νόημα δεῖται πλατυσμοῦ πρὸς τὸ σαφηνισθῆναι. Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 21^v: ταῦτα πάντα, ἅπερ πλατύτερον εἰρήκαμεν.

All these texts are anonymous, however. We can only be certain that the term πλατυσμός in this sense had been used by either Timon or Athenaeus himself (second–third cent. AD). The foregoing anonymous commentaries allow for the reasonable surmise that Hermogenes (born in c. 150 AD) had used the term in the same sense, which was taken up after the fifth century, when this second-century sophist had become an exemplar to the orators of the Byzantine setting. My analysis of the Scholia on the Apocalypse shows that Cassian had definitely read the commentaries on Aristotle's and Hermogenes' works, which have just been cited (see Cassian's *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion IV & Post-Scholion XXIV Adnotatio: *Anonymi In Hermogenem, Prolegomena in Librum Περὶ Στάσεων*. Scholion IV: *Anonymi, Commentarium in Librum Περὶ Εὐρέσεως*. Also, Cassian's *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Post-Scholion XXIV Adnotatio: *Anonymi, In Hermogenem, Commentarium in Librum Περὶ Ἰδεῶν*. Also, Scholion I: *Anonymi In Aristotelis Artem Rhetoricam Commentarium*. Scholion IV: *Anonymi, In Aristotelis Artem Rhetoricam Commentarium*). Cassian entertained the specific sense of πλατυσμός at this point, not to be followed by anyone for centuries, until the famous Homeric philologist and Archbishop of Thessaloniki Eustathius applied this sense of πλατυσμός abundantly: Cf. Eustathius of Thessaloniki, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, v. 1, p. 26 (πλατυσμοῦ τῆς Ἰλιάδος); p. 486 (πολὺν ἔχει παρὰ τοῖς ἰστοροῦσι πλατυσμόν); v. 2, p. 334 (πλατυσμόν τε τῇ ποιήσει); v. 3, pp. 462 (πρὸς εὐρεσιλογίαν πλατυσμοῦ καὶ ποικιλίαν γραφῆς); p. 469 (ὁ δὲ πλατυσμός αὐτοῦ ἐν στίχοις ἑκακίδεκα διείληπται); p. 796 (εἰς πλατυσμόν γραφῆς); pp. 836–837 (ἔλυσεν εἰς πλατυσμόν τὴν λέξιν); p. 847 (παραβολή ... οὐχ' οὕτω πεπλατυσμένη); v. 4, p. 29 (ἐν σχημάτων ἐξαλλαγαῖς, ἐν πλατυσμοῖς, ἐν στενότησιν); p. 74 (καὶ τοιοῦτον τῇ ποιήσει γλυκὺν πλατυσμόν); p. 77 (ἐκ πλατυσμοῦ περιφραστικοῦ); p. 305 (καὶ πλατυσμός τοῦ στενοῦ ἐκείνου νοήματος); p. 679 (ἐν πλατυσμῷ νοημάτων); p. 921 (τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ποιήσει πλατυσμόν ἐμποιεῖν); *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*, v. 1, p. 2 (μηχανὰς πλατυσμοῦ τῇ ποιήσει ἄλλοτε ἄλλας); p. 6 (τῆς ποιήσεως πλατυσμοῦ); p. 23 (εἰς πλατυσμόν τῆς τε ποιήσεως); p. 187 (πλατυσμόν ποιήσεως); v. 2, p. 38 (ἀφορμὰς οὕτω πολλὰς πλατυσμοῦ εἰς γραφήν); p. 81 (ἐκχέοντος εἰς πλατυσμόν); p. 102 (πλατυσμόν ποιήσεως); p. 104 (πλατυσμόν διηγήσεως); p. 312 (πρὸς τε πλατυσμόν).

We have, therefore, a stunning token of Cassian's erudition, since he is the sole Christian author of the first Christian millenium to entertain this characteristic meaning.

8. The Homeric verb ἀρτύω (or, ἀρτύνω) (*Odyssea*, I.277; IV.771; XXIV.153; *et passim*. *Ilias*, II.55; X.302; XI.216; XII.43&86, *et passim*) means ‘prepare’, ‘arrange’, ‘make ready’ of things requiring skill (or cunning; Polybius, *Historiae*, 15.25.2: ἀρτυῖσαι φόνον); ἀρτυτός means ‘seasoned, so as to be made sweet, or tasty in general’. Therefore, αὐτάρτυτα means those points of a text for which neither tropology nor allegory is required in order to grasp their meaning. They are expressions that are already explicit and arranged so as to be grasped in their immediate literal sense. As a matter of fact, in Photius the verb means ‘prepared’. Photius, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter alpha, entry 2908. The word is exclusive to Cassian, it is indicative of his command of Greek and excludes any possibility of this text being a translation. In Latin, this meaning has been lost, as I have explained. See *RCR*, p. 165.

9. ἀλληγορίας χρῆζοντα εἰς ὁμαλισμὸν φράσεως. The expression means ‘to harmonize the words with the real meaning of a passage’. This is a clear influence by Origen and Didymus. Cf. Origen, *Philocalia*, 1:29 (*selPs*, PG.12.1453.19): Εἰ δὲ τῷ βίαιον εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ ἐκ μέρους μὲν ἱστορίαν ἀλληγορῆσαι μὴ ἐξομαλίσαι δὲ αὐτήν. *commMatt*, 15.1: οὐκέτι δὲ τεθεωρήκασιν ὅτι ἀρμόζον ἦν τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἐκδοχῇ καὶ τοὺς προτέρους δύο εὐνουχισμοὺς ὁμοίως τῷ τρίτῳ ἀλληγορῆσαι, ἢ ἐξομαλίσαι παραπλησίως τοῖς προτέροις δυσὶ καὶ τὸν τρίτον. Didymus, *comPs* 29–34, Cod. p. 220: παραδέχονται αὐτὸ οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι ἐξομαλίζειν πρὸς τὰς λέξεις τὰ νοήματα. *comPs* 35–39, Cod. p. 285: εἶπον ὅτι αἱ ἀλληγορίαι οὐκ ἐξομαλίζονται πρὸς τὰς ἱστορίας. *In Genesim*, Cod. pp. 104–105: Σημειώτεον δὲ τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐκ, ἐάν τι ἀλληγορῆται, πάντως ὅλον ἐξομαλίζειν ἀνάγκη· εἰλημπται γὰρ διὰ τί τὸ ῥητὸν οἰκεῖον πρὸς ἀλληγορίαν, τούτου δὲ νοουμένου, οὐκ ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ πάντα δέχεσθαι πρὸς ἀναγωγὴν, οἷον ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ “οὐ φιμώσεις βοῦν ἄλοῶντα”. *commEccl* (3–4.12), Cod. p. 116: εἶπον ὅτι μὴ ἐξομαλίζεσθαι ... αὕτη ἡ λέξις ἐπὶ τοῦ ῥητοῦ. Cf. Pseudo-Athanasius, *De Sancta Trinitate* (*dialogi* 1; 3; 5), PG.28.1244.36–38: Καίτοιγε ἡ μεγίστη ἀκολουθία τοῦ ῥητοῦ αὕτη, καὶ ἄλλως ἐξομαλισθῆναι οὐ δύναται ἢ οὕτως. The expression was used by Eusebius, yet his passage was ascribed also to Basil. Eusebius, *commPs*, PG.23.393.28–29 & Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae Super Psalmos*, PG.29.393.6–8: τὰ γὰρ ἐφ’ ἐξῆς τοῦ ῥητοῦ οὐκέτι ὁμοίως ἐξομαλίζει ἡμῖν τὴν περὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐξήγησιν. Cf. Methodius of Olympus (influenced by Origen), *Symposium sive Convivium Decem Virginum*, Oration 3.10: ἀνέδραμεν εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν ἐξομαλίζων εἰς τὸν προκείμενον αὐτῷ καὶ αὐτὰ νοῦν τῆς ὑποθέσεως. Procopius of Gaza, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, PG.87(2).2069.49–53: ἐφισταμένοις διὰ τὴν ὑπτιότητα. Βούλεται γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἀμφοτέρω περὶ Θεοῦ νοεῖν ὑψηλὰ τε καὶ ἀσφαλῆ. Ὁ δὲ τὰ περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ κηρύττων μεγαλοφώνως, οὕτως ἦρεν ἐπ’ ὅρους τὸ σημεῖον, τὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀθῶους λόγον μεγαλύνει δυνάμενος, ἐξομαλισμῷ τε καὶ σαφηνείᾳ περὶ τῶν

ἐπαγγελλομένων παραδιδούς. Op. cit. PG.87(2).2577.49–53: οἱ καὶ ἐτέρων φανούνται διδασκαλοὶ, παραινοῦντες αὐτοῖς ἐξομαλίζειν τὰς ὁδοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ, καθαρὰς ποιουμένους καὶ λείας διδασκαλίας σκολιὸν ἐχούσας μηδέν. Op. cit. PG.87(2).2577–2580: προστάττει δὲ καὶ τὴν τῆς θεοσεβείας ἐξομαλίζειν ὁδόν, καὶ τὰ δοκούντα προσκόμματα τῶν θείων ἀναγνωσμάτων περιαιρεῖν διὰ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ σαφέστερον αὐτῶν ἐρμηνείας. Nilus of Ancyra, *Narrationes Septem de Monachis in Sina*, 2.15: τὰ δόγματα, καὶ χρόνου πολλοῦ καὶ γλώσσης ἱκανῆς χρήζοντα πρὸς ἐξομαλισμὸν πρέποντα δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaiam*, 13.257: ἀναβαίνων ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ λόγου ὕψος, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτὴν τὴν σοφίαν μετὰ ἐξομαλισμοῦ καὶ σαφηνείας τῶν ἀπαγγελλομένων τὸ κήρυγμα παραδιδούς.

The entire section is an Origenistic exposition of the need to apply allegory in order to accommodate different readings of Scripture, namely, historical (literal) and allegorical. Nevertheless, Cassian appears to confuse typology with allegory (Cf. *PHE*, pp. 26–37). Cod. p. 103^r: περὶ τῶν δύο χαρὰ κτήρων τῶν θείων γραφῶν, λέγω δὴ τύπου καὶ ἀληθείας. This is a result of Cassian having read Gregory of Nyssa speaking of ‘allegory’, yet quoting 1 Cor. 10:1: the term τυπικῶς mislead Cassian so as to make him refer to ‘typology’. Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum Canticorum* (*homiliae* 15), v. 6, p. 6: ἀλληγορίαν ὀνομάζει τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν θεωρίαν, πάλιν δὲ πράγματα τινα διηγησάμενος τῆς ἱστορίας φησὶν ὅτι τυπικῶς μὲν συνέβαινεν ἐκείνοις, ἐγγράφη δὲ πρὸς νοουθεσίαν ἡμῶν.

This point is significant, since it evinces that it was Gregory of Nyssa, not Chrysostom, who was the actual mentor for Cassian. For indeed Chrysostom rejected furiously any notion of allegory and went as far as to assert that Gal. 4:24, although explicitly speaking of ‘allegory’ (ἀλληγορούμενα), actually intends *typology*. John Chrysostom, *In Epistulam ad Galatas Commentarius*, PG.61.662.19–21: “Ἀτινὰ ἐστὶν ἀλληγορούμενα. Καταχρηστικῶς τὸν τύπον ἀλληγορίαν ἐκάλεσεν. Whenever Chrysostom comes upon the stumbling-block of Paul referring to ‘allegory’ (that is, Gal. 4:24), he immediately and explicitly renders this as ‘typology’. John Chrysostom, *In Illud: Habentes Eundem Spiritum* (*homiliae* 1–3), PG.51.285.40–41: Τί δὲ ἐστὶν, Ἀλληγορούμενα; Τύποι τῶν ἐν τῇ χάριτι γενομένων ἦσαν τὰ ἐν τῇ Παλαιᾷ Διαθήκῃ γινόμενα. *De Paenitentia* (*homiliae* 1–9), PG.49.320.57 (from homily 6; homilies 7–9 are spurious): ἄτινὰ ἐστὶν ἀλληγορούμενα. ... μάνθανε καὶ διὰ τῶν τύπων τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο. By contrast, Cassian makes an extensive reference to ‘allegory’ at this point, thus sanctioning both the method and the term.

Beyond this exposition, however, it has to be noted that Cassian applies the noun ὁμαλισμός, not ἐξομαλισμός. There is only one author that used this term and he was a monastic figure, namely, Isidore of Pelusium, who

essayed to propound a midway between a arid literal reading of scriptures and an all-out allegorical sense being applied to them. *Epistulae* (1414–1700), 1574: μηδὲ ἐκβιαζώμεθα τὰς προφητείας, μηδὲ δι' ὀμαλισμοῦ χάριν τῶν προφητικῶν χωρίων εἰς ἀγυρτικὰς ἐμπίπτωμεν λογοποιίας. This means that although the idea comes from Origen, Cassian took up the specific terminology from Isidore of Pelusium.

10. τινὰ δὲ πρὸς ἑκατέραν ἐκδοχὴν. Cf. Origen, *Philocalia*, 26,5 (& *selPs*, PG.12.1157.36): πολλὴ γὰρ ἱστορία ἢ περὶ τοῦ ἀγίου ἐξεταζομένη ἐναντιοῦται ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐκδοχαῖς. Gregory of Nyssa, *De Virginitate*, 18, 5: Εἰ δέ τι βεβιασμένη καὶ ἀπρόσκολλος ἢ τοιαύτη τῆς ἱστορίας ἐκδοχὴ φαίνεται. These are the only parallels that we have. The adjective ἀπρόσκολλος means 'irrelevant': this is a peculiar word made up by Gregory, who used it at three points, in three different works of his. No other author did use this word ever.

11. The notion of νηπιώδης ἔξις is extremely rare and appears in Didymus, *commJob* (1–4), Cod. p. 74: ὅπως μὴ ἐν ἔξει ἡλικίας μετὰ τὴν νηπιώδην γένηται. *comPs* 22–26.10, Cod. p. 63: οἶδας ὅτι ὁ κεραννύων ἐνίστε πρὸς τὴν ἔξιν τοῦ πίνοντος τὴν κράσιν ποιεῖται. καὶ ἡ σοφία τοίνυν τὸν ἑαυτῆς οἶνον ἐκέρασεν καὶ οὐ πᾶσιν τὸ αὐτὸ κράμα δίδωσιν, ἀλλ' ὁ χωρεῖ ἕκαστος. εἰσὶν οὖν νηπιώδεις, ἐν οἷς δοκεῖ τοῦτο τὸ κράμα μᾶλλον ὑδαρέστερον εἶναι. πλεονάζει τὸ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως. ὅταν δὲ τις “θεάσῃται τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός”, ὁ οἶνος πλεονάζει.

The rest of relevant instances betoken a Sabaitic and Akoimetan vocabulary. Pseudo-Macarius, *Epistula Magna*, p. 236 & Ephraem Syrus, *Institutio ad Monachos*, p. 304 (the same text): ὁ γεννώμενος ἄνωθεν ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος οὐκ εἰς τὴν νηπιώδην τῆς πνευματικῆς ἡλικίας ἔξιν ἵστασθαι ὀφείλει. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *De Pharisaeo*, PG.59.589.53–58: “Ὡς περ πατὴρ φιλότεκνος προσομιλεῖν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ φιλτάτοις ὑπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ἀγάπης ἐλκόμενος, καὶ ὄντων νηπίων μὴ δυναμένων ἀκούειν τελείων ῥημάτων διὰ τὸ νηπιώδες τῆς ἔξεως, ὁ πατὴρ ὑπαλλάξας τὴν φωνήν, καὶ τὸ τροχαλὸν τῆς εὐγλωττίας ἀποθέμενος, ψελλίζειν αὐτοῖς ἄρχεται. I have argued that the expression πατὴρ φιλότεκνος in *De Pharisaeo* points to Cassian, and it was also used by Caesarius (= Cassian). It is therefore probable that this work belongs to Cassian.

12. Cassian classifies three kinds of ‘established habit’ (ἔξις): the babyish (νηπιώδης), the practical (πρακτική), and the ‘cognitive’ one (γνωστική). A unique analysis by Cassian’s contemporary Simplicius advises that this was in fact a classification made by Epictetus: men are classified in three categories: ‘idiots’, those ‘progressing’, and ‘philosophers’. The first group

corresponds to Cassian's 'babyish' character, the second to the 'practical', and the third to the 'cognitive' one. Cf. Simplicius, *Commentarius in Epicteti Enchiridion*, p. 132: πρῶτον ἡμῖν τὰς τρεῖς ἕξεις παραδίδωσιν, τὰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους περιλαμβανούσας. Τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων, οἱ μὲν, ἰδιῶται· οἱ δὲ ἐκ διαμέτρου τούτων, φιλόσοφοι· οἱ δὲ, ἀφιστάμενοι μὲν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, προσχωροῦντες δὲ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις· οὓς Προκόπτοντας καλεῖ. Op. cit. 133: Διαστήσας τὰς τρεῖς ἕξεις, τὰς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φυομένας, ἰδιώτου, καὶ φιλοσόφου, καὶ προκόπτοντος. When Cassian says that the concealed meaning of Scripture 'nourishes the established habits of men' (τρέφει καθολικῶς τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἕξιν, *supra*, p. 102'), he actually refers to all three kinds of it, which he explicates at this point: Δὲ τῶν θεωριῶν οὖν τούτων τρέφει ὁ Θεὸς τὰς ἕξεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, In Appendix II, I explore the close relation between Simplicius and *DT*, and I suggest that the *Commentarius in Epicteti Enchiridion* points to personal relation between its author Simplicius and Cassian.

Besides, Cassian's expression τὴν πρακτικὴν καὶ γνωστικὴν should be considered. This is a classification pointing to Evagrius, who made much of Origen's categorisation. Evagrius, *Practicus* (*capita centum*), Prologue, lines 54 & 58; ch. 50; *Gnosticus* (*fragmenta Graeca*), 1; *Sententiae ad Monachos*, Sententia 121; *Tractatus ad Eulogium* (*sub nomine Nili Ancyran*), PG.79: 1112.54–58; 1113.21–22; 1125.21–22. Origen, *frPs*, 118, 74: Εὐφραίνονται πρακτικοί, ἀκούοντες γνωστικῶν. *commJohn*, XIX.8.48: τῷ γνωστικῷ τόπῳ ἢ τῷ πρακτικῷ. Evagrius wrote two highly praised tracts, of which one was entitled *Practicus*, the other *Gnosticus* (Socrates Scholasticus, *HE*, 4.23, information reproduced by Suda, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter mu, entry 56). Both terms at this point (viz. πρακτικοί and γνωστικοί) point to the titles of two works by this author. The original distinction was made by Plato (*Politicus*, 258e5; 259d1) to be later canvassed by Alexander of Aphrodisias (*In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, pp. 8; 19; *De Anima*, p. 73), as well by the Neoplatonists and Aristotelian commentators of Cassian's lifetime: Ammonius of Alexandria (sixth cent. AD), *In Porphyrii Isagogen* sive *Quinque Voces*, pp. 4; 6; 11. Damascius, *In Phaedonem* (*versio 1*), 325. Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, v. 8, p. 5; *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 9, pp. 1; 14; 308; *In Aristotelis Libros de Anima Commentaria* [spurious?], v. 11, pp. 222; 264. Asclepius of Tralleis (sixth cent. AD), *In Aristotelis Metaphysicorum Libros A–Z Commentaria*, pp. 14; 22. Elias of Alexandria (sixth cent. AD), *In Porphyrii Isagogen*, p. 27. David of Alexandria (sixth cent. AD), *Prolegomena Philosophiae*, pp. 56; 79. John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Libros de Anima Commentaria*, v. 15, p. 5; *De Aeternitate Mundi*, p. 255.

Only a few Christian writers entertained the idea. Didymus, *commZacch*, 1.266; 3.5; 3.11 (τοῦ βίου, τοῦ πρακτικοῦ καὶ γνωστικοῦ); 4.51; *frPs(al)*,

Fr. 1164 (πρακτικοὶ καὶ γνωστικοὶ ἅμα ὄντες); *commEccl* (9.8–10.20), Cod. p. 297. Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 6; 53; 63; *Quaestiones et Dubia*, 58; *Mystagogia*, 24. Pseudo-Hesychius of Jerusalem (fifth cent. AD), *In Lazarum et in Ramos Palmarum* (*homilia* 18), 10.

It would be absurd to claim that this is a Latin text rendered in Greek. The expression γνωστικὴ ἔξις is exclusive to Clement of Alexandria, only to be reproduced later by Maximus Confessor. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, 5.13.83.3; 6.12.99.3; 7.7.46.9. Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 65; *Quaestiones et Dubia*, 35. The sentiment of the expression is of course Aristotelian, and the phrase was indeed used by later Aristotelian commentators, such as Eustratius of Nicaea (eleventh–twelfth cent.), *In Aristotelis Analyticorum Posteriorum Librum Secundum Commentarium*, pp. 259; 260; 262; 270.

13. Antiochus Epiphanes (215–164 BC, reign 175–164) transformed the Temple in Jerusalem into one dedicated ‘to Olympius Zeus’, in 167 BC. Cf. 2 Macc. 6:1–11. Theodore of Mopsuestia, *expPs*, 78, 3. Theodoret, *intDan*, PG.81.1525.43–1528.27. John Chrysostom, *Adversus Judaeos*, PG.48.899.33 f. Pseudo-Caesarius, *QR*, 218. John Malalas, *Chronographia*, pp. 206–207. Suda, *Lexicon*, alphabetic letter beta, entry 200. The expression in Daniel 11:31, 12:11, 1 Macc. 1:54, τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως (‘the abomination of desolation’) was used against any real or imagined heretic. In the Local Synod of Constantinople of 536, where Cassian was present, the expression was hurled against Severus (ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, p. 77), and then against Origen himself (op. cit. Tome 3, p. 202).

14. οὐ γὰρ ἀντιστήκει ὁ τύπος τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, μᾶλλον δὲ μαρτυρεῖ. Cassian writes following the lessons he had read in Theodoret and Cyril. Cf. Theodoret, *Eranistes*, p. 209; EPAN. Ἐδεξάμην τὴν δεσποτικὴν μαρτυρίαν, καὶ πιστεύω τῷ τύπῳ. OPΘ. Παράθεσ τοίνυν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τὸν τύπον. Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannem*, v. 3, p. 157: φέρε μεθιστάντες, ὡς ἔνι, καλῶς εἰς ἀληθείας δῆλωσιν τὰ ὡς ἐν τύπῳ πεπληρωμένα, τοῖς τοῦ Σωτῆρος λόγοις μαρτυρήσωμεν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. *Epistulae Paschales sive Homiliae Paschales* (*epist.* 1–30), PG.77.972.25–27: Ἄλλ’ ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἐν τύποις τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ὠδίνοντα κάλλη, ἡμᾶς δὲ παντὸς ἀπαλλάττει ῥύπου Χριστός, ὅς ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια.

15. μὴ καθ’ ὑπόστασιν κακόν. The idea of God being not responsible for evil is Origen’s, and it comes from Plato, who taught that god is not the author of evil. I have canvassed this issue in *PHE*, pp. 249–250. Cassian’s context at this section is entirely Origenistic, yet he reproduces the idea actually following

Gregory of Nyssa and Eusebius, who had laid considerable emphasis on this point. Eusebius, *PE*, 3.13.21; 7.22.21; 7.22.35; 7.22.36; 7.22.52. Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 1.1.520; 1.1.521; *De Virginitate*, 12.2; *De Infantibus Praemature abreptis*, p. 92. Especially see the following by Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio Catechetica Magna*, 7: πονηρία δὲ πάντα ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ στερήσει χαρακτηρίζεται, οὐ καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὐσα, οὐδὲ καθ' ὑπόστασιν θεωρουμένη· κακὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔξω προαιρέσεως ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ κεῖται, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὴ εἶναι τὸ ἀγαθὸν οὕτω κατονομάζεται. τὸ δὲ μὴ ὄν οὐχ ὑφέστηκε, τοῦ δὲ μὴ ὑφεστώτος δημιουργὸς ὁ τῶν ὑφεστώτων δημιουργὸς οὐκ ἔστιν. οὐκοῦν ἔξω τῆς τῶν κακῶν αἰτίας ὁ θεὸς ὁ τῶν ὄντων, οὐχ ὁ τῶν μὴ ὄντων ποιητὴς ὢν. This is the portion that might have inspired Cassian at this point of his own work.

Other theologians mentioned the tenet. Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, v. 2, pp. 191; 446. Pseudo-Macarius, *Homiliae Spirituales* 50 (*collectio H*), Homily 46. Julian the Arian, *Commentarius in Job*, pp. 253; 259; 260. Basil of Caesarea wrote a treatise to deal with the question: *Quod Deus Non Est Auctor Malorum*, PG.31.329–353.

16. οὐ γὰρ νομιστέον τὸν θεὸν ἀνενέργητον εἶναι ποτε. This expression of Cassian is itself a strong indication of this text being a sixth-century one. Hardly did Christian authors assert that God *has* to be active by nature.

The epithet ἀνενέργητος was introduced by Clement of Alexandria rebutting Chrysippus, who had argued a 'cause' is not only what is involved with creation and action, but also what 'does not obstruct' something from coming to pass. *Stromateis*, 1.17.82.4; 8.9.27.6. Alexander of Aphrodisias was at one with Clement in a rather oblique way. For Alexander argued that even when 'a sense of perception' is 'inactive', this is a perception still, though only a potential one (καὶ ἡ ἀνενέργητος αἴσθησις δυνάμει αἴσθησις, *De Anima*, p. 39).

It was not until later when the question of God being either 'active' or 'inactive' became a point of dispute. According to Pseudo-Athanasius, *Oratio Quarta Contra Arianos*, 4, the very fact that the Father begets the Logos means that he is active (εἰ ἄγονος καὶ ἀνενέργητος ὁ Θεός γέννημα γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὁ υἱός, δι' οὗ ἐργάζεται). In op. cit. 11, argument is developed against the heretical view of the Arians, who had posited God as inactive simply because he did not utter the creative *fiat* from all eternity (τὸν δὲ Θεὸν σιωπῶντα μὲν ἀνενέργητον, λαλοῦντα δὲ ἰσχύειν αὐτὸν βούλονται).

It was Plotinus who argued for Good to be inactive (*Enneades*, V.6.6: ἀνενέργητον). Treating the question of the 'will of the One', Plotinus contended that the One has no will (however, Cf. *COT*, p. 130, where notions suggesting *will* in Plotinus are canvassed). The Good is sheer beauty, and this beauty

could on no account be modified by the will of any god. "What would his will possibly be, once [the Good] is without will in its very existence?", Plotinus wonders. How would the Good possibly come to having a will out of its inactive substance? (ἀπὸ οὐσίας ἀνενεργήτου; op. cit. VI.8.21).

Therefore, in the first place, the purpose of arguing for God being 'not inactive' is an implicit objection to Plotinus. No text evinces this anxiety for representing the Biblical God as 'not inactive' better than one ascribed to Pseudo-Justin (= Cassian?). In this interesting text, styling God 'inactive' (ἀνεέργητον) is taken for granted to be a 'sin'. A supposed dialogue between a Greek and a Christian refutes this Neoplatonic doctrine on the grounds of a purely Aristotelian logic and terminology. The paragon of the Christian's position is the notion of the 'will' of God. Subsequently, the crucial term ἀνεέργητος applied to God is amply deployed in relation to its consequences (Pseudo-Justin, *Questiones Christianorum ad Gentiles*, pp. 168–175). In view of this text, Cassian is a very strong candidate as the author of this tract. Nevertheless, its main point (refuting divine inactivity) is not as strong as one might have expected. Although the author dismisses the notion of a beginningless world, he argues for 'the essence' of the world being beginninglessly in God, even though the actual world came into being at a definite moment and was effected by the divine will. God is 'not inactive', on account of the 'essence' of the world being in him from all eternity.

In any case, Cassian was a pupil of Gregory of Nyssa. It is true that no author used the adjective ἀνεέργητος as frequently as Gregory did, amounting to no less than twenty-seven instances. However, none of these instances is an analysis dealing with the Plotinian thesis of God being inactive. Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 2.1.90; 3.2.93; 3.8.27; 3.10.36; *In Canticum Canticorum* (homiliae 15), v. 6, pp. 116; 313; 404; *Encomium in Sanctum Stephanum Protomartyrem i*, p. 10; *Oratio Catechetica Magna*, 1; 4; 6; 11; 33; *De Oratione Dominica Orationes v*, p. 306; *In Basilium Fratrem*, 22; *Dialogus de Anima et Resurrectione*, v. 46, p. 29; *De Spiritu Sancto sive In Pentecosten*, PG.46.697.52; *De Vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi*, PG.46.952.7; *De Opificio Hominis*, pp. 161; 164; 244; *Adversus Macedonianos de Spiritu Sancto*, v. 3,1, p. 99; *Antirrheticus Adversus Apollinarium*, v. 3,1, p. 153; *De Mortuis Non Esse Dolendum*, v. 9, p. 52; *De Instituto Christiano*, v. 8,1, p. 74. Instances of the term ἀνεέργητος being used by Basil of Caesarea and John Chrysostom do not bear on God's nature.

Cassian employed the literal sense of ἀνεέργητος, too. Cf. *Const*, p. 16^v: ὁ ἀποταξάμενος γνησίως τῷ κόσμῳ, ... ἀκινήτους καὶ ἀνενεργήτους ἔχει πάσας τὰς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τὰς σαρκικάς διαθέσεις. Aristotelist as he was, Cassian knew the Stagirite's doctrine that whereas every being is an actualization of a

certain potentiality, it is God alone who is sheer actuality. Besides, Origen himself taught that since God can be Father of the Son, he does not postpone his fatherhood, and the same goes for the Holy Spirit. God is eternally a Trinitarian Being. Origen, *commGen*, PG.12.45.34–39: Εἰ γὰρ αἰεὶ τέλειος ὁ Θεός, καὶ πάρεστιν αὐτῷ δύναμις τοῦ πατέρα αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ καλὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι Πατέρα τοῦ τοιούτου Υἱοῦ, τί ἀναβάλλεται, καὶ ἑαυτὸν τοῦ καλοῦ στερίσκει, καί, ὥς ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ἐξ οὗ δύναται Πατὴρ εἶναι Υἱοῦ; Τὸ αὐτὸ μέντοιγε καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος λεκτέον. *Apud* Eusebius, *Contra Marcellum*, 1.4.22 (Marcellus of Ancyra, *Fragmenta*, Fr. 39).

The distortion forced into Origen's theology in the sixth century applied this eternal actuality (Trinitarian *being*) into divine *action*. Since God can create, he cannot postpone his creative action. But this was an inference entirely alien to Origen's thought, where the notion of divine *will* played a pivotal role in sharp contrast to Plotinus, as I have argued (*COT*, pp. 119–164). When Plotinus argues for the Good being ἀνενέργητον, he dismisses the notion of *will* applied to the Good. This means that the generation given to lower ontological realities (Mind, Soul) does not pertain to the *will*, but to the *nature* of the Good. Therefore, this generation cannot be taken as voluntary action: this is just the mode in which the One *is* (assuming that *is* can be applied to the One). Therefore, the One is creative *by nature*, and there is no way for this to be ever 'inactive' with respect to producing the lower planes of being by effluence, even though Plotinus did not see this as *action proper*. However, Christians saw the idea that God cannot have ever been *inactive* (which makes creation beginningless) as sheer Neoplatonism. To which Plotinus himself would have had a rejoinder to come up with, namely, that in effect he entertained Aristotle's doctrine of god being always actuality, never potentiality. This has never been a Christian doctrine, since theologians made the crucial distinction between divine *essence*, on the one hand, and *will* and *action*, on the other—a distinction which originates in Origen, as I have sustained (*COT*, loc. cit.).

I believe that the explanation for Cassian to have made this assertion is to be found in himself having misread Philoponus. For indeed it was John Philoponus who made an exposition that was vulnerable to misunderstanding, which would supply argument to a misconceived 'Origenism' during the sixth century. Philoponus argued that in God both 'will' and 'power' are concurrent (τὸ μέντοι θεῖον σύνδρομον ἔχει τῇ βουλήσει τὴν δύναμιν). Were it sustained that God wills something but he cannot realize it, this will would be absurd, as it would be the case with a human being who wills to fly or to be immortal (ἐὰν γὰρ βούλεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν εἴπωμεν, μὴ δύνασθαι δὲ ἅ βούλεται, ἀνόητος ἢ βούλησις, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἀνόητος ἐκεῖνος ὁ βουλόμενος ἅ μὴ

δύναται, οἷον ἵπτασθαι ἢ ἀθάνατος εἶναι). By the same token, if one urged that God can do something, but he does not will to do it, it should follow that this power is an empty one (πάλιν εἰ δύνασθαι μὲν αὐτὸν εἵπωμεν, μὴ βούλεσθαι δέ, ματαίαν ἔξει τὴν δύναμιν). This is why, with respect to God, we can only say that 'he can', not that 'he cannot' (as, for instance, 'he cannot afford not to be good', διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ θεοῦ τὸ δύνασθαι μόνον λέγομεν, οὐκέτι δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι). 'For those things which he can do, he wills them, and once he wills, he does' (διότι ἃ δύναται ποιεῖν, ταῦτα καὶ βούλεται, βουλόμενος δὲ πάντως καὶ ποιεῖ). There can be no notion of God 'perhaps doing something, and perhaps not doing something' (καὶ οὐ τάχα μὲν ποιεῖ τάχα δὲ οὐ ποιεῖ). He 'definitely does, since whatever he wills, he does, and whatever he does, he wills' (ἀλλὰ πάντως ποιεῖ· πᾶν γὰρ ὃ βούλεται δύναται καὶ ὃ δύναται βούλεται). For if God 'can do something while not willing this, he will not do it anyway, and he will not develop a certain potentiality into actuality' (εἰ γὰρ δυνάμενός τις ποιεῖν τοῦτο μὴ βούλεται ποιεῖν, οὐ ποιήσει πάντως οὐδὲ τὴν δύναμιν εἰς ἐνέργειαν ἄξει). Were that case, however, God's 'power would be otiose': it would make no sense 'once it remains inactive' (ὥστε ματαία ἔσται ἡ δύναμις ἀνενέργητος διαμένουσα). There can be no notion of God 'deliberating' on whether to do or not to do something. For 'as Aristotle says' (ὥς φησιν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης) 'deliberation betokens only want of prudence' (οὐδὲν ἑτερόν ἐστιν ἢ βουλή ἢ ἔνδεια φρονήσεως). Only one who is not sure about what to do is in need of deliberating to oneself before making a certain decision; in fact, the need for deliberation denotes 'ignorance' (βουλευόμεθα γὰρ ἀγνοοῦντες ὃ τι δεῖο ποιεῖν καὶ πότερον τόδε ἢ τόδε ποιητέον ἐστίν). John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, v. 13,1, p. 145.

Besides, Cassian's assertion about God being never inactive might well be a fatal misreading of Gregory of Nyssa canvassing Prov. 8:22. Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *Adversus Arium et Sabellium de Patre et Filio*, v. 3,1, p. 75: εἰ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα, οὐδέποτε ἄρα ἀρχὴ ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔργων αὐτοῦ εὐρεθήσεται, ἀλλ' αἰὲν ἐνεργής. Gregory made a distinction between Theology and Cosmology following Origen (*COT*, p. 30). The presence of Wisdom and Logos in Trinity is eternal, but the creative action of the Logos had a beginning. Cassian probably took it that the Logos has to be creative beginninglessly.

The lesson which Cassian drew from his readings was that once God willed from all eternity to create the world, there can be no notion of God delaying his decision. In the sixth-century turbulent milieu, this view was projected into Origen's thought, by both Origen's defenders and detractors alike, which resulted to producing the sixth-century phony construction alleged to be 'Origenism'.

17. βιοφοροῦντες. On p. 90^r, Cassian spoke of demons dissenting from one another. In addition, he says now that demons fight against each other on account of their viciousness. s. *infra*, p. 107a: Αὐτῶν τοίνυν (ταῖς) ἀντιπολεμῆσιν, αἷς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐνοχλοῦσιν, ταῖς αὐταῖς καὶ ἀλλήλ(ο)ις πολεμοῦσιν τῆς αὐτῶν πονηρίας ἔνεκα. Cod. p. 108^r: Διὰ τοῦτο δὲ οὐ δύναται μεταξὺ τῶν πονηρῶν ἀρχῶν ὁμόνοια εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ κρατοῦντες τῶν ἀπίστων ἐθνῶν ἀλλήλοις ἀντίκεινται κεκρατημένοι φθόνῳ καὶ φιλονικείᾳ. At the present point, he uses a neologism introduced by Epiphanius of Salamis, meaning ‘being distressed’ (Middle voice, βιοφορεῖσθαι) or ‘causing distress’ (Active voice, βιοφορεῖν). Epiphanius actually used the verb in Middle voice only. *Panarion*, v. 3, p. 52: πᾶς γὰρ ἀρπαζόμενος καὶ βιοφορούμενος. p. 147: βιοφορεῖσθαι τε καὶ λυπεῖσθαι. p. 160: βιοφορουμένου καὶ στένοντος. So did Asterius of Antioch, the sophist, *comPs* (*homiliae* 31), Homily 4.10: ὁ βιοφορούμενος ἐν θλίψει. This leaves the present instance by Cassian as the sole one of an author ever having applied the verb in Active voice (βιοφορεῖν).

18. ὅπερ ὁ ἑβραῖος ἐκδίδωσιν (a version of Gen. 3:1, by someone styled ‘the Hebrew’). Cassian appears to be aware of an Old Testament version by a certain yet unidentified ‘Hebrew’ translator, who is supposed to have rendered Gen. 3:1 in a different manner. The serpent is styled not ‘the most prudent’ (φρονιμώτατος), but ‘the most cruel’ (σκληρότερος) of all beasts on earth. In the edition of Origen’s *Hexapla*, we come upon different alternatives. Cf. Fridericus Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum que supersunt*, v. I, Hildesheim, 1964, pp. 15–16: LXX: φρονιμώτατος. Ak. πανούργος. According to the editor availing himself of Jerome and Anastasius of Sinai, Akylas and Theodotion have it πανούργος. Symmachus has it πανουργότερος. Anastasius of Sinai says that the version πανουργότερος is the one employed by Symmachus and Akylas: “Symmachus eniam et Aquila, pro *prudentialior*, dixerunt *callidior*”. (*Anagogigiarum Contemplationum In Hexahemeron, Libri XII*, PG.89.1012.7–8). Jerome: “Pro *sapiente* in Hebraeo habetur AROM, quod Aq. et Theod. πανούργον interpretati sunt; hoc est, *nequam* et *versipellem*. Magis itaque ex hoc verbo calliditas et versuita, quam sapientia demonstratur”. I believe that Cassian has in mind Symmachus when he refers to ‘the Hebrew’ editor, and that the note by Anastasius of Sinai is not accurate. For we know that Jerome used the version of Symmachus in order to produce his Vulgate. Had Symmachus used the epithet πανούργον, he would have mentioned his name, along with those of Akylas and Theodotion—which Jerome did not. Besides, Symmachus’ translation was circulating in the regions of Palestine and Syria (also, in Cappadocia), which makes all too natural for Cassian to use this version. Furthermore, although Symmachus was actually a Samaritan,

he was subsequently stated as a 'Jew', since he abandoned Samaria, he went to Judaea and committed circumcision (Pseudo-Athanasius, *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae*, PG.28.435.39–436.4). Cf. George Monachus, *Chronicon Breve*, PG.110.532.31–32: Σύμμαχος, εἷς τῶν ἐρμηνευτῶν ἦν Ἑβραῖος.

19. Βεεζεβούλ. With regard to Matt. 12:24, it is only Didymus who uses the name Βεεζεβούλ, instead of Βεελζεβούλ. Cf. *commJob* (12.1–16.8a), Fr. 369; *comPs* 29–34, Cod. pp. 145; 147; *comPs* 40–44.4, Cod. pp. 294; 304; *frPs(al)*, Fr. 662a.

20. καταθυμίως. Extremely rare though it was, the adverb καταθυμίως ('tenderly') transpires only in writers which Cassian was familiar with, above all Gregory of Nyssa: *De Professione Christiana ad Harmonium*, v. 8, p. 142; *In Canticum Canticorum* (*homiliae* 15), v. 6, p. 341; *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*, 16. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, 3.4.1; 4.23.1. Athanasius, *Historia Arianorum*, 16.3; 24.2; 30.3; 53.1; 77.3; *Epistula ad Marcellinum de Interpretatione Psalmorum*, PG.27.33.34. Once again, in the editorially problematic epistles ascribed to Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae*, 42.2, but nowhere else in Basil. Besides, the adverb transpires in two synods: in the acts of the Council of Ephesus (431) and in the local one at Constantinople, where Cassian himself was present. ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum Anno 431*, 1, 1, 7, p. 71. *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana Anno 536*, Tome 3, p. 54. That he uses the rare adverb at this point then, comes hardly as a surprise.

21. τὸ τριβουνάλιον. The term was used at the Local Synod of Constantinople in 536, in which Cassian was present. ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, pp. 17 & 229 (almost the same text in those two *loci*, quoted from an epistle addressed to the fifth century Patriarch Peter of Antioch, the Fuller, who was accused of heresy): δὲ καὶ μετὰ τριῶρον ἔσθη ἐν τῷ τριβουνάλῳ παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ ταῦτα διηγῆσατο καὶ οὕτως λιτανευσάντων ἔστησαν οἱ σεισμοὶ (p. 229: ἔστησαν οἱ φόβοι). It is there that the term appears in the same sense as in this text. Τριβουνάλιον means the *site* where tribunal judgement takes place. However, according to synecdoche, this also may mean the *seat* where a judge sits passing a judgement. Subsequently, it may mean the raised chair of any person of (spiritual or mundane) authority. This is how the term appears both in Cassian's text and in the Synod of 536.

The term appearing in Cassian is a strong indication about his text having been written in the late 530s. Justinian had not yet issued his edict against Origen, so the 'Origenistic' ideas (or, what was thought to be such) could be

peppered into this tract. (By contrast, the text of Pseudo-Caesarius must have been written in the mid-540s, when Cassian was abbot of the Souka monastery). Use of this term before the sixth century is extremely scarce, whereas its meaning, as applied by Cassian, is even more so.

A fragment from the Cappadocian theologian Philostorgius (fourth–fifth cent.), which has been preserved by Photius, entertains this sense: it suggests the royal seat of power (of Theodosius). Philostorgius, *HE*, (fragmenta *apud* Photium), Book 11, Fr. 3. Later still, it appears in the *Chronicon Paschale*, pp. 539; 562; 568 and in Byzantine chroniclers (Theophanes Confessor, George Monachus). It was Emperor Constantinus Porphyrogenitus who made abundant use of this, which is natural, since he had engaged in description of ceremonies that used to take place in the royal court.

22. ἐν πείρᾳ ἔχομεν. This extremely rare expression appears in this form during the sixth century. John Grammaticus (sixth cent. AD), *Disputatio cum Manichaeo*, line 192: ἐν πείρᾳ γεγόναμεν. John Climacus, *Scala Paradisi*, 110: ἐν πείρᾳ γεγινώσ. Before this, we only come upon ἐν πείρᾳ εἶναι or ἐν πείρᾳ γίγνεσθαι. After Julius Pollux (or, Julius Naucratis, second cent. AD, *Onomasticon*, 5.155: ἐν πείρᾳ ἔχων, ἐν πείρᾳ γεγεννημένος), who plays an important role in the Scholia-phraseology, Cassian's expression occurs only in the sixth-century historian Procopius of Caesarea, *De Bellis*, 3.18.17: ἐν πείρᾳ ἔχοντας. Cf. *op. cit.* 3.12.13: ἐν πείρᾳ γεγέννησθε, 4.7.15: ἐν πείρᾳ γεγονότα. 6.22.10: ἐν πείρᾳ γεγεννημένοι. Otherwise, Cassian's reading of Didymus and of John Philoponus (both of whom used a slightly different form of the idiom) plays a distinctive part once again. Cf. Didymus, *commJob* (7.20c–n), Cod. p. 287: ἐν πείρᾳ γενόμενος. *commJob*, PG.39.1128.2: τὸ δὲ ἐν πείρᾳ γενόμενον. *comPs* 40–44.4, Cod. p. 307: ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τῶν ἀγαθῶν τούτων αἰτημάτων ἐν πείρᾳ γέγονεν θεοῦ. Diadochus of Photike (fifth cent.), *Capita Centum de Perfectione Spirituali*, 91: ἐν πείρᾳ γενόμενος. John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Libros de Generatione et Corruptione Commentaria*, v. 14,2, p. 25: ἐν πείρᾳ γεγονέναι. *In Aristotelis Libros de Anima Commentaria*, v. 15, p. 120: καὶ ἐν πείρᾳ ἐστὶ τῶν πολλῶν. Strictly speaking, Cassian's expression, as it stands, comes from Julius Pollux, only to be coupled by historian Procopius and Cassian himself during the sixth century.

23. δύο παρὰ μένουσιν ἄγγελοι. This is an idea of Hermas, which was espoused by Origen and Didymus. The *Pastor* by Hermas is the sole work to be cited by name in the entire text of Cassian (Cod. p. 110^v). Cf. Hermas, *Pastor*, 36.1: δύο εἰσὶν ἄγγελοι μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, εἰς τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ εἰς τῆς πονηρίας. Origen, *homLuc*, Homily 12, p. 75: Ὡς γὰρ ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πάρεσι δύο

ἄγγελοι, ὁ μὲν τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ὁ δὲ τῆς ἀδικίας. Op. cit. Homily 35, p. 197: “Δύο γάρ εἰσιν ἄγγελοι”, ὡς φησιν ὁ Ποιμὴν, “μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, εἰς τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ εἰς τῆς ἀδικίας”. In view of these references, the Latin text of *Princ.* III.2.4 making the same point is trustworthy: sed et Pastoris liber haec eadem declarat docens quod bini angeli singulos quosque hominum comitentur, et si quand bonae cogitationes cor nostrum ascendarit, a bono angelo suggeri dicit, si quando uero contrariae, mali angeli esse suggeri dicit instinctum. This is actually the text of *homLuc*, Homily 12, p. 75 just quoted. The idea did not enjoy much currency. It shows in Didymus, *comPs* 35–39, Cod. p. 267. Also, in a spurious text ascribed to Athanasius, *Doctrina ad Antiochum Ducem*, 1.6; 2.6, a work which we come upon over and over during this exploration, which therefore calls for research as to its relation to Cassian’s pen. John I of Thessaloniki (Archbishop, seventh cent. AD), *Oratio de Dormitione Deiparae*, pp. 382; 410; 411. In addition, one more Sabaite usage: Antiochus of Palestine, the seventh-century monk of the Laura of Sabas, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 61.

24. πληρεστάτως διδάσκει. This vocabulary stems from Cassian having read the acts of the Council of Chalcedon, specifically two letters by Leo of Rome, which are the only points of the superlative πληρέστατα being used. ACO, *Concilium Universale Chalcedonense anno 451*, 2,1,1, p. 31 (from the Tome of Leo): κατὰ τὰς φωνὰς τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων διδασκαλίαν πληρέστατα καὶ σαφέστατα δι’ ὧν πρὸς τὸν τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης Φλαβιανὸν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐπεστείλαμεν. ACO, *Concilium Universale Chalcedonense anno 451*, 2,1,2, p. 47 (from the letter of Leo to Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople): καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ἐπειδὴ ἡ σὴ ἀγάπη περὶ τῆς τοσαύτης αἰτίας συνορᾷ ἡμᾶς ἀναγκαιῶς εἶναι ἐμφρόντιδας, πληρέστατα καὶ τηλαυγέστατα σύμπαντα ἡμῖν, ὅπερ ἤδη ποιῆσαι ὤφειλε, δηλῶσαι σπουδάσει, ἵνα μὴ μετὰ τῆς διδασκαλίας τῶν μερῶν ἀμφιβολίατινι ἀπατηθῶμεν καὶ διχόνοια τραφῇ, ἥτις ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀρχαῖς ἐξαπτεῖα ἐστίν. ἔστι γὰρ ἡμῖν καταθύμιον καὶ παραφυλακτέον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐμπνέοντος, ἵνα μὴ αἱ διατυπώσεις τῶν προσκυνητῶν πατέρων αἱ θεόθεν τὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχουσαι καὶ εἰς τὴν τελειότητα τῆς πίστεως ἀνήκουσαι φαύλη τινὸς ἐρμηνεῖαι μολυνθῶσιν. Italics are mine: they underscore Cassian having taken up the germane vocabulary. Cf. Appendix II (pp. 516–517) arguing that the author of *DT* (= Cassian) was aware of the texts of Leo included in the acts of Chalcedon, especially the expression δεσποτικὴ σάρκωσις, that was used by Leo of Rome, which no author other than the one of *DT* did ever entertain.

25. The expression τῆς ἀπαράλλάκτου φύσεως (‘the invariable nature’) is a substitute for the foregoing πνευματικὰς φύσεις. Therefore, ‘the invariable

nature' simply means 'the spiritual nature', during discussion of Gen. 6:2–4. Germanus in his question said that the 'sons of God' of Gen. 6:2 betoken 'the spiritual nature' (τῇ πνευματικῇ φύσει). However, the ensuing exegesis by Serenus shows these 'sons of God' to be actually holy men, that is, human beings. Cassian is the only author ever to have styled the spiritual nature 'invariable nature'. Once again, he shows himself a student of Gregory of Nyssa, since it was the latter who introduced the expression 'the invariability of nature' in order to portray the relation between the three Persons of the Trinity. Gregory, however, never styled spiritual nature *per se* 'invariable nature'. Gregory of Nyssa, *Ad Eustathium De Sancta Trinitate*, v. 3,1, p. 13: τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀπαράλλακτον. *Ad Ablabium Quod Non Sint Tres Dei*, v. 3,1, p. 55: τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον τῆς φύσεως. Op. cit. v. 3,1, p. 57: ἡ δὲ θεία φύσις ἀπαράλλακτός τε καὶ ἀδιαίρετος. *Contra Eunomium*, 1.1.503: τὸ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν ἀπαράλλακτον. Gregory's accounts were used only later, at the Council of Lateran in 649. ACO, *Concilium Lateranense a. 649 Celebratum*, Act 1, p. 14; Act 5, pp. 262 & 332. Theologians used this expression always in a Trinitarian context.

26. οὐδὲν πρόσφατον ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον. This rendering of Ecclesiastes 1:9 occurs in Gregory of Nyssa, Eusebius, and historian Socrates Scholasticus. Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *In Ecclesiasten* (*homiliae* 8), v. 5, pp. 296; 297. Eusebius, *PE*, 11.7.7; 11.9.2; *De Ecclesiastica Theologia*, 3.2.11. Socrates Scholasticus, *HE*, 2.21. John of Damascus and Arethas have it οὐδὲν καινὸν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον. John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei*, 45. Arethas, *Scripta Minora*, Opus 14, p. 129; Opus 70, p. 95. Procopius of Gaza in his catena has both alternatives: οὐδὲν καινὸν ἢ πρόσφατον ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον (*Catena in Ecclesiasten* [*e cod. Marc. gr.* 22], 3.15), which is a quotation from Didymus. So he does with a quotation from Gregory of Nyssa. Op. cit. 1.9–11. Cassian shows himself affiliated with Gregory of Nyssa and Eusebius one more time.

27. λύεται ἡ ζήτησις. This elegant expression which had remained out of use for centuries, revived in the sixth century through Cassian and Simplicius. See *RCR*, p. 376.

28. τὸ ἔγκλημα ἐπιφύεσθαι. Cassian's source for this extraordinary expression is rather clear, since it was only Basil of Caesarea that used it with reference to a 'crime transpiring'. Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae*, 129.1, which is a letter addressed to Meletius, Bishop of Antioch (360/1–381), referring to 'the crime' committed by Apollinaris: Ἥδεν ὅτι ξενίσει τὴν ἀκοὴν τῆς τελειότητός σου τὸ νῦν ἐπιφυέν ἔγκλημα τῷ πάντα εἰπεῖν εὐκόλῳ Ἀπολιναρίῳ.

29. The author sets forth a fundamental judicial principle stipulating that no law can have a retrospective effect: ὁ γὰρ ὁ νόμος οὐ τὰ παρελθόντα εἴωθεν ἐγκλήματα, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέλλοντα κρίνειν. The sole parallel occurs in Amphilochius of Iconium, *In Mulierem Peccatricem* (orat. 4), lines 240–242: 'Ἄλλ' ὁ Χριστὸς μὲν, ὁ μὴ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν κρίνων, ἀλλὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν ἐπαινῶν, ὁ μὴ τὰ παρελθόντα κολλάζων, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέλλοντα δοκιμάζων. There is a fair correspondence of the Latin rendering. Cf. *Collationes*, VIII.22, PL.49.760B: *lex enim praeterita solet crimina, sed futura damnare.*

30. ἔννομον. This is a strange adjective to use at this point, since ἔννομος means something being (or, someone acting) 'according to the law'. However, Cassian refers to the Old Testament patriarchs that had a 'natural knowledge' (φυσικὴν γνῶσιν) of the will of God, which was implanted into their mind by nature. They acted according to the Law *before* this was given through Moses. Therefore, to call those moral *ideae innatae* of the old patriarchs ἔννομος γνῶσις ('knowledge according to the law') only means that they acted according to the divine law already before this was handed down to humanity. At this point Cassian reveals himself being aware of Jewish literature, which is evident from his using the OT-text from the Hebrew. It was Eusebius who had quoted from a tract of the Jewish philosopher Aristobulus addressing King Ptolemy, in which he argued that the Greeks had derived all knowledge from the Hebrew scriptures. (Eusebius, *PE*, 13.12). Cf. op. cit. 13.12.12: διασεσάφηκεν δ' ἡμῖν αὐτὴν ἔννομον ἔνεκεν σημείου τοῦ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐβδόμου λόγου καθεστῶτος, ἐν ᾧ γνῶσιν ἔχομεν ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ θείων πραγμάτων.

31. συντόμως εἰπεῖν. This is an interesting instance, since the expression (abundantly present in Classical writers) does not show in Gregory of Nyssa, but only in a couple of instances in Gregory of Nazianzus. This is characteristic of Theodore of Mopsuestia (no less than twenty-eight instances in existing writings), Diodore of Tarsus, and Theodoret. Equally abundant its application by Proclus, whereas there is casual employment by Damascius and Simplicius. The cliché appears in John Philoponus and Maximus Confessor at no less than eleven points. Justinian used this, too.

Although there is no doubt that Cassian followed the foregoing three Antiochene masters on this, he must have also noticed the expression used by John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Analytica Priora Commentaria*, v. 13,2, p. 200; *In Aristotelis Analytica Posteriora Commentaria*, v. 13,3, p. 201; *In Aristotelis Meteorologicorum Librum Primum Commentarium*, v. 14,1, p. 4; *In Aristotelis Libros de Generatione et Corruptione Commentaria*, v. 14,2, p. 2; *In Aristotelis Libros de Anima Commentaria*, v. 15, p. 532; *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 16, pp. 92; 181; 195; 362; *De Aeternitate Mundi*, p. 410.

Cassian came upon this phrase in the acts of previous councils. ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum Anno 431*, 1,1,2, pp. 43; 1,1,7, p. 93; *Concilium Universale Chalcedonense Anno 451*, 2,1,3, p. 67; *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana Anno 536*, Tome 3, p. 191. Some instances in Justinian only bespeak the Sabaite language of the actual composers of these texts. Justinian, *Contra Monophysitas*, 5; *Edictum Rectae Fidei*, pp. 140; 162; *Edictum Contra Origenem*, p. 72. See, RCR, p. 267.

32. Gen. 5:23. Actually Enoch lived three hundred and sixty-five years according to this scriptural portion.

33. ἔμφυτος γνώσις. The idea of knowledge of divine things implanted into men by nature appears in Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis*, 1.3: Συμπάσχει γὰρ ἡμῶν αὐτῇ τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἢ περὶ θεῶν ἔμφυτος γνώσις, κρίσεώς τε πάσης ἐστὶ κρείττων καὶ προαιρέσεως, λόγου τε καὶ ἀποδείξεως προϋπάρχει· συνήνωται τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρὸς τὴν οὐκείαν αἰτίαν, καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀγαθὸν οὐσιώδει τῆς ψυχῆς ἐφέσει συνυφέστηκεν. However, it is not in Iamblichus that Christians found the idea: for this comes straight from the Epistle to the Romans 2:14, which is duly adapted to the circumstances actually discussed at this point. Cyril of Alexandria made pretty much of it. Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannem*, v. 1, p. 111: ὁ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον οὐ διδασκαλικῶς, καθάπερ ἄγγελοι τυχόν, ἢ καὶ ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὡς Θεὸς δημιουργικῶς ἐκάστω τῶν εἰς τὸ εἶναι καλουμένων σπέρμα σοφίας, ἥτοι θεογνωσίας, ἐντίθησι. Op. cit. v. 2, p. 75: καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ θελημάτων γέγονα θεωρός. εἶδον δι' ἔμφυτου δηλονότι γνώσεως. *De Adoratione*, PG.68.520.35: συνήγορον δὲ τῷ νόμῳ τὴν ἔμφυτον γνώσιν. *GlaphPent*, PG.69.36.9: Εἶτα νόμος ὁ ἐν ἡμῖν τῆς ἐμφύτου θεογνωσίας. Op. cit. PG.69.405.54: Ἔθος τῇ θείᾳ Γραφῇ λάκκῳ παρεικάζειν τὴν ἔμφυτον ἐν ἡμῖν περὶ Θεοῦ γνώσιν. Op. cit. PG.69.408.13: Οὐκοῦν τῆς ἐμφύτου γνώσεως εἰκὼν ἂν εἴη λοιπὸν ὁ λάκκος ἡμῖν. Op. cit. PG.69.408.24: Ἐν τοιαύταις εἶναι φαμεν ἀρρόωστῃς τοὺς πεπλανημένους, παρατρεπομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐμφύτου γνώσεως ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκαλλές, τουτέστιν, εἰς πλάνησιν, καὶ εἰς τὸ τοῖς δαιμονίοις χρήσιμον. As for the expression ἔννομος γνώσις, this appears only in Eusebius, *PE*, 13.12.12–13: διασεσάφηκε δ' ἡμῖν αὐτὴν ἔννομον ἕνεκεν σημείου τοῦ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐβδόμου λόγου καθεστῶτος, ἐν ᾧ γνώσιν ἔχομεν ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ θείων πραγμάτων.

34. There is a unique parallel to the notion of ἀπαράλειπτος γνώσις ('flawless knowledge', or 'unfailing' knowledge), which belongs to Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Libros de Anima Commentaria* (the attribution is sometimes disputed), v. 11, p. 7: ἀκριβεστέρα δὲ γνώσις ἢ ἀναγκαία καὶ ἀπαράλειπτος καὶ ἡ οὐκεία τῷ γνωστῷ.

35. The verb ἐκκουσεῦν testifies to this text being a sixth-century one. It means ‘apologize’ or ‘excuse’, and appeared for the first time in John Malalas, *Chronographia*, p. 356 (ἐκκουσεῦσαι). Migne renders Malalas’ term as ‘excusavit’, PG.97.532.20. The instance of Malalas’ is also related in the *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 584, where the verb is ἐξσκουσεῦσαι. At that point, Migne has the correct (yet later) form ἐξκουσεῦσαι and renders ‘excusaset’, PG.92.802/4. As a matter of fact, an alternative form of ἐκκουσεῦν is ἐξκουσεῦν, which appears in Justinian’s *Novellae*, 269; 324, as well as in later documents that are either legislative ones or acts of monasteries. That Cassian uses this verb is a valuable evidence of this text being a sixth-century one, since the present form, namely ἐκκουσεῦν, was never used after Malalas and Cassian. Instead, we come upon the usage of *Chronicon Paschale* in Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, which probably records a later Byzantine pronunciation. Cf. *De Cerimoniis*, p. 698 (ἐξσκουσευόμενος); *De Virtutibus et Vitiis*, v. 6 p. 162 (ἐξσκουσευθῆναι).

36. φανερώ λόγῳ. The expression was used by Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, 3.18.2. The surrounding text was thereafter quoted *ad verbum* by historians: Socrates Scholasticus, *HE*, 1.9. Theodoret, *HE*, p. 43. Gelasius of Cyzicus (fifth cent. AD), *HE*, 2.37.12. Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos (thirteenth–fourteenth cent. AD), *HE*, 8.25. Cassian is the only writer ever to entertain the phrase φανερώ λόγῳ in a context of his own.

37. στήκοντος ἀκμήν. This is a language that only an erudite scholar of the highest level would have used. Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 23: καὶ πάλιν τὸν μὲν φησι δύο λίτρας ἐσθίοντα ἄρτου ἀκμήν πεινᾶν. The Accusative ἀκμήν of the noun ἀκμή is in fact an adverb, meaning ‘as yet’, or ‘still’. Cassian refers to ‘natural law’ which was ‘still valid’. The second-century sophist and lexicographer of Attic language Phrynichus was sceptical as to whether it was correct to use the term in this sense. His comment was that ‘Xenophon used this in the sense of ἔτι (‘still’) once, but you should refrain from using this: rather, do use ἔτι’. Phrynichus, *Eclogae*, Lexical entry 93: Ἀκμήν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔτι. Ξενοφῶντα λέγουσιν ἅπαξ αὐτῷ κεχρησθαι, σὺ δὲ φυλάττου χρησθαι, λέγε δὲ ἔτι. Phrynichus had in mind an instance in Xenophon, where indeed the adverb means ‘still’, which goes thus: καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ὁ ὄχλος ἀκμήν διέβαινε (= ‘they were just crossing the river’). Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 4.3.26: he meant those who were crossing the river with difficulty, yet they were crossing it still. On the other hand, the fourth-century Athenian orator Hyperides had no hesitation in suggesting that the adverb ἀκμήν could be used in this sense. Hyperides, *Fragmenta*, Fragment 116: ἀκμήν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔτι.

He was right, since extant fragments show that this was indeed so used by poets Aeschylus and Theocritus, historians Callisthenes, Timaeus of Tauromenium, Polybius (abundantly), John Malalas, as well as by Strabo and Sextus Empiricus. The adverb enjoyed a place in the New Testament (Matt. 15:17: 'are ye also yet without understanding?'). It is remarkable that the authors who quoted this scriptural portion were familiar to Cassian: Origen, Eusebius, John Chrysostom, Procopius of Gaza. Whether Basil of Caesarea did so, I doubt; for this quotation appears only in the *Asceticon Magnum* (PG.31: 1073.7 & 1248.40) and in the *Regulae Morales* (PG.31.1216.27), which I deem heavily interpolated, if in the first place they are Basil's at all. On its own merit, the adverb ἀκμὴν appears casually in Pseudo-Clement, Justin Martyr, Origen (*expProv*, PG.17.185.39—but is this a catenist?), Methodius of Olympus, Pseudo-Justin, Athanasius, Epiphanius of Salamis, Gregory of Nazianzus, Didymus (recurrently), Pseudo-Macarius (in abundance unmatched by any other author, except for the sixth-century monks of Egypt and Gaza, Barsanuphius and John, as well as the also sixth-century monk Dorotheus of Gaza), Ephraem Syrus (repeatedly), Severianus of Gabala, John Chrysostom (recurrently), Marcus Eremita, Pseudo-Caesarius, Romanus Melodus, John Climacus, John Moschus. But this is absent from the works of Gregory of Nyssa, Theodoret, Cyril of Alexandria, Basil of Seleucia, Nilus of Ancyra, as indeed it never shows in Simplicius and John Philoponus. The Alexandrian lexicographer Hesychius confidently sustains that ἀκμὴν means ἔτι. *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter alpha, entry 2449; Alphabetic letter epsilon, entry 6608. The *Apophthegmata Patrum* employ the edverb profusely without reservation. As for Oecumenical Councils, ἀκμὴν shows for the first time at Chalcedon (on the lips of Bishop Diogenes of Cyzicus) never to show again, except for a single instance in the Sixth Oecumenical Council of Constantinople (680/1).

38. The rare expression εὐαγγελικὴ τελειότης ('evangelical perfection') is one more token evincing a Greek original text, not a Latin translation. Besides, it bespeaks Cassian being an Antiochian author. I canvass this point in *RCR*, pp. 163–164.

39. Καθὼς γὰρ καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ εἵπομεν, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον (οὐ) γεννᾷ. Cassian says that he has argued that 'the Holy Spirit does not give birth' to progeny, adding that he has expounded this view 'at another point' (ἀλλαχοῦ, literally meaning 'at another place'), which should be taken to suggest 'another work' of his. This, for two reasons: First, in the present work he does not actually say anything relevant to this question. Secondly, whenever Cassian refers to a remark made within the same work, he uses the expression

'it has been said' (εἴρηται), not the adverb 'at another place' (ἀλλαχοῦ). Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 2^r: Καθὰ τοῖνον εἴρηται p. 3^r: ἱκανῶς ἡμῖν εἴρηται. p. 11^r: Καί ἐπειδὴ ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν περὶ ὑποταγῆς καὶ ταπεινώσεως εἴρηται. p. 15^v: Διὰ τοῦτο, καθ' ἃ εἴρηται. *OctoVit*, p. 43^v: καθ' ἃ εἴρηται. p. 52^v: καθὼς εἴρηται. *ScetPatr*, p. 57^v: ὡς εἴρηται. p. 59^r: καθ' ἃ εἴρηται. *SerenPrim*, p. 86^v: καθὼς εἴρηται. p. 88^r: καθ' ἃ εἴρηται. p. 92^r: καθ' ἃ εἴρηται. 95^{r-v}: ἱκανῶς εἴρηται. *Const*, 21^r: καὶ τὰ ἀνωτέρω εἰρημένα τρία. 21^v: Ἵνα τοῖνον ταῦτα πάντα, ἅπερ πλατύτερον εἰρήκαμεν. 96^r: Ἐὰν πιστεύσωμεν, ὅπερ ἀνωτέρω εἰρήκαμεν. *Scholia in Apocalypsin* XXX: ἀλλὰ, καθὼς εἴρηται, ὀργὴν θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν διάβολον, XXXII: οὗτοι οὖν εἰσιν οἱ μετὰ γυναικῶν οὐκ ἐμολύνθησαν, ὡς εἴρηται.

Instead, the adverb ἀλλαχοῦ suggests 'at another place'. Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion IX: καὶ ἐπεὶ μὴ ἀλλαχοῦ αὐτοῦ δεῖ ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Scholion XXX: κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην ᾠδὴν καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ λέγουσαν· ἀπέστειλας τὴν ὀργὴν σου, καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτοὺς ὡς καλάμην, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

The notion of the Holy Spirit 'begetting' originates in the Gospel of John, with reference to a person being 'born from above' (John 3:3; ἐὰν μὴ τις γεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν, οὐ δύναται ἰδεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ; 3:7: δεῖ ὑμᾶς γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν), which means 'to be born of water and of the Holy Spirit' (John 3:5: ἐὰν μὴ τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος).

The passage of John enjoyed wide currency among theologians. However, the notion that this was supposed to convey was rendered differently by various authors. John Chrysostom has it that the phrase suggests to be begotten *through* (διὰ) the Holy Spirit [*In Joannem* (*homiliae* 1–88), PG.59: 80.25; 93.35; *In Epistulam ii ad Corinthios* (*homiliae* 1–30), PG.61.475.39], or 'by participation' (μετοχή) in the Holy Spirit [*In Joannem* (*homiliae* 1–88), PG.59.146.11], or *in* (ἐν) Holy Spirit [*In Epistulam ii ad Corinthios* (*homiliae* 1–30), PG.61.475.7]. Cyril of Alexandria takes it as suggesting 'rebirth from above' (ἄνωθεν ἀναγέννησιν) (*commProphXII*, v. 1, p. 300: διὰ τὴν ἄνωθεν ἀναγέννησιν, ἣν διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος πεπλουτήκαμεν), or 'rebirth through the Spirit' (διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἀναγέννησιν) (*In Joannem*, v. 1, pp. 217 & 218. Cf. the selfsame expression διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἀναγέννησιν, *In Isaiam*, PG.70.808.41), whereas he is anxious to emphasize the allegorical character of John's statement about 'birth' (*In Joannem*, v. 1, p. 218).

All of the theologians who dealt with this point are not at any dramatic variance from each other as to the interpretation of John 3:3–7. The 'birth' in John 3:3–7 bespeaks a spiritual, ethical, and existential renewal: this is rebirth, a new life, through the sanctifying action of the Holy Spirit. Besides, no extensive accounts were marshaled in order to make this point, which is not difficult for anyone to decipher within the context of Christian exegesis, already since the times of Origen (*fJohn*, Frs. XXXV; XXXVI; XXXVIII).

Although the Scriptural portion involves a notion of birth ‘from the Spirit’ (John 3:5: ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος. 3:6: τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος), almost no author took this statement as suggesting that the Holy Spirit gives any kind of ‘birth’ to any kind of offspring. However, it was Cassian who felt it necessary to make the emphatic statement that ‘the Holy Spirit does not beget’ (τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οὐ γεννᾷ), which sounds as a kind of emblematic avowal.

One should wonder why is Cassian so forthright in his statement about the Holy Spirit. In my view, there is only one plausible explanation to this. His statement is actually a Nestorian echo. As a matter of fact, he writes as an Antiochene by upbringing addressing an Antiochene, namely, Nestorius, who was both a native of the region and a theologian nourished in the spirit of Antiochene theology. His dissent from Nestorius notwithstanding, he was all the same a spiritual son of Theodoret, and he evidently saw no reason for taking exception to Nestorius insisting that there is no way to apply any notion denoting ‘giving birth to offspring’ by the Holy Spirit. As a matter of fact, there is a remarkable point made by Nestorius with respect to this issue, since he had argued that the portion of Matthew 1:20, ‘for that which was conceived in her is of the Holy Spirit’, has important things to teach us.

‘It is one thing to co-exist with that which was conceived; but to argue that it was the Holy Spirit who made that which was in’ Mary’s womb (ἄλλο ἐστὶ τὸ συνεῖναι τῷ γεγεννημένῳ καὶ ἄλλο τὸ γεννᾶσθαι) is quite another.

Nestorius’ argument is a powerful one: ‘For the holy fathers, who had a profound knowledge of the holy scriptures, saw that, if we substitute the expression *the one who was incarnated* with *the one who was born* [from the Holy Spirit], then the Son becomes son of the Spirit, which results in [Jesus Christ] having been born from two fathers. And if [the word γεγεννημένῳ] were written with one *n* [viz. γεγεννημένῳ], then God the Logos becomes a creature of the Spirit’. Nestorius’ point is clear-cut: ‘the fathers’ deliberately refrained from ascribing ‘the conception’ of Jesus into Mary’s womb to the Holy Spirit. Instead, they opted for reference to ‘incarnation by the Holy Spirit’. Above them all, according to Nestorius, it was John the Evangelist who eschewed the term ‘conception’ or ‘birth’, and employed the expression ‘incarnated from the Holy Spirit’ instead.

The acts of Ephesus are supposed to record Nestorius’ own words. ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum Anno 431*, 1,1,2, p. 46 (the same text is quoted once again in op. cit. 1,1,7, p. 107; Cf. an abridged version of it in op. cit. 1,1,6, p. 29): “Ὅπερ οὖν ἐλέγομεν μὴ φοβηθῆς παραλαβεῖν Μαριάμ τὴν γυναῖκά σου· τὸ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθέν, εἴτε διὰ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἢ εἴτε διὰ τῶν δύο, τῷ νοήματι οὐδὲν λυμαίνεται (τὸ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ τεχθέν ἐκ πνεύματός ἐστιν ἁγίου), ἐὰν δὲ εἴπωμεν

ὅτι ὁ θεὸς λόγος ἐγεννήθη ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ. ἄλλο γάρ ἐστι τὸ συνεῖναι τῷ γεννωμένῳ καὶ ἄλλο τὸ γεννᾶσθαι. τὸ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ, φησί, γεννηθὲν ἐκ πνεύματός ἐστιν ἁγίου, τουτέστι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔκτισε τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ. εἶδον οὖν οἱ πατέρες, ὡς ἐπιστήμονες τῶν θείων γραφῶν, ὅτι ἐὰν ἐπὶ τοῦ σαρκωθέντος θῶμεν τὸ γεννηθέντα, εὐρίσκεται ἡ υἱὸς τοῦ πνεύματος ὁ θεὸς λόγος ἢ δύο πατέρας ἔχων, ἢ διὰ τοῦ ἐνός ν' εὐρεθῇσεται ὁ θεὸς λόγος κτίσμα τοῦ πνεύματος ὦν. φεύγοντες οὖν τὴν τῆς γεννήσεως λέξιν, ἔθηκαν τὸν κατελθόντα δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν καὶ σαρκωθέντα. τί ἐστι σαρκωθέντα; οὐ τραπέντα ἀπὸ θεότητος εἰς σάρκα· τῷ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου ἠκολούθησαν τῷ εὐαγγελιστῇ. καὶ γὰρ ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν ἔφυγε γέννησιν εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόγου καὶ τέθεικε σάρκωσιν. ποῦ; ἄκουσον· καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο. οὐκ εἶπεν· ὁ λόγος διὰ σαρκὸς ἐγεννήθη. ὅπου μὲν γὰρ μνημονεύουσιν ἡ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἢ οἱ εὐαγγελισταὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, τιθέασιν ὅτι ἐγεννήθη ἐκ γυναικός. πρόσχε τῷ λεγομένῳ, παρακαλῶ. ὅπου λέγουσι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ ὅτι ἐγεννήθη ἐκ γυναικός, τιθέασιν τὸ ἐγεννήθη· ὅπου δὲ μνημονεύουσι τοῦ λόγου, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν γέννησιν διὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος. ἄκουε· ὁ μακάριος εὐαγγελιστὴς Ἰωάννης ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸν λόγον καὶ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν τὴν αὐτοῦ, ἄκουσον οἱ αὖτε φησιν· ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, τουτέστιν ἀνέλαβε σάρκα, καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, τουτέστιν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐνεδύσατο φύσιν καὶ ἐνώκησεν ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, τοῦ υἱοῦ. οὐκ εἶπεν· ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ λόγου. (Cf. the same point made in op. cit. 1,1,6, pp. 5; 26–27). The portion is now preserved in Nestorius', *Sermones*, Sermon 14, lines 20–53. Justinian quoted this partially in his *Contra Monophysitas*, 34: Καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἀσεβὴς Νεστόριος λέγει· ἄλλο ἐστὶ τὸ συνεῖναι τῷ γεγεννημένῳ καὶ ἄλλο τὸ γεννᾶσθαι τὸ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ, φησί, γεννηθὲν ἐκ πνεύματός ἐστιν ἁγίου, τουτέστι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔκτισεν τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ. εἶδον οὖν οἱ πατέρες ὡς ἐπιστήμονες τῶν θείων γραφῶν ὅτι ἐὰν ἀντὶ τοῦ σαρκωθέντα θῶμεν τὸν γεννηθέντα, εὐρίσκεται υἱὸς τοῦ πνεύματος ὁ θεὸς λόγος καὶ δύο πατέρας ἔχων· εἰ δὲ διὰ τοῦ ἐνός νῦν, εὐρεθῇσεται ὁ θεὸς λόγος κτίσμα τοῦ πνεύματος ὦν.

Condemned and anathematised though Nestorius was, no one dared say that the 'Holy Spirit gives birth to progeny', or that Jesus was *born from* the Holy Spirit. Everyone, including Justinian and his anathemas, deemed it more safe to postulate that Jesus 'was born from Mary'. Nestorius' specific point was refuted, he was eventually condemned, yet no adverse formulations challenging his specific argument were ever employed or produced whatsoever. Therefore, what Cassian actually does at this point is endorsing Nestorius' argument banning any notion of 'begetting' in respect of the Holy Spirit. He adds that he has argued for this thesis 'in another work' of his, too.

The portion of Matthew 1:20 was of course conveniently quoted by plenty of theologians. However, almost all of them (including the councils of

Ephesus and Chalcedon) took heed to make the supplementary reference that Jesus was ‘conceived from the Holy Spirit *and* the Virgin Mary’. In other words, the notion of Jesus’ human generation is not ascribed to the Holy Spirit alone at the exclusion of Mary. The Antiochene commitment, which did not allow for Jesus’ human nature to be underrated, made its way into the formulations of the catholic church.

40. συγκολλήματα. No author did ever use such word as συγκόλλημα (= the product of gluing or connecting together). The sole extravagant exception (with the word meaning ‘connecting-rod’), apart from this point, is Theodotion’s version of Exodus 38:11–12 quoted in Origen’s *Hexapla*. Since, a few lines further, Cassian used the expression τῇ τοῦ σώματος συγκολλήσει (p. 116^v), the context turns out to be a liability to John Chrysostom. Cf. *In Joannem* (*homiliae* 1–88), PG.59.83.23–29: τά τε παραλελυμένα καὶ διωκισμένα συγκολλώμενα μέλη, καὶ ἀλλήλοις συναρμοστούμενα. Op. cit. PG.59.307.40–42: οὕτω καὶ ὁ Θεός, καθάπερ οἰκίαν τινὰ σεσαθρωμένην, τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἡμέτερον συγκολλᾷ καὶ ἀναπληροῖ. *In Epistulam ad Ephesios* (*homiliae* 1–24), PG.62.42.27–31 (using the metaphor ‘body’ = lead, ‘soul’ = gold): “Ὡσπερ οὖν ἦττων ὁ μόλυβδος χρυσοῦ, ἀλλ’ ὅμως δεῖται καὶ τοῦ μολύβδου τοῦ συγκολλώντος· οὕτω δεῖ καὶ τοῦ σώματος τῇ ψυχῇ. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *De Mansuetudine Sermo*, PG.63.552.1–6: ὥστε τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ οἰκίᾳ καὶ πόλει ὁ τῆς εἰρήνης αἴτιος τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καθιστάμενος, ἣν ἔχει δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς σώμασι τὰ νεῦρα, συγκολλῶν καὶ συνάπτων τοὺς διεσπασμένους καὶ πολεμοῦντας ἀλλήλοις. Therefore, the notion of ‘connecting-rod’ suggests the bones which make up the human body. Cf. Methodius of Olympus, *Symposium sive Convivium Decem Virginum*, Oration 9.2 (referring to the resurrection of body): ὁπότε τῶν ὁστῶν συγκολλωμένων καὶ συμπηγνημένων ταῖς σαρκὶν ἀνίσταται τὸ σῶμα.

41. τὸν δώσαντα. This participle-form of the verb δίδωμι appears for the first time with the Greek translations of Ephraem Syrus. Technically, the participle δώσαντα is incorrect (it should be δόντα), but it came to be used in later Byzantine literature, though not frequently. Ephraem Syrus, *Beau-tudines Aliae; Capita Viginti*, ch. 20, lines 131 & 145 (δώσαντι); *Sermo de Paenitentia et Iudicio et Separatione Animae et Corporis*, p. 242 (δώσαντα); *Homilia in Meretricem*, pp. 96 (δώσαντα); 97 (δώσαντα); 99 (δώσαντα); *Sermo in Pulcherrimum Ioseph*, p. 267 (δώσαντα); 268 (δώσαντα). Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographia Christiana*, 3.46 (δώσαντα); 6.17 (δώσαντος); 6.21 (δώσαντα). Notice John Moschus’ use: *Patrum Spirituale*, 186, p. 3064 (δώσας). Noteworthy is also the participle in the *Dialogus Contra Iudaeos*, 1.1 (δώσας); 3.4 (δώσαντι).

The foregoing instances are relevant to each other. The participle appearing in the Greek Ephraem, along with John Moschus, bespeaks the Sabaite milieu, where many of Ephraem's translations were translated. Besides, usage by Indocopleustes should be studied in relation to the connection between this author and Cassian, which is canvassed in Appendix III.

42. Cassian's sources of both doctrine and vocabulary about 'the haevens having been made out of nothing' are plain. Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 1.1.383: ἐκ μὴ ὄντων ἢ, ὡς φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἐκ μὴ φαινομένων οὐρανὸν ἢ γῆν ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐν τῇ κτίσει θεωρουμένων γεγενῆσθαι. Theodoret, *Questiones in Octateuchum*, p. 16: 'Ὁ δεσπότης Θεὸς καὶ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων ποιεῖ, καὶ ἐξ ὄντων δημιουργεῖ· τὸν μὲν γὰρ πρότερον οὐρανὸν ἐκ μὴ ὄντων ἐδημιούργησε, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἐξ ὑδάτων ἐποίησεν. οὕτω τὴν γῆν μὴ οὖσαν παρήγαγεν. *Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium*, PG.83.464.53–54: τὸν μὲν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα στοιχεῖα ἐκ μὴ ὄντων πεποίηκεν. Furthermore, Hermas is a main source for Origen to couch his doctrine of creation *ex nihilo*, and so is he for Cassian. Hermas, *Pastor*, 1.6: ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς κατοικῶν καὶ κτίσας ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος τὰ ὄντα. Op. cit. 26.1: Πρῶτον πάντων πιστεύουσιν ὅτι εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ θεός, ὁ τὰ πάντα κτίσας καὶ καταρτίσας καὶ ποιήσας ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα. Cassian had read the *Pastor* and cites this work in his *De Panareto*, p. 110^v. No other book or tract by any theologian is cited in this manuscript.

43. αἱμοχυσία. The word is an invention attributed to John Chrysostom in spurious texts: *In Parabolam de Ficu*, PG.59.589.50 (αἱμοχυσίας); *In Illud: Exeuntes Pharisei*, PG.61.707.22 (αἱμοχυσίαν). Replicated though it was at a couple of instances from seventh to ninth century, it never showed again. Cf. Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, p. 332 (αἱμοχυσία). Anastasius of Sinai, *Sermo iii in Constitutionem Homini Secundum Imaginem Dei*, 1. Methodius I (Confessor, Patriarch of Constantinople, 842–846), *Encomium et Vita Theophanis*, 34. The word must have been a derivative from a term for those 'bleeding' (αἱμοχύτους) which appeared only for once in the collection of magico-medical writings, known as *Cyranides*.

44. τὴν ἐξέτασιν τοῦ λόγου. Cassian concludes his work as a genuine student of Origen, by using a rare idiom, which Origen himself had entertained more extensively than any author ever did, and which, in turn, he had received from Plutarch. There is a substantial difference, however, even though the expression is the same. Whereas Plutarch refers to 'examination' of a certain view, or theory, Origen means 'examination of the *scriptural* text' with the purpose of producing a certain exegesis. This is precisely the sense in

which Cassian employs the phrase at this point. Cf. Plutarch, *De Communibus Notitiis Adversus Stoicos* (1058e–1086b), 1060B7: ποιησώμεθα τοῦ λόγου τὸν ἐξέτασμον; Apollonius Dyscolus, *De Constructione*, Part 2, v. 2, p. 327: ἡ ἀκριβὴς ἐξέτασις τοῦ λόγου. Origen, *commJohn*, I.39.288: Παραθετέον δὴ εἰς τὴν περὶ τοῦ λόγου ἐξέτασιν. Op. cit. VI.58.300: τῇ ἐξετάσει τοῦ λόγου παρακολουθεῖν. Op. cit. XX.4.30: ταῦτα προκείμενα τῇ ἐξετάσει τοῦ περὶ σπερμάτων λόγου Ἀβραάμ ἢ τινος τῶν δικαίων ἡμῖν εἴρηται. *Cels*, VII.60 (& *Philocalia*, 15, 10): τοῖς ἀνατιθεῖσιν ἑαυτοὺς τῇ ἐξετάσει τοῦ λόγου. *Philocalia*, 24, 8 (quoted by Eusebius, *PE*, 7.22.56): ἡ γὰρ διαφορὰ τῶν γεγονότων εἰς τοιαύτην με περιστῆσιν ἐξέτασιν τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου. Of the eminent Origenists, Gregory of Nyssa did not actually use the expression, neither did Eusebius who simply quoted others at two instances (one of them was Origen). Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 2.1.307: τῆς πρὸς αὐτόν τοῦ λόγου συνεξετάσεως. Eusebius, *HE* (quoting Dionysius of Alexandria), 7.24.6: ἐξέτασιν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ λόγου προετρεψάμην. Later still, it appears in a text which different editors ascribe to different authors: τὴν τοῦ λόγου ποιουμένους ἐξέτασιν, in Germanus I, Patriarch of Constantinople (seventh–eighth cent.), *Περὶ Ὁρων Ζωῆς*, p. 46 & Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 148, line 587, which means that attribution to Photius calls for serious reconsideration.

45. περὶ τῆς σοφίας is a synonym with περὶ τῆς παναρέτου, which shows in the header of this section. Cassian's quotation indicates that by 'wisdom' he mainly had in mind the book of Ecclesiastes. *Supra*, note 1 (pp. 343–345).

46. Cf. 1Cor. 13:8. For all his Pauline vocabulary, Cassian writes having in mind a Platonic phraseology rendered by Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, p. 688: λέγοντες γὰρ τὰς ἰδέας καὶ ἀκινήτους καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως ἐνεργούσας, ἐκπίπτειν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔφασκον ἀπορροίας τινὰς καὶ τῇδε τῇ ὕλῃ συμπιπτούσας οὕτω γίγνεσθαι πάντα τὰ ἄτομα. 'Love' belongs to the divine world, since 'God is love'. Therefore, love cannot 'decline', by the same token as a Platonic 'idea' can never 'lower itself'.

APPENDIX I

CASSIAN AND CAESARIUS IDENTIFIED

Caesarius of Nazianzus

It is impossible for the *Erotapokriseis* work to have been penned by the famous doctor Caesarius, the brother of Gregory of Nazianzus, since never did Gregory himself say that his brother wrote any study at all. Besides, the title of the work is misleading: the historical Caesarius was never 'kept' in Constantinople, nor did he stay there for 'twenty years'. In c. 355, he went to Constantinople and had already acquired a great reputation for his medical skill, when his brother Gregory, homeward bound from Athens, appeared there in c. 358. He had previously been a student at the élite schools of Alexandria, studying geometry, astronomy, and especially medicine,¹ on which he is said to have surpassed all his fellow students.

Caesarius was the younger son of Gregory the Elder, Bishop of Nazianzus, and his wife Nonna, and was born at the family villa of Arianzus, near Nazianzus, in c. 331. The reason for going to Constantinople was to meet with his brother Gregory on his own way back from Athens, the city of his philosophical studies. Their common purpose was to return home together. It seems that Caesarius was also interested in exploring the capital and assessing the circumstances for a later practise of medicine in the city. Although initially Caesarius sacrificed possibilities of a lucrative and illustrious post to return to his parents with Gregory, he was eventually attracted by the capital. During the reign of Emperor Constantius II (353–361), he was summoned by the imperial court to be granted the post of chief-physician. He retained the job during the times of Julian the Apostate giving scandal to his family.² Nevertheless, Caesarius (allegedly after Julian had failed in his efforts to win him over to briefly restored Paganism) ultimately left the court, but returned to Constantinople after Julian's death in 363, under the Emperors Jovian (363–364) and Valens (364–378). Under Emperor Valens, Caesarius became questor of Bithynia (τοῦ ἐπιμελητοῦ τῶν θησαυρῶν καὶ ταμίου τῶν

¹ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Funebris in Laudem Caesaris Fratris Oratio*, 6.2; 7.2–3.

² Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistulae*, 7, addressed 'to Caesarius'.

δημοσίων χρημάτων),³ a position which included treasury and tax collection responsibilities. After escaping from the earthquake which shook Nicaea (11 October, 368), his brother wrote to him, pleading for him to leave his political post and retreat to a religious life. However, Caesarius was suddenly killed by the widespread plague which followed the earthquake, shortly after having received baptism which he, like many others at the period, had deferred it until late in life. He must have died at the end of 368, or very early 369, since his successor Archelaus is mentioned in the Theodosian Code.⁴ His remains were interred at Nazianzus, where his brother Gregory pronounced the funeral oration in the presence of their parents. In the oration, Gregory pictures his brother as an exemplary Christian and ascetic. This hagiography is actually the sole source of the details of Caesarius' life and conduct, and it is this that afforded the ground for his consequent canonization.

It seems that although Caesarius and his brother Gregory were very close, they were very deviant, if complementary, characters. Gregory aspired to a devout Christian life, whereas his active and outgoing brother was at home in the world of Byzantine plots and conspiring murmurs in shadowy corridors. They were complementary figures indeed: Caesarius relied on Gregory to show him the way through tribulation, while Caesarius encouraged his brother's literary and rhetorical interests.

The assertion that this Caesarius was the same as Caesarius, Prefect of Constantinople, who in 365 was thrown into the prison by Procopius, rests on an assumption made by Jacques Godefroy (1587–1652), the editor of the Theodosian Code (Lyon, 1665), but lacks rooted historical ground.

The Title of Pseudo-Caesarius' Treatise

In Riedinger's edition (brackets: Migne-edition) the full title of the tract goes thus: Πεύσεις προσαχθείσαι ὑπὸ [Μ. ἀπό] Κωνσταντίου, Θεοχαρίστου, Ἀνδρέου, Γρηγορίου, Δόμνου, Ἰσιδώρου, Λεοντίου ἐπισικρήτω [Μ. ἐπισικρήτω (transl.): quo tempore Caesarius a secretis erat]⁵ Καισαρίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῦ ἁγίου Γρη-

³ *Vita S. Gregorii Theologi*, written by a certain 'Gregory, presbyter', PG.35.213.

⁴ Op. cit. IV.12.6; Cf. IX.21.7; X.21.1. Also, see Epistle 29 by Gregory to Prefect Sophronius of Constantinople, written in 369. *Epistulae*, 29; So in PG.37.64–65.

⁵ *Caesarii Gregorii Fratris, Dialogi Quator*, PG.38.851. Migne has it that the work comprises 'Four Dialogues' (Διάλογοι Τέσσαρες) and the text consists of 197 questions and replies. Rudolf Riedinger's text comprises 218 questions and replies and makes no mention of how many 'parts' or 'dialogues' the work comprises. Photius writes that the text of Caesarius which he reviewed was arranged in 'eight chapters' (ἡ' κεφαλαίους) and 220 questions.

γορίου ἐπισκόπου Ναζιανζοῦ, ὁπηνίκα ἐκρατήθη ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει διδάσκων ἐπὶ ἔτη εἴκοσιν [Μ. εἴκοσι]. ('Questions asked by Constantius, Theodocharius, Andreas, Gregory, Domnus, Isidore, Leontius, to counselor Caesarius the brother of Gregory, the saintly Bishop of Nazianzus, at the time when [Caesarius] was kept to teach in Constantinople for twenty years').

It is necessary to clarify the header of Caesarius' work, notably the expression ἐπισηκρήτου, which editor R. Riedinger employed emending this to ἐπισικρήτω,⁶ although he had two important alternative writings available to him:

One, Codex 103 (J) of the monastery of John Theologos at Patmos, which has it ἐπίσικριτ.

Second, Codex 161 (P) of the same monastery, which has it ἐπίσηκρήτου.

My proposition is that both writings are incorrect. The words ἐπισίκριτος (Migne), or ἐπισήκηρητος (Riedinger) are in fact nonexistent. There is only the term ἀσηκρήτης, which means 'secretary', indeed a trusted intimate one, a confidante.⁷ The sole cognate with Riedinger's proposition appears in John Laurentius Lydus, *De Magistratibus Populi Romani*, p. 176: ἐπισηκρητεύων παρὰ τοῖς ταχυγράφοις. This suggests a counselor superintending over those who engaged in writing the minutes. No one did ever use this neologism at all, either in this or any other form. Riedinger's option ἐπισηκρήτω might give the impression that this is an adjective, or indeed a certain kind of Byzantine dignitary post, but in fact this is a nonexistent word.

Likewise, Migne's word ἐπισίκριτος is simply not a Greek one: this is only a scribal misrendering of the expression ἐπὶ σεκρέτου.

Quite simply, Riedinger should have retained the Patmos-MSS writing, especially the P one. For the actual expression intended at this point is ἐπὶ σεκρέτου, to which an alternative (though rare) is ἐπὶ σεκρήτου.

First, as far as Caesarius' title is concerned, we have later testimonies attesting to the expression ἐπὶ σεκρέτου, which means 'in public', in front of an audience which judges what is said or done. This judgement is not necessarily a judicial one (it might well be either an ethical, or social resolution, or a political verdict), even though the term σέκρετον (or, σήκηρητον, Latin:

⁶ Rudolf Riedinger, *Pseudo-Kaisarios, Die Erotapokriseis*, Berlin, 1989, p. 9.

⁷ Suda, *Lexicon*, alphabetic letter gamma, entry 418. So, Etymologicum Gudianum, *Addimenta in Etymologicum Gudianum*, Alphabetic entry alpha, p. 211. The chief-secretary of a σήκηρητον is a πρωτοασκηρήτης. See Suda, *Lexicon*, alphabetic letter sigma, entry 304. Cf. Nicephorus I, Patriarch of Constantinople (eighth–ninth century), *Breviarum Historicum De Rebus Gestis Post Imperium Mauricii*, p. 49: γραμματέα τυγχάνοντα, οὓς τῇ Ἱταλῶν φωνῇ καλοῦσιν ἀσηκρήτης.

secretarium) may also mean ‘court’ or ‘consistory’.⁸ This stands beside a more common meaning suggesting the ‘council-chamber’ of either the Emperor or the Patriarch; sometimes this may denote the stool on which those taking part in the council used to sit. Besides, however, *σῆκρητον* suggested the premises of the Court of Law,⁹ or indeed of any court.¹⁰

The ninth-century chronicler George Monachus refers to ‘Caesarius the brother of Gregory the Great’, who was ‘questioned in Constantinople in public’, using the expression *ἐπὶ σεκρέτου*.¹¹ Next, chronicler George Cedrenus (eleventh century), who normally copies George Monachus, has the same reference verbatim.¹² Later still, historian Michael Glycas (twelfth century) reproduces the same text faithfully.¹³

True, the expression *ἐπὶ σεκρέτου* did not enjoy any wide currency, still this was not as rare as to overlook it altogether. During the sixth century, John Laurentius Lydus used the expression *ἐπὶ σηκρήτου*, clearly meaning a debate brought before a court of law: ‘since thereafter no case was judged before a court of law, there was no need to hire an attorney, who might

⁸ Cf. *Etymologicum Gudianum*, alphabetic letter kappa, p. 337: *κονσιστόριον* is explained to be the βασιλικὸν σέκρετον. Procopius of Gaza says that he does not know what *κονσιστόριον* means, but this word is ‘an abuse to his ears’, since ‘it smacks of Roman arrogance’. *Epistulae* 1–166, 45: *κονσιστόριον* ὅτι μὲν ἔστιν ἀγνωστώ, ‘Ρωμαϊκῶ γὰρ κόμπω προσβάλλει τὴν ἐμὴν ἀκοήν. He should know, however, since this had been largely used at both Ephesus and Chalcedon. Cf. *ACO, Concilium Universale Ephesenum anno 431*, Tome 1,1,3, pp. 37; 74; 77; 79; 80. *Concilium Universale Chalcedonense anno 451*, Tome 2,1,3, pp. 5; 34; 44; 58; 60; 61; 64; 69; 104. Lexicographer Hesychius of Alexandria (fifth–sixth century) interprets the lemma *σέκρετον* as meaning συνέδριον (‘conference’). *Lexicon*, alphabetic letter sigma, entry 363.

⁹ John Laurentius Lydus, *De Magistratibus Populi Romani*, p. 176: ἐν τῷ Τεμένει τῆς δίκης ταχυγραφοῦσι, ὃ καλεῖται Σῆκρητον.

¹⁰ Cf. Pseudo-Zonaras, *Lexicon*, alphabetic letter sigma, p. 1649: Σίκρητα· παρὰ ‘Ρωμαίοις κριτήρια (κριτήρια means ‘courts’, as in Exodus 21:6, as well as according to lexicographer Hesychius of Alexandria, *Lexicon*, alphabetic letter kappa, entry 4156. Cf. alphabetic letter delta, entry 1797).

¹¹ George Monachus (ninth century), *Chronicon* (lib. 1–4), p. 448: ὁ δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου Γρηγορίου ἀδελφὸς Καيسάριος ἐπὶ σεκρέτου ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐρωτηθεὶς περὶ τούτου οὕτως ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων. So goes the abbreviated version of the chronicle: *Id., Chronicon Breve* (lib. 1–6), v. 110, p. 521.

¹² There are a few letters missing, evidently due to some damage of the manuscript (or to the scribe having been unable to follow the expression), but there is no room for doubting the expression actually being there. George Cedrenus (eleventh–twelfth century), *Compendium Historiarum*, v. 1, p. 435: ὁ δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου Γρηγορίου ἀδελφὸς Καيسάριος ἐπίσε [sic] ... ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐρωτηθεὶς περὶ τούτου οὕτως ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων.

¹³ Michael Glycas, *Quaestiones in Sacram Scripturam*, 55, p. 111: ὁ δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου Γρηγορίου ἀδελφὸς Καيسάριος ἐπὶ σεκρέτου ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐρωτηθεὶς περὶ τούτου ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων. The minor difference is Καيسάριος for Καيسάριος, and the adverb οὕτως missing. But the critical expression *ἐπὶ σεκρέτου* is there.

be more able to convince the rulers'.¹⁴ Likewise, the later-Byzantine collection of legal documents known as *Basilica* refers to donations which were confirmed διὰ σηκρήτου, which is explicitly stated to be a certain way of confirmation by means of appearance before a court of law (ἐπὶ δικαστηρίῳ).¹⁵

Scarce though they are, the seventh-century references leave no doubt as to the real meaning of the expression ἐπὶ σεκρέτου. When a certain patrician who wished to impose the law of profit on the market was at odds with Patriarch John of Alexandria the Merciful (Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἐλεήμων, 606–616) who cared for the poor, they debated the case before a court of law (ἐπὶ σεκρέτου φιλονικησάντων).¹⁶

Likewise, seventh-century historian Theophylact Simocatta provides the image of Emperor Maurice accelerating his walking and moving away from his place of authority, which 'the Romans called *secretum*' (ἐπὶ τοῦτοις ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπιτείνας τὸ βάδισμα μεθίσταται τοῦ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις λεγομένου σεκρέτου).¹⁷

In the acts of the Sixth Oecumenical Council of Constantinople (680–681) there is an epilogue, where the scribe describes the mad behaviour of 'Bardanes,¹⁸ the tyrant and lunatic' (Βαρδάνου τοῦ τυράννου καὶ παράφρονος), who found the acts of that synod in the palace, he took them out and presented them to the public, only to give them to extinction by fire (τούτους ἐκβαλὼν καὶ δημοσιεύσας ἐπὶ σεκρέτου πυρὶ παρέδωκε καὶ ἡφάνισε).¹⁹

The expression ἐπὶ σεκρέτου, therefore, had a specific meaning. This was typical of certain circumstances, like those just described and occurred in later documents, always in the same meaning betokening a public and official act, or debate in front of persons who were vested with the duty or right to judge what had been done or said.²⁰

¹⁴ John Lydus, op. cit. p. 236: Οὐκ ἦν οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν οὐ δικηγόρῳ σπουδὴ λόγῳ κοσμήσαι τὴν συνηγορίαν πείθειν ἄρχοντα δυναμένῳ μέγιστον, οὐδενὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ σηκρήτου πραττομένου.

¹⁵ *Basilica, Scholia in Basilicorum Libros I–XI*, 22.4.7.1.

¹⁶ Leontius of Neapolis (Bishop in Cyprus, seventh century AD), *Vita Joannis Eleemosynarii Episcopi Alexandrini*, p. 361.

¹⁷ Theophylact Simocatta, *Historiae*, 8.8.9. He probably wrote in c. 630 and is argued to be the last historian of Antiquity.

¹⁸ He was actually called Philippicus (Φιλιππικός) and was a Byzantine emperor of Armenian origin, from 711 to 713.

¹⁹ ACO, *Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum Tertium (680–681). Concilii Actiones I–XVII*, Document 24, p. 899. Bardanes was a Monothelite who abolished the canons of the Sixth Oecumenical Council and deposed Patriarch Cyrrhus of Constantinople in favour of John VI, a member of his own sect.

²⁰ Cf. Acta Monasterii Lavrae, *Excerptio Acti Leontis Logothetae Generalis*, lines 9f.: ἐξ ἐθνικῆς ἐφόδου διαρπαγῆναι τὰ τοιαῦτα δικαιώματα τῶν νῦν εἰσελθόντων μοναχῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου διεγγραμμένων, καὶ ὑπόμνημά τι λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Γυμνοπελαγησίου αἰτησάμενων ὥς ἂν εἰς τὸ

The most relevant usage of the expression ἐπὶ σεκρέτου is probably the one used by the fourteenth-century theologian Philotheus Coccinus, Patriarch of Constantinople (1353–1354 & 1364–1376), arguing for the Hesychastic theology of Gregory Palamas against Nicephorus Gregoras (c. 1295–1360). The expression ἐπὶ σεκρέτου referring to theological exposition clearly denotes an official account addressed to a learned audience in public.²¹

Caesarius, therefore, is said to have delivered his homilies during an official and public gathering, addressing a learned audience. In any event, the expression ἐπὶ σεκρέτου suggests a backlash, or indeed an open controversy. The question which is therefore invited is why did Caesarius have to deliver a lecture under these circumstances. My suggestion will be that the person speaking is in fact Cassian, who wrote this tract immediately after *De Trinitate* (spuriously attributed to Didymus), which is discussed in the next Appendix. The entire setting of pupils asking their master questions is simply a staged dialogue. This specific philological genre was especially popular during the sixth century and Cassian wrote this after he had returned to Palestine, at the time he was abbot of the Souka monastery, sometime after the year 539. Whereas *De Trinitate* bespeaks a person experiencing a personal predicament and struggling to defend himself arguing for his orthodoxy, Caesarius' text suggests the same person having just escaped condemnation and wishing to show (indeed to show off) who he actually was in terms of erudition. Cassian sharing the fate of the Akoimetoι had been questioned as to his Origenism, Nestorianism, and probably Monophysite sympathies, an ostensibly odd and contradictory combination of theological aberration, which though was real (combined) obloquy during the sixth century.

ἐξῆς τὸ ἀμέριμον ἔχοιεν, εἴξαντες τῇ αἰτήσει αὐτῶν, διὰ τῶν τοῦ σεκρέτου μεγάλων χαρτουλαρίων ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ δημοσίου ὑπομνημάτων παρεκβαλόντες τὰ τῆς ὑποθέσεως (viz. the monks argued in favour of their rights officially and in public and also officially received reassurance of being undisturbed in the future). Likewise, *Registrum Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani* (1315–1331), Document 101, lines, 35: καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου αἰτεῖται ἀντικριθῆναι ... (43f) τοῦ Λάσκαρι Ἰωάννου ἀναφορὰν ποιησαμένου καὶ αὐθις κρίσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου ζητήσαντος (John Lascaris made an official report asking for his case to be judged officially and in public). Op. cit. Document 218, lines 87 f.: τοῦ δέ γε μέρους τῆς τοιαύτης σεβασμίας μονῆς ἀντικριθέντος περὶ τοῦτου τῷ μέρει τῆς Τριφυλλίνης ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ σεκρέτου ἐδικαιώθη ἡ Τριφυλλίνα (Trifyllina brought the case in front of the royal court and she was eventually justified).

²¹ Philotheus Coccinus, *Antirrhethici Duodecim Contra Gregoram*, Oration 5, line 1185: Φησὶ τοιγαροῦν ὁ μέγας, ἐπὶ σεκρέτου διαλεγόμενος. Op. cit. Oration 6, line 853: τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ σεκρέτου μου πρὸς Ἀρειανούς διαλέξεως.

A Monk Teaching

The author retains the style of the rest of his dialogues. As it happened with the night between the first and second ‘contribution by abba Serenus’,²² at points time is supposed to have elapsed, some break is needed,²³ and Caesarius supposedly paused in order to have some rest. The Reply to Question 113 marks the end of the day’s conference and the 114-one registers the ensuing day’s conversation.²⁴ That there was urgency and shortage of time the night before (χθές τῆς ὥρας κατεπειγούσης) was declared by the speaker himself: νῦν ἡμᾶς τοῦ καιροῦ ἐπὶ τὴν θείαν τῶν μυστικῶν τελετὴν συνωθούντος καὶ τοῦ θιάσου καραδοκούντος.

This is clearly a token of this teacher being a monk. He has to rush into ‘the divine ritual of the mystical things’ (ἐπὶ τὴν θείαν τῶν μυστικῶν τελετὴν). This can be nothing other than the night-office and holy mystical rite, before which the assemblage (θιάσος) of monks was awaiting (ἐκαραδόκει) for the formal entrance of the abbot, so that the rite should commence, according to the *typicon* of the Monastic Rule. This means that Caesarius was eager to catch up with the ceremony. Since the monks are said to be no longer in the process of being gathered, but they had already been congregated and were ‘awaiting for’ him to appear, this definitely suggests that the author was the abbot himself, whose entrance the monks were waiting for. The term θιάσος bespeaks an assembly which is gathered in order to carry out a religious act of worship. This is the sense in which the term had been used by Demosthenes²⁵ and Xenophon,²⁶ and so later lexicographers recorded it.²⁷

²² Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, pp. 100^{r-v}: Εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα αἱ ὑμέτεραι προτάσεις εἰς μέγιστον καὶ ἀπέραντον ἀποφέρουσι πέλαγος, ὅπερ ἡ βραχύτης τῆς παρουσίας ὥρας οὐ συγχωρεῖ διεξιέναι, λυσitteλέστερον ὑπολαμβάνω μικρὸν ὑμᾶς ἀναθέντας καὶ ὕπνῳ βραχεῖ διαναπαύσαντας τὸ σῶμα, τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ τὰ ζητούμενα προσθῆναι. Παράσχοι δὲ ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸν ὑμέτερον πόθον τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον προθυμίαν καὶ αἰσίαν καὶ ἀλ(η)θῆ ἀπόκρ(ι)σιν ὑμῖν δοῦναι. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἡ τῆς κυριακῆς ἡμέρα κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προσελθεῖν καλεῖ, ἀναλύοντες μετὰ τὴν σύναξιν ταῦτα ἃ ὁ Κύριος δίδωσιν, ἀναγγελοῦμεν ὑμῖν.

²³ Cf. Caesarius, *QR*, 30: διὰ τὸ βραχὺ τῆς ὥρας νῦν ὑπερτιθέμενοι. So in op. cit. 165: Δεόμεθά σου μὴ ὀκνήσαι διὰ τὸ βραχὺ τῆς ὥρας. Op. cit. 113: καθὼς μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀποδείξω, νῦν ὑμᾶς τοῦ καιροῦ ἐπὶ τὴν θείαν τῶν μυστικῶν τελετὴν συνωθούντος καὶ τοῦ θιάσου καραδοκούντος.

²⁴ Cf. Caesarius, *QR*, 114: Χθές τῆς ὥρας κατεπειγούσης, σήμερον ἡμῖν τὰ λείψανα τῆς τραπέζης ἐκείνης ἀπόδος.

²⁵ Demosthenes, *De Corona*, 260 (θιάσους); *De Falsa Legatione*, 200 (θιάσεις) & 281 (θιάσους).

²⁶ Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, 2.1.31; *Symposium*, 8.2 (θιασῶται).

²⁷ Cf. Photius, *Lexicon*, pp. 92 & 180: θιάσος· τὸ ἀθροιζόμενον πλῆθος ἐπὶ τέλει καὶ τιμῇ θεοῦ. So Suda, *Lexicon*, alphabetic letter theta, entry 380, and *Lexicon Vindobonense*, alphabetic letter theta, entry 7.

The verb *καραδοκεῖν* ('to await for something or someone earnestly') was a favourite one to Caesarius,²⁸ also to monks of the Laura of Sabas,²⁹ as well as to professed admirers of Cassian.³⁰

Besides, a certain exegesis applied by Caesarius, namely identifying the devil with 'darkness' was one entertained by monks. Although evil action is associated with darkness in Scripture (Rom. 13:12; 1 Thess. 5:2; 2 Cor. 11:14) styling the devil himself 'darkness' is a rare instance. We come upon this in fragments ascribed to Didymus³¹ and Cyril of Alexandria,³² which may well have been glosses by catenists, since the simile does not transpire in these authors otherwise. A similar text ascribed to John of Damascus betokens a Sabaite hand.³³ Definitely, monks were those who made much of the idea.³⁴ On the face of it, the portrayal seems to show in a collection

²⁸ Caesarius, *QR*, 20 (νηφόντως *καραδοκεῖν*); 113 (καὶ τοῦ θιάσου *καραδοκούντος*); 130 (τῇ *καραδοκίᾳ* τῆς ὑπεροχῆς); 177 (εἰ δὲ ἐναργεστέραν ἴσως *καραδοκεῖτε ἀπόφασιν*); 195 (καὶ Ἥλιαν *καραδοκῶμεν ἐν τῇ θεανδρικῇ δευτέρᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιφοιτήσει*); 198 (ὑποβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰ *καραδοκούμενα*); 208 (ἀπηνεστέραν *καραδοκεῖν τιμωρίαν*); 214 (*καραδοκῶν τοῦ κυρίου*); 218 (οὐδεὶς λύσις *καραδοκεῖται*), but οὐδεὶς is wrong; Riedinger should have emended to the female οὐδεμία.

²⁹ Cf. Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 15 (πιστεύουσι καὶ *καραδοκοῦσι*); Homily 26 (*καραδοκούντα τὴν ὥραν τῆς ἐστιάσεως*); Homily 61 (τὰ δὲ μέλλοντα ἀνέφικτα καὶ ἀκατάληπτα *καραδοκῶν*); Homily 111 (Χρὴ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο *καραδοκεῖν* ὑπομονῇ); Homily 125 (ἀποκαραδοκούντες οὖν εἰς τὰ ἀποκείμενα ἡμῖν ἀγαθὰ). John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, PG.95.1181.14. Pseudo-John of Damascus, *Epistula ad Theophilum Imperatorem de Sanctis et Venerandis Imaginibus*, PG.95.364.23 (δεδιῶς τὴν *καραδοκουμένην ὁργήν*). Also, see plain or oblique quotations of Rom. 8:19 in Pseudo-John of Damascus, *Commentarii in Epistulas Pauli*, PG.95: 504.39 & 50; 541.26; 861.4.

³⁰ Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 35 (ἀπεκαραδοκοῦμεν οἱ ταπεινοὶ δέξασθαι γράμματα τῆς πατρικῆς σου δσιότητος); 239 (ἀλλ' εὐψυχῶμεν τῇ ἀποκαραδοκίᾳ); 370 (πλὴν ἐπιβολὴν ἐμῆς χειρὸς μὴ ἀποκαραδοκεῖ); 414 (Δανείσας τὸ γράμμα ἀπεκαραδοκούν λήψεσθαι τὸ χρέος τῆς ἀγάπης); 547 (κατὰ τὴν ἀποκαραδοκίαν καὶ ἐλπίδα μου). *Μεγάλη Κατήχησις*, Catechesis 24, p. 169 (ἡ ἀποκαραδοκία καὶ ἐλπίς τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν); Catechesis 34, p. 249 (τὸν μισθὸν ὑμῶν πολὺν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἀποκαραδοκῶν ἐτοιμάζεσθαι); *Sermones Catecheseos Magnae*, Catechesis 20, p. 57 (τὸ μαρτύριον ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ ἀποκαραδοκία); Catechesis 36, p. 102 (οὕτως ἀποκαραδοκῶν ὁ τυφλός); *Parva Catechesis*, Catechesis 28 (τὰ ἐνέχυρα τῆς ἀποκαραδοκίας); Catechesis 44 (καὶ ἡ ἀποκαραδοκία τῆς μισθοποδοσίας); Catechesis 109 (quot. Rom. 8:19).

³¹ Didymus, *Fragmenta in Epistulam ii ad Corinthios (in catenis)*, p. 40: ὁ γὰρ διάβολος ἰδίᾳ προθέσει κακός καὶ σκότος ἐστίν.

³² Cyril of Alexandria, *apud* Catenae (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Epistulam Joannis i (catena Andreae)* (e cod. Oxon. coll. nov. 58), p. 113: καὶ τοῦ διαβόλου παρήλθεν ἡ δυναστεία, ὅς ἐστι σκότος νοητόν. The phrasology is strikingly similar to that of Pseudo-Macarius making the same point. Pseudo-Macarius, *Sermones* 64 (collectio B), Homily 2.2.16: Ἐτέθη γοῦν καὶ ἀφείθη λοιπόν, ὡς προεῖρηται, ὁ διάβολος, τουτέστι τὸ σκότος ἐκεῖνο τὸ νοητόν καὶ λογικόν, οὗ τύπος ἐστὶν τὸ σκότος τοῦτο.

³³ Pseudo-John of Damascus, *Commentarii in Epistulas Pauli*, PG.95.885.51–52: σκότος ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ διαβόλου, καὶ ἐν σκότῳ τὸ δύνασθαι ἔχει.

³⁴ Barsanuphius and John, *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Coenobitas*, 405: Τὰ γὰρ ἔσχατα τοῦ φωτός αὐτοῦ σκότος, κατὰ τὸν Ἀπόστολον λέγοντα περὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ διαβόλου τῶν

ascribed to Photius. However, I have at many points suggested that this collection is very much like Caesarius and Cassian, which calls for serious redaction.³⁵

Caesarius was the abbot, for whom the 'assemblage' was 'awaiting'. He is addressed by his audience as φιλότεκνος πατήρ ('child-loving father').³⁶ Although the appellation shows casually in Gregory of Nazianzus,³⁷ its application in relation to an abbot being addressed, or referred to, transpires in two authors who had praised Cassian: Cyril of Scythopolis and Theodore Studites.³⁸ Caesarius/Cassian was writing this work while in Palestine, whereas the dialogue supposedly took place at Constantinople. Quite evidently, the discourse regularly switches between real and staged circumstances. Caesarius was clearly an abbot when he wrote this dialogue, which means that this was after the year 539, when he was appointed abbot of the monastery of Souka. His tenor is evidently apologetic in the most profound sense of the term, meaning circumstances whereby a minority strives to come to terms with its hostile milieu. This tone suggests that it was composed after 543, the year of the imperial edict against Origen. Therefore, this dialogue was probably written between 544 and 548.

Furthermore, the acclamatory address τιμιώτατε πάτερ ('you, o most honourable father'),³⁹ once again suggests the author being an abbot. The expression is not common anyway, but it is Cassian's contemporary monk of the Laura of Sabas who guides us through its peculiar import revealing Cassian himself being the addressee.⁴⁰ The expression τίμιε πάτερ ('o you, most

μετασχηματιζομένων εἰς διακόνους δικαιοσύνης. Neophytus Inclusus, *Liber Catechesium*, 1.19: σκότος γὰρ ἡ ἁμαρτία καὶ σκότος ὁ διάβολος.

³⁵ Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 16, lines 36–38, which I have shown to be a text parallel to Caesarius, *QR*, s 53 & 54 (see parallel texts in *RCR*, Appendix I): τὸ μέντοι σκότος εἴ τις μὴ στέρησιν τοῦ φωτός, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀρχέκακον διάβολον ὑπολάβοι, ἄβυσσον δὲ τὰς ὑπ' αὐτὸν πονηρὰς δυνάμεις.

³⁶ Caesarius, *QR*, 1: ὦ φιλότεκεν πάτερ. 2: ἀξιούμεν σου τὴν φιλότεκνον ἀγάπην. 164: φιλότεκεν πάτερ.

³⁷ Gregory of Nazianzus, *De Pace* 1 (orat. 6), PG.35.749.11; *In Aegyptiorum Adventum* (orat. 34), PG.36.241.24–25.

³⁸ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, p. 71; *Vita Sabae*, p. 86 (addressing 'presbyter and abbot George, dwelling at Scythopolis'). Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 86; 178.

³⁹ Caesarius, *QR*, 11.

⁴⁰ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, p. 5 (addressing 'presbyter and abbot George, dwelling at Scythopolis'); p. 52 (Euthymius addressing Anastasius, Patriarch of Jerusalem). *Typicon Monasterii Sancti Mamantis*, 48, line 91 (addressing an abbot). Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae*, 66.1 (addressing Athanasius of Alexandria) & 70.1 (addressee unknown).

honourable father') is more common, it is also an address to either an abbot or an elder, and is typical of monks of the Laura of Sabas addressing senior figures.⁴¹ The fact that this transpires twice in the *Quaestiones et Responsiones* by Barsanuphius and John,⁴² who are said in title to have lived 'in the wider region of Gaza' (ἐν περιχώρῳ Γάζης), calls for some research in regard to their relation to the Laura of Sabas. Furthermore, the rare expression 'citizen of heavens' (οὐρανοπολίτης)⁴³ occurs in both the foregoing text and in Sabaite monks such as Cyril of Scythopolis, Antiochus of Palestine, and spuria ascribed to John of Damascus.⁴⁴

Likewise, the address 'children-loving father' (φιλότεκνε πάτερ) has never been a common one and we come upon this as a casual reference only in

⁴¹ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, pp. 8; 27; 28; 35; 36; 38; 54; 55; 57; *Vita Sabae*, pp. 57; 91; 131; 164; 167; 178; 181; *Vita Joannis Hesychastae*, p. 207. Pseudo-Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Gerasimi*, p. 179. Also, another monk of the Laura of Sabas, namely, Antiochus of Palestine, *Epistula Ad Eustathium*, lines 1; 27; 143; *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 66, lines 2 & 92; Homily 130, lines 73 & 190. Cf. Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, in the epistle following the Prologue, line 52; also, line 65. The expression appears for the first time in Palladius, *Dialogus De Vita Joannis Chrysostomi*, p. 111 (with a deacon addressing a bishop). This is also used in by later Byzantine authors. In any event, the expression is characteristic of the Laura of Sabas-monks.

⁴² Barsanuphius and John, *Quaestiones et Responsiones*, 191 & 205.

⁴³ Barsanuphius and John, op. cit. 49, line 12. In Appendix II (p. 532) I canvass the term transpiring in *De Trinitate*.

⁴⁴ Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 15, line 87. Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, pp. 8; 84; *Vita Sabae*, p. 86; *Vita Theodosii*, p. 235. In the *Scholia in Apocalypsin* (EN IVb), I have suggested that the apocryphon *Acta Joannis* is probably a sixth-century work on account of the term θεολόγος for John the Evangelist being used there. Now the term οὐρανοπολίτης (which flourished during and after the sixth-century) is found in the same work: *Acta Joannis (recensio)*, 16. There are fifth-century instances of the term transpiring, no doubt: Asterius of Amasea (c. 350–c. 410), *Homiliae* 1–14, Homily 8.2.2. Basil of Seleucia, *Sermones XLI*, p. 369. Proclus of Constantinople (Bishop, fifth cent.), *Homilia De Dogmate Incarnationis*, 3. Likewise, the anonymous *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, Vita 14, line 121. Hesychius of Jerusalem, *Homilia II in Sanctum Longinum Centurionem (homilia 20)*, 1. The term transpiring in Ephraem Syrus only betokens a translation probably carried out at the Laura of Sabas. Also, John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Libros De Anima Commentaria*, v. 15, p. 563. Oecumenius, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, p. 136. The term is a fairly safe indication of sixth-century writings. Cf. *DT (lib. 3)*, PG.39.877.46. Barsanuphius and John, *Quaestiones et Responsiones*, 49. Beyond these instances, we come across a flood of spuria. Pseudo-Epiphanius of Salamis, *Homilia in Assumptionem Christi*, PG.43.485.33. Pseudo-Gregory Thaumaturgus, *Sermo in Omnes Sanctos*, PG.10.1201.25. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *De Paenitentia (homiliae 1–9)*, PG.49.290.60; *De Circo*, PG.59.5692; *De Eleemosyna*, PG.60.709.56; *De Corruptoribus Virginum*, PG.60.744.5. Later still, Maximus Confessor appears to use it (*apud Photius, Bibliotheca*, Codex 193, p. 157b). Pseudo-John of Damascus, *Vita Barlaam et Joasaph*, p. 182. Theodore Studites, *Sermones Catecheseos Magnae*, Catechesis 77, p. 216.

a small handful of authors;⁴⁵ and yet this extremely rare expression transpires in a setting pointing to Cassian. First, in the Pseudo-Clementine writings.⁴⁶ Then, it becomes clear from Cyril of Scythopolis that the exclamation 'O, you, most children-loving Father!' was addressed to an abbot.⁴⁷ This is indeed how Caesarius, actually a Palestinian abbot, is addressed.⁴⁸ Finally, Theodore Studites is present once again entertaining the same vocabulary, which did not enjoy any further currency in the ensuing centuries.⁴⁹ It should be recalled that the opening text of Caesarius' is almost (but not precisely) a verbatim quotation from the opening of *Ancoratus* by Epiphanius of Salamis.⁵⁰ However, whereas Epiphanius is addressed 'Bishop' (ὁ δέσποτα), the present author is not, in an otherwise quoted text. Which means that 'Caesarius' was only an abbot, not a bishop.

Moreover, the expression τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγιωσύνης ('your holiness')⁵¹ accorded to Caesarius suggests that he is a revered person of the cloth. The address was profusely entertained during the councils of Ephesus, Chalcedon, and the local one at Constantinople in 536. It was Theodoret who made abundant use of it, addressing not only bishops, but also archdeacons and monks.⁵² Once again, Cyril of Scythopolis addresses abbot George living at Scythopolis through this piece of banality.⁵³ Photius uses the expression τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἀγιωσύνῃ in a letter to 'Athanasius, monk and hesychast'.⁵⁴

⁴⁵ Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, *De Pace* 1 (*orat.* 6), PG.35.749.11: Χαῖρε καὶ κατατέρπου, πατέρων ἄριστε καὶ φιλοτεκνότε. In *Aegyptiorum Adventum* (*orat.* 34), PG.36.241.24–25: τῆς τῶν πατέρων φιλοτεκνίας. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Homilia de Virginitate*, 2.25: στοργῇ πατρική καὶ φιλοτέκνω ἀπτόμενος. Also, the anonymous work (perhaps by Julian the Arian) *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 2.41: ὁ φιλοτέκνος πατήρ. Ephraem Syrus, *Sermo Compunctorius*, p. 389: Σωτήρ μου, παιδευσόν με ὡς πατήρ εὐσπλαγχνός (καὶ) φιλότεκνος.

⁴⁶ Pseudo-Clement of Rome, *Homiliae*, Homily 12.9.1: ὁ μὲν οὖν πατήρ φιλότεκνος.

⁴⁷ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, p. 71 & *Vita Sabae*, p. 86: ὁ πατέρων ἄριστε καὶ φιλοτεκνότε Γεώργιε. Abba George was a solitary and monastic founder in the place near Scythopolis called Beella (Βεελά).

⁴⁸ Caesarius, *QR*, 1 (line 10): ὁ φιλότεκνε πάτερ. 164 (line 1): φιλότεκνε πάτερ.

⁴⁹ Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 86: ἐγὼ δὲ πατέρα σε προσαγορεύειν ἀξιῶ, φιλοτεκνίας ἰδιώματα ἐπιδειγμένω μοι ἔκπαισι τῶν χρόνων μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο. 178: ἵνα δὲ γνοίης ὅτι πατέρα ἔχεις, κἀν ἁμαρτωλόν, ὅμως φιλότεκνον.

⁵⁰ Epiphanius of Salamis, *Ancoratus*, Prologue.

⁵¹ Caesarius, *QR*, 108.

⁵² Theodoret, *Epistulae: Collectio Patmensis* (*epistulae* 1–52), 15; *Epistulae: Collectio Sirmondiana* (*epistulae* 96–147), 113 (lines 30; 58; 132); 116; 117; 118; *Ad Eos Qui in Euphratesia et Osrhoena Regione; Syria, Phoenicia et Cilicia Vitam Monasticam Degunt* (ex *Epistula* 151), PG.83.1432.18.

⁵³ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, p. 71.

⁵⁴ Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 27.

Caesarius' interlocutors always address him with respect, through expressions denoting petition, such as δεόμεθα,⁵⁵ δεόμεθά σου,⁵⁶ παρακαλοῦμεν,⁵⁷ which suggest that they pose their questions as pupils to a master, while feeling respect for both his office and his wisdom. They address him 'father' (πάτερ) right from the start, as well as later,⁵⁸ and in Question 112 the following statement is made: "O, Father, I am asking this question, not because I am defending the Greeks, but because I wish to arm myself with the armoury of your erudition" (Οὐχ Ἑλλήνων ὑπερμαχῶν πρὸς σέ διατείνομαι, πάτερ, ἀλλὰ τὰ κατ' ἐκείνων ὅπλα παρὰ τῆς σῆς πολυμαθείας περιθέσθαι βουλόμενος).

In addition, the author extols the ascetic ideal, which also denotes his own monastic standing. He speaks in pride of the anchorites who chose the 'narrow way', overcoming the laws of nature and subduing all carnal desires to virtue, thus attaining to a life that had gotten rid of passions.⁵⁹

Since the edict against Origen was sanctioned at Constantinople, at a Local Synod of which we know nothing, Caesarius stages this dialogue in the same city, namely, the capital. This was the city where he had been 'kept' (ἐκρατήθη), as the title of the discourse has it. This does not of course mean that he had been detained. He stayed at the monastery of the Akoimatoi, being at the same time in close touch with influential figures such as Leontius of Byzantium, Theodore Askidas, and Domitian.

Nevertheless, when the time for Caesarius/Cassian to write this work had come, Leontius was already dead, since 542 or earlier. Our writer made his own mark in the capital city, which is why he was implicitly or explicitly admired by theologians related to the capital, such as Maximus Confessor (580–662), Theodore Studites (759–826), as well as John Climacus (525–606), assuming the latter was actually born in Constantinople.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Caesarius, *QR*, 30; 31; 42; 55; 135; 200; 204; 212.

⁵⁶ *QR*, 43; 165; 190; 208; 218.

⁵⁷ *QR*, 9; 43; 193.

⁵⁸ *QR*, 1 & 164; φιλότεκεν πάτερ. 11: τιμιώτατε πάτερ.

⁵⁹ Caesarius, *QR*, 194: οἱ ἀραρότως καὶ εἰλικρινῶς πιστεύοντες δι' ἀκροτάτης ἀσκήσεως καὶ σκληρουχίας τοὺς ὄρους τῆς φύσεως ὑπερβαίνοντες καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀπαθὲς μεθιστάμενοι ἐν σώματι καὶ τὰ ἐκ τούτου κωλύματα ὑπεριπτάμενοι, νεκροῦντες τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ σώματος, (Cf. Col. 3:5; Matt. 7:14) διὰ τῆς στενῆς καὶ πονικωτέρας ὁδοῦ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς βαίνοντες σφᾶς βιάζονται πρὸς τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἀνω κλήσεως (Phil. 3:14) ἐπειγόμενοι, ὡς φησιν ὁ ἱερὸς ἀπόστολος.

⁶⁰ However, even if John Climacus was born in Syria, this would have been also a good reason for him to have come upon the writings of Cassian.

Caesarius and Sixth-Century Origenism

The events surrounding the edict against Origen are fairly clear. Abbot Gelasius of the Laura of Sabas composed the document, which was sent to Patriarch Peter of Jerusalem, who in turn sent it to Justinian. The emperor made this an imperial edict verbatim (retaining even colloquialisms therein) and enjoined Patriarch Menas to summon a Local Synod, in order to anathematize Origen. He also bid Menas to send this synodical decision to all the bishops of the empire, prohibiting any 'Origenist' from becoming either bishop or even abbot of any monastery.⁶¹

It is subsequently assumed that this synod was actually convened in 543. But nothing of this synod is known and no acts of it exist. As clouds surround also the Fifth Oecumenical Council of 553, it would be plausible to allow K. Hefele's hypothesis that the fifteen anathemas, which are mistakenly ascribed to that council, were actually promulgated by that Local Synod ordered by Justinian.⁶² On the other hand, E. Schwartz made the letter to Menas (536–552) (edict against Origen by Justinian) part of the acts of the Local Synod of 536. This certainly cannot mean that Justinian's edict was sanctioned in 536, since Pope Vigilius (mentioned by name in the letter to Menas) assumed office in 538 (to remain there until 555). Besides, Leontius was present at the Synod of 536, whereas he was dead at the time when the edict against Origen was issued, in February 543.

Be that as it may, Caesarius wrote after the edict against Origen was issued. The work bespeaks an obvious anxiety to demonstrate the author's orthodoxy and somehow to 'reply' to the anathemas imposed on certain teachings by Justinian's edict against Origen, that is, the emperor's letter to Patriarch Menas.

Besides, some sympathies, which we came upon while studying Cassian, are also present in Caesarius. Speaking of Christ being εἰς ἑξ ἄμοφοῖν τῇ συνόδῳ καὶ ἐνώσει τῶν φύσεων⁶³ Caesarius actually reproduces a vocabulary which is characteristic of Eutherius of Tyana (fifth century), despite apparent similarity to the vocabulary of Ephesus.⁶⁴ Eutherius was a sympathizer

⁶¹ See *RCR*, pp. 266–268.

⁶² Karl Josef von Hefele, *A History of the Councils of the Church*, pp. 217–228.

⁶³ *QR*, 132.

⁶⁴ Cf. ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum anno 431*, vol. 1, 1, 1, p. 52: διαβεβαιούμεθα δὲ σύνοδόν μὲν τινὰ καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ λόγον συνδρομὴν εἰς ἔνωσιν ἀνίστων τε καὶ ἀνομοίων πεπράχθαι φύσεων. The text has been ascribed to Cyril of Alexandria, Cf. Catenae (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Epistolam ad Hebraeos (catena Nicetae)* (e cod. Paris. gr. 238), p. 421. *Florilegium Cyrillianum*, p. 172.

of Nestorius and supported him in his aversion to Cyril's anathemas. Following his excommunication by the Council of Ephesus, he spent some time at Scythopolis in Palestine, until he escaped to Tyre. His sojourn at Scythopolis probably left books of his in the city, which would have been studied by Caesarius/Cassian the Scythopolitan. The specific point of this work shows remarkable familiarity with Euthérius' writings.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, the expression *σύνδοδος φύσεων* in Christology, although not a favourite with the Chalcedonian party, was not rejected by them. Maximus Confessor made it clear: the 'concurrence of natures' took place towards 'one hypostasis, not one nature'.⁶⁶ The difference was that Severus regarded 'nature' as synonymous with 'hypostasis', which was infuriating to the Chalcedonians. The sixth-century monk Eustathius of Constantinople was clear as well as adamant: he excoriated Severus for making 'two natures' tantamount to 'two hypostases'.⁶⁷ This was also Justinian's view,⁶⁸ which was anyway a gloss on a resolution by Ephesus. The point was in fact a quotation from Cyril of Alexandria, the fanatic who was the real source that gave rise to Monophysitism.⁶⁹ Anyway, the notion of 'concurrence of natures' was allowed

⁶⁵ Cf. Euthérius of Tyana, *Confutationes Quarundam Propositionum*, Confutation 5: Πῶς οὖν τοιμῶσιν τινες μετὰ τὸ δειχθῆναι δύο τὸν Λόγον καὶ τὴν σάρκα τῶν δύο ἐκβάλλειν τὴν σύνοδον. Confutation 14: ἀπαθούμενοι δὲ τὴν τῶν δύο φύσεων σύνοδον τε καὶ ἑνωσιν. Confutation 19: δύο φύσεων ἐν Χριστῷ γεγενῆσθαι σύνοδον. Confutation 21: ἄλλο γὰρ λέγειν δύο φύσεων τελείων εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον σύνοδον καὶ ἄλλο τὸ φάσκειν ἐκ δύο μερῶν μίαν οὐσίαν. Confutation 22: ἀλλὰ τελείων φύσεων ἐν ἑαυτῷ σύνοδον δείχνουσι. The term *σύνδοδος* means concurrence of two elements, which though excludes fusion of them into oneness. Justinian, *Epistula Contra Tria Capitula*, 61: ἡ σύνοδος δὲ τῶν δύο φύσεων τὴν καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἑνωσιν λέγουσα ἐν κηρύττει πρόσωπον.

⁶⁶ Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 62: Δύο γὰρ φύσεων πρὸς ὑπόστασιν ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς φύσιν μίαν γέγονε σύνοδος, ἵνα καὶ τὸ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἐν ἐκ τῶν ἀλλήλαις συνδραμουσῶν φύσεων δειχθῇ κατὰ τὴν ἑνωσιν ἀποτελούμενον καὶ τὸ διάφορον τῶν συνελθόντων πρὸς τὴν ἀδιάσπαστον ἑνωσιν κατὰ τὴν φυσικὴν ιδιότητα πιστευθῇ πάσης ἐκτὸς μένον τροπῆς καὶ συγχύσεως. Εἰ γὰρ πρὸς φύσεως γένεσιν ἡ τῶν φύσεων γέγονε σύνοδος, ἀδιάνγνωστον ἂν ἦν ἡμῖν παντελῶς τὸ τῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας μυστήριον.

⁶⁷ Eustathius of Constantinople, *Epistula ad Timotheum Scholasticum de Duadibus Naturis Adversus Severum*, line 489: 'Ἀλλ' εἴ τις τὰ ἐξ ὧν ἐστὶ σκοπήσῃ ζητήσῃ, νοῦ μόνῃ φαντασίᾳ καὶ λεπτῇ θεωρίᾳ καὶ ἐπινοίᾳ διαιρῶν, θεωρεῖ δύο φύσεων, ἤγουν ὑποστάσεων σύνοδον, καὶ τὸ ἐκάστης τρόπον τινὰ φαντάζεται πρόσωπον ἐν ἐπινοίᾳ λαβεῖν. Further, arguing against the Severian notion of 'composite Christ': op. cit. lines 1000f: Αὐτῇ δὲ τοῦ συνθέτου λέξις δύο τινῶν πραγμάτων σημαίνει σύνοδον. ... εἰ οὖν σύνθετός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός, οὐ μόνον ἐκ δύο συνεστηκέναι φύσεων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔχει ταύτας ἐν ἑαυτῷ.

⁶⁸ Justinian, *Epistula Contra Tria Capitula*, 61: ἡ σύνοδος δὲ τῶν δύο φύσεων τὴν καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἑνωσιν λέγουσα ἐν κηρύττει πρόσωπον, ἤγουν μίαν ὑπόστασιν Χριστοῦ.

⁶⁹ Cyril of Alexandria, *De Incarnatione Unigeniti*, p. 688, quoted in ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum anno 431*, 1.1.1, p. 52: Διςχυρίζομεθα δὲ σύνοδον μὲν τινα καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ λόγον συνδρομὴν εἰς ἑνωσιν ἀνίσαν τε καὶ ἀνομοίαν πεπράχθαι φύσεων. "Ἐνα δ' οὖν ὅμως Χριστὸν καὶ Κύριον καὶ Υἱὸν ἐπιγινώσκουμεν, ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ νοούμενον Θεόν τε καὶ ἄνθρωπον.

by Chalcedonians and opponents of it alike, with each party reading it in a manner serving their correspondent causes all the same.⁷⁰

When therefore Caesarius refers to 'concurrence of natures' (τῇ συνόδῳ τῶν φύσεων), he is in fact immune to the danger of being branded as taking sides with either party. Moreover, he is always quick to confirm that Christ was 'one hypostasis', in which 'the Logos and flesh were united inseparably and indivisibly' (τὴν ἄτμητον καὶ ἀδιαίρετον τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς μίαν ὑπόστασιν),⁷¹ while at the same time entertaining the Chalcedonian language. His phraseology is carefully selected so as to make him acceptable to both parties, which was in fact the aim of the Neo-Chalcedonian tendency. It seems then that Caesarius wrote intending to be a Neo-Chalcedonian as far as hot Christological issues were concerned. It could hardly be argued that he succeeded in this aspiration.

Caesarius has a predilection for the precarious word συνάφεια ('conjunction'), which he entertains in different contexts. His vocabulary clearly suggests usage in the same spirit as Cassian's. The term denotes a certain kind of union between entities which are distinct. In Trinitarian context, συνάφεια portrays the Three Persons who remain three distinct Hypostases even though they are united.⁷² In different context, it denotes the manner in which the soul and body (and in general, the incorporeal and corporeal)⁷³

⁷⁰ Ἀδιάσπαστον δὲ παντελῶς τὴν ἔνωσιν διατηρεῖν εἰθίσμεθα. So in *Florilegium Cyrillianum*, p. 172, as well as in Catenae (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Epistolam ad Hebraeos* (*catena Nicetae*) (e cod. Paris. gr. 238), p. 421. Cf. also a learned text ascribed to Athanasius: *Fragmenta Varia*, PG.26.1233-32 f.: ἀλλὰ τελείων φύσεων τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ σύνοδον δείκνυσιν.

⁷¹ Cf. *Doctrina Patrum*, p. 137. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 230, p. 271a. *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 75, lines 65–70; 284, lines 173–190, 246–250, 555–560, 1864–1870, 2806–2810; 319, lines 2f. Theodore Daphnopates (a patrician of Constantinople, tenth century), *Epistulae*, 8: ὑποστησάμενος δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ οἰκειᾷ τῆς θεότητος ὑποστάσει κατ' ἄκραν καὶ οὐσιώδη καὶ ἀδιάρρηκτον ἔνωσιν, τὴν τῶν δύο φύσεων σύνοδον ἀπειργάσατο. Michael Psellus (eleventh century), *Orationes Hagiographicae*, Oration 1.b, lines 345–346: καὶ μηδὲ πρὸς ἐν μέρος διαμφιβάλλειν, μὴ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ λόγου σάρκωσιν, μὴ πρὸς τὴν δύο φύσεων σύνοδον, μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἀσυγχυτον ἔνωσιν, μὴ πρὸς ἄλλο τι τῶν ὧν οἱ πατέρες παρέδοσαν. Nicetas Stethatus (eleventh century), *Orationes*, Oration 3.3: τῆς ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ συνόδου τῶν δύο φύσεων εἰς μίαν ὑπόστασιν.

⁷² QR, 35. Cf. 29: τῇ ἐνώσει τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου καὶ τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν. 29: ἐνώσας ἑαυτῷ καὶ συμπλέξας τὰ ἡμέτερα. 121: τῇ ἑαυτοῦ θεῖα φύσει τὰ ἡμέτερα ἐνώσας. Caesarius refers to the 'unbreakable union' yet at the same time he excludes 'fusion'. 197: οὗτος οἰκήσας τὴν ἀείπαιδα καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἐκείνης σῶμα περιτιθέμενος κατ' ἔνωσιν ἀδιάσπαστον καὶ μίξεως ἐλεύθερον. Besides, he is quick to employ the Chalcedonian 'without confusion', 213: αὐτὸς ἀμίκτως καὶ ἀσυγχύτως κατακρινᾶται τῷ πλάσματι, ἀθανάτους μάκαρας αἰεὶ ἐσομένους δρᾶσας ἡμᾶς ἐνώσει τῶν ἡμετέρων καὶ ὅψι τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς.

⁷³ QR, 3.

⁷⁴ QR, 58: τοὺς δ' ἀγγέλους φημι πνεύματα ἄσβεστα, μὴ ἔχοντα σωματικὴν συνάφειαν καὶ διάστασιν.

are united to each other to form a human being. Although he is eager to ascribe his assertion to Moses, his Aristotelian tendency is quite plain: a human being is neither the soul nor body itself; man is made by means of 'conjunction and union' of body and soul.⁷⁴ According to Plato, a human being is actually a soul clothed with a body. The soul is actually a man's personality; the body is only a disturbing temporary attachment, which anyone should be eager to get rid of. In this way, the soul will be able to return to its own proper place. Caesarius does not grant this: neither the body nor the soul can make any sense on its own merit as a *human* being. Nor should the soul be understood as having arrived here in order to be clothed with corporeality, later to return to incorporeality carrying with it the personality of a certain human being. Caesarius is plain that the soul takes over spatial existence only through and upon its 'conjunction' with the body: it does not pre-exist in any place before coming together with the body.⁷⁵ Likewise he offers a nice portrayal of the interaction (συν-πάθεια) between soul and body: when the soul is happy, this happiness reflects to the body, which becomes robust and beautiful; when the body suffers, the soul shares the experience of pain. This 'interaction' is what the author admires and sees as the result of a 'good conjunction'.⁷⁶ Once again, συνάφεια suggests two different and distinct entities (soul, body) coming together, not any fusion of them at all. Although each of them is of a different nature, it is their mutual 'communion' (κοινωνία) and coexistence in man that makes these two 'created' (κτιστά) elements 'composite' (σύνθετα).⁷⁷ Like Cassian, he entertains the term συνάφεια also in relation to the intercourse between man and woman procuring offspring.⁷⁸ I have canvassed Cassian using the term in exactly the same sense,⁷⁹ and I have

⁷⁴ 139 (lines 59–61): οὐτε οὖν ψυχὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὐτε τὸ σῶμα ὑπάρχει ἀνθρωπος· ἐκατέρων γὰρ τὴν συνάφειαν καὶ ἔνωσιν ἀπρητῆσθαι τὸν βροτὸν ὁ τῶν θεῶν συνγραφεὺς Μωσὴς ἀπεφῆνατο.

⁷⁵ Op. cit. 139 (lines 145–146): ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ὁ ἡμέτερος νοὺς προηγουμένην ἔχει τὴν ἐν τόπῳ περιγραφὴν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς τοῦ σώματος συναφείας ἐν τόπῳ γίνεται. The term should not mislead us: the author has just made reference to 'soul' and this sentence is a gloss to that: ἐκ τῆς σαυτοῦ ἀσωμάτου ψυχῆς.

⁷⁶ 139 (lines 160–161): ὦ τῆς καλῆς συναφείας, ὦ τῆς θαυμαστῆς ἐνώσεως, ὦ τῆς σοφίας τοῦ ἐνώσαντος. The orthography of ὦ as ὦ in Riedinger's edition is not correct.

⁷⁷ QR, 174 (lines 5–8): ἀμφω γὰρ κτιστά, ἢ τε ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλα συναφείᾳ καὶ κοινωνίᾳ. συνθέσει δὲ πάντως ἔπεται διάστασις καὶ διαίρεσις.

⁷⁸ QR, 139 (lines 91–92): ὁμοῦ τὴν συνάφειαν καὶ ἔνωσιν τῆς φύσεως δηλοῦσης καὶ τὰ ἐξ ἐκάστου ἐπὶ τὴν παιδοποιᾶν συμβαίνοντα. So in QR, 170 (lines 17 & 19): τὴν κατὰ νόμον συνάφειαν καὶ παιδογονίαν, ἀποδεικνύς ὁ κύριος ἐκ μὲν τοῦ Ἀδάμ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐδημιούργησεν, τῶν μέχρι νῦν δι' αὐτοῦ συναπτομένων παιδεύων τὴν ἔνωσιν καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνων παιδοποιᾶν ἀγάμενος φησὶν τῇ δι' αὐτοῦ συναφείᾳ. My italics accentuate the recurrence of the term at hand.

⁷⁹ See endnote 17 (pp. 278–299) to the Greek text (p. 84^v).

suggested that this usage betokens Nestorian sympathy, or Nestorian education at least.

Caesarius knew what he was talking about. In his anxiety to declare himself complying with the imperial orthodoxy, he makes an implicit yet clear declaration against Monophysite attitudes. The 'old knowledge' (τὰ πάλαι), which is 'engraved on stone, as it were' (οἶονεῖ ἐν πέτρᾳ κεχαραγμένης), should not be blurred (μηδ' εἴργεσθαι τινι διαφράγματι) by novel teachings (τῇ γνώσει τῶν ἐπεισάκτων), 'which were introduced' only 'fifty years ago' (τὸν πρὸ πεντήκοντα χρόνων ἀκουσθέντα λόγον).⁸⁰ Quite evidently, he points to the person and teaching of Severus of Antioch. The author does indeed deal with problems of his real time, namely mid-sixth century. He refers to the heresy of the 'Agnoetae' (ἀγνοηταί),⁸¹ which was in fact a sect of the Monophysite doctrine. Their leader was said to be a certain Themistius,⁸² who played a considerable part in the controversy. Furthermore, the rejection of the idea that it was the 'Trinity who was incarnate'⁸³ is a reply to the renowned *Trisagion*-issue, which sustained that it was the entire Trinity that had suffered on the Cross. Caesarius spoke of the question at one point, banning the possibility of the two natures being distinguished only 'in mere conception', which Severus urged.⁸⁴ Cyril of Alexandria had also taught that it is indeed possible to make a division between the divinity and flesh of Christ 'in theory' (ἐπινοία).⁸⁵ It is all but certain that this text is actually Cyril's. This does not really matter, since John of Damascus employed the entire section about Christ verbatim and made this part of his own *Expositio Fidei* (section 91). A later text attributes the entire idea to John of Damascus himself and quotes the same text somewhat paraphrased. It nevertheless stresses the point which John of Damascus taught, notably that to divide

⁸⁰ Caesarius, *QR*, 139, lines 162f: ὥστε μὴ ἐπισκοτεῖσθαι τὰ πάλαι τῇ γνώσει τῶν ἐπεισάκτων, μηδ' εἴργεσθαι τινι διαφράγματι τῶν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἀκουομένων, σήμερον ἀπαγγεῖλαι τὸν πρὸ πεντήκοντα χρόνων ἀκουσθέντα λόγον, ἀλλ' εὐκρινεῖς καὶ ἀσυγχύτους σφῶζειν τὰς μνήμας τῆς παιδεύσεως, οἶονεῖ ἐν πέτρᾳ κεχαραγμένης.

⁸¹ Caesarius, *QR*, 30.

⁸² *Doctrina Patrum*, p. 105. The point mentioned by Caesarius ('and Jesus advanced ...', Luke 2:52) is treated by the *Doctrina Patrum*, p. 333.

⁸³ Caesarius, *QR*, 186.

⁸⁴ *QR*, 35: διὰ τὴν ἄτμητον καὶ ἀδιαίρετον τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς ἔνωσιν καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν, οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἢ ἐπινοίᾳ διαιρουμένην.

⁸⁵ Cyril of Alexandria, *De Sancta Trinitate*, PG.77.1169.6–9: Τὰ δέ, διὰ τὴν κατ' ἐπίνοιαν διαίρεσιν. Εἰ γὰρ τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ διέληξ τὰ ἀληθεῖα ἀχώριστα, ἦτοι τὴν σάρκα ἐκ τοῦ Λόγου, λέγεται καὶ δοῦλος καὶ ἀγνοών.

Christ in mere conception (κατὰ ψιλὴν ἐπίνοιαν) is indeed possible.⁸⁶ Nestorius himself did not need any notion such as ‘in mere conception’: Christ plainly comprised two natures.

This is the reason why I am not ready to endorse Riedinger’s assumption that the author is a ‘Syrian Monophysite, notably a Severian’, although it is possible to find Monophysite echoes here and there throughout this comprehensive exposition. However, I have no doubt about Riedinger being correct in his suggestion that the author is related to the monastery of the Akoimetoι in Constantinople.⁸⁷ I believe that the author was certainly a Syrian and his sympathies lied with Nestorius. As a matter of fact, there is a flaw at this point of Caesarius’ work aiming at obscuring the Nestorian sympathies involved. This is probably why another monk of the sixth century disguising himself under the name of John Chrysostom set out to correct him: his epistle is entitled *Epistula ad Caesarium*, and it is supposed to have been written by John Chrysostom ‘after his second banishment’. The man was evidently aware of the *Erotapokriseis*, which he praised for its philological virtues. For all this, his main point was to rebut a Monophysite point by saying that if ‘fusion’ of two natures were allowed, this actually is nothing short of Apollinarism.⁸⁸ Maximus Confessor, too, took exception to ‘two natures’ concurring toward making up one nature. He sustained that they make up only one hypostasis.⁸⁹ This however did not preclude him from

⁸⁶ *Synodicon Orthodoxiae*, lines 548–554: διενισταμένοις δὲ μὴ ὀφείλιν νοεῖσθαι τὴν τοιαύτην φωνὴν ὁπηνίκα νοεῖται ὁ Κύριος μία ὑπόστασις ἡνωμένος τὰς δύο ἔχουσα φύσεις, ἀλλ’ ὁπηνίκα κατὰ ψιλὴν ἐπίνοιαν ἡ σὰρξ προσλαμβάνεται κεχωρισμένη τῆς θεότητος καὶ οἶα τις ἐκάστου τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι γνωρίζεται, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ θεολογικωτάτου Δαμασκηνοῦ τότε τὴν κατὰ ψιλὴν ἐπίνοιαν διαίρεσιν ἐκδιδάσκοντος ὅτε λέγεται τι περὶ τῆς Χριστοῦ σαρκὸς μὴ παραστατικὸν φυσικῆς τινος ιδιότητος, ἀλλὰ δηλωτικὸν δουλείας ἢ καὶ ἀγνοίας.

⁸⁷ Rudolf Riedinger, *Pseudo-Kaisarios, Die Erotapokriseis*, p. viii.

⁸⁸ Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *Epistula ad Caesarium*, version 1, Fr. 1: καὶ φήσεας πάντως ἐκ πλάνης πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον ἐληλυθέναι καὶ χάριν ὁμολογεῖν τοῖς τὴν θαυμαστὴν ἐκείνην προσκομίσασι βίβλον, ἣν ἀρίστην τὰ κάλλιστα σου ἀποκαλοῦσι γράμματα, ὡς τηλαυγῶς διαγορεύουσιν ἀνδρομὴν οὐσιώδη καὶ μεῖξιν θεσπεσίαν γεγενῆσθαι θεότητός τε καὶ σαρκὸς μίαν τε ἐντεῦθεν ἀποτελεσθῆναι φύσιν. Τοῦτο, θαυμάσιε, τοῦ παράφρονος Ἀπολλιναρίου τὸ ἀτόπημα, αὕτη τῶν εἰσαγόντων κρᾶσιν καὶ συναλοιφῇ ἢ δυσσεβεστάτῃ αἵρεσις.

⁸⁹ Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 62: δύο γὰρ φύσεων πρὸς ὑπόστασιν ἀλλ’ οὐ πρὸς φύσιν μία γέγονε σύνοδος. ... Εἰ γὰρ πρὸς φύσεων γένεσιν ἡ τῶν φύσεων γέγονε σύνοδος ἀδιάγνωστον ἂν ἦν ἡμῖν παντελῶς τὸ τῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας μυστήριον. Cf. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 229, p. 256a: τὴν τε εἰς μίαν ὑπόστασιν σύνοδον καὶ τὸ ἀμετάβλητον ἑκατέρας φύσεως δι’ ἑκατέρας ἐκδιδάσκων φωνῆς. Op. cit. Codex 230, p. 273a: Τούτοις καὶ ὁ θεολόγος συνᾶδων Γρηγόριος, εἰ καὶ τὸ συναμφοτέρον ἐν φησιν, ἀλλ’ οὐ τῇ φύσει, τῇ δὲ συνόδῳ. Ὁ μέντοι δυστυχῆς Εὐτυχὴς ἐκ δύο μὲν φύσεων τὴν ἔνωσιν ὠμολόγει, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔνωσιν μίαν ἐδυσφῆμει. Ἐφ’ οἷς αὐτὸν ἢ τε ἐν Καλχηδόνι καὶ ἢ πρὸ αὐτῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει δικαίως κατεδίκασε σύνοδος.

drawing on Caesarius.⁹⁰ It is then possible that such echoes transpire not necessarily because the author had Monophysite sympathies, but because he employed (at points, at least) a Neo-Chalcedonian approach. This was after all an attitude consonant with the spirit of the Akoimetoi, who felt free to take liberties with drawing on Christians whom current (or old) inquisitors styled heretics. This openmindedness of the Akoimetoi was of course one of the reasons why they incurred the wrath of the emperor in 532 and the subsequent condemnation by Pope John II of Rome at the behest of Justinian, in 534.

In any event, to Caesarius/Cassian, Nestorius was a fellow-Antiochene and a fellow-student of Theodore of Mopsuestia. He treated Nestorius in precisely the same way as his master Theodoret had done: Nestorius probably went a little too far with some of his formulations, or as Patriarch he allowed his proxies to do so, yet this does not make him a heretic to be thrown to fire. A specific example is pretty illuminating, and I will dwell on this for a moment.

The author is evidently an Antiochene. He never mentions the name of Nestorius, although he excoriates other 'heretics', such as Arians, Origen, Macedonius. There are points where what was allegedly Nestorianism is implicitly yet clearly rebutted,⁹¹ yet the author to whom Theodoret was an exemplar did not wish to attack Nestorius by name. The pithy example is Question 127. Since 2 Cor. 5:19 tells us that 'God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself' (θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ κόσμον καταλλάσσων ἑαυτῷ), it follows (so the Question has it) that 'it was not Christ' reconciling, but 'God who inhabited in' Christ (οὐχ ὁ Χριστός, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐνοικῶν αὐτῷ θεός). The Question was designed to supply Caesarius with the opportunity to rebut Nestorianism, though not specifically the notion of 'inhabitation'. Accordingly, this is couched in an Adoptionist vocabulary, arguing that 2 Cor. 5:19 actually

⁹⁰ In Migne, the last section of Reply 151 is a plain text of Maximus, which editor Galland points out by putting Maximus' name on the header of it (PG.38.1105). Riedinger (Reply 171) dismissed this final portion altogether. The text ascribed to Caesarius goes thus: Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones et Dubia*, 1.3: 'Ἐπειδὴ ὁ προηγούμενος σκοπὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἦν τοῦ [sic; but this should be τὸ] μὴ διὰ γάμου γεννᾶσθαι ἡμᾶς καὶ φθορᾶς, ἡ δὲ παράβασις τῆς ἐντολῆς τὸν γάμον εἰσάγαγεν διὰ τὸ ἀνομήσαι τὸν Ἀδὰμ, τουτέστιν ἀθετῆσαι τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ δοθέντα αὐτῷ νόμον, πάντες οὖν οἱ ἐξ Ἀδὰμ γεννώμενοι ἐν ἀνομίαις συλλαμβάνονται, ὑποπίπτοντες τῇ τοῦ προπάτορος καταδίκῃ. Τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἁμαρτίαις ἐκίσσῃσέν με ἡ μήτηρ μου σημαίνει ὅτι ἡ Εὐὰ ἡ πάντων ἡμῶν μήτηρ πρώτη ἐκίσσῃσεν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ὥσπερ ὀργώσα τὴν ἡδονήν. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ τῆς μητρὸς ὑποπίπτοντες καταδίκῃ κισσᾶσθαι λέγομεν ἐν ἁμαρτίαις.

⁹¹ Cf. Caesarius, *QR*, 34: Οὐ γὰρ πλήρωμα ἡλαττώθη τῆς θεότητος οὐδὲ κατὰ προκοπὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γέγονε Θεός.

denotes that ‘God being in Christ’ bespeaks that it was God not Christ, who *dwelled in Christ* (ὁ ἐνοικῶν αὐτῷ θεός) and reconciled the world with God. This notion of ἐνοίκησις (‘inhabitation’) is a challenging one, since it suggests that Christ was only a man taken hold by the divine Logos. This is why Caesarius set out to reason that Scripture actually rebuts this *kind* of alleged (by the Nestorianizing Question 127) ‘dwelling’. The careful reader should notice that Caesarius contests not the notion in general, but the Nestorian understanding of it. “I dispute the idea of inhabitation *as it is understood by you* (καὶ ἀναιρῶν τὴν κατὰ σέ ἐνοίκησιν)”, he says. How could he possibly rebut the notion in general, since it had been championed by such personalities as Theodoret⁹² and Cyril of Alexandria⁹³ alike, with Nestorius just having gone a little too far? For it was only after Nestorius’ formulations had appeared (indeed because of them) that official orthodoxy cared to deal with the notion of ‘inhabitation’ extensively,⁹⁴ and to condemn this as heretic.⁹⁵ However, considering Cyril’s statements, one would say this: had they been pronounced some decades after Ephesus by a not eminent author, the selfsame statements could have been denounced as ‘Nestorian’. Subsequent

⁹² Theodoret, *De Incarnatione Domini*, PG.75.1433.1–2: εἶχε δὲ πλεόν ἡμῖν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου τὴν ἐνοίκησιν τε καὶ ἔνωσιν. Op. cit. PG.75.1444–1445: Ταῦτα τὴν Ἀπολιναρίου ἐλέγχει ματαιολογίαν, ὅς ἀντὶ νοῦ τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον ἐνοικῆσαι λέγει τῇ προσληφθείσῃ σαρκί. Op. cit. PG.75.1457.8–9: καὶ Κύριον μὲν προσαγορεύσας, τὸν ἐνοικῆσαντα Θεὸν Λόγον. Op. cit. PG.75.1468.48–51: ἡ ἐξ ὑμῶν ἀναληφθεῖσα φύσις τῇ τῆς θεότητος ἐνοικῆσει τε καὶ ἐνώσει, τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἔτυχε. *Eranistes*, p. 93: “Ἐτερον σκηνή, καὶ ἕτερον ὁ λόγος· ἕτερον ὁ ναός, καὶ ἕτερον ὁ ἐνοικῶν ἐν αὐτῷ θεός. p. 237: καὶ διὰ τὸν ἐνοικῆσαντα λόγον ἀφθαρτον διαμείνῃ. Op. cit. p. 237 (quoting Eustathius of Antioch): διὰ τὸν ἐνοικῆσαντα λόγον ἐν τούτοις διὰ τοῦ ἐνὸς σώματος. ... ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν ἐνοικῆσαντα τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον ἐκτὸς ἐγένετο φθοράς. ... (p. 238) ἐκ τοῦ ἐνοικῆσαντος αὐτῷ λόγου. p. 250: Ὁ δὲ ἔχων ἐξουσίαν καὶ ἐνοικῆσαι καὶ ἀναχωρῆσαι τόδε λέγει· “Πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθηναι τὸ πνευμά μου”.

⁹³ Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Joannem*, v. 1, p. 530: καθάπερ οὖν αὐτῇ τῷ ἐνοικῆσαντι Λόγῳ; p. 568: ἦν γὰρ οἶκος Θεοῦ τοῦ ἐνοικῆσαντος ἐν αὐτῷ, δηλονότι τὸ ἅγιον σῶμα Χριστοῦ. p. 569: εἰς τύπον τοῦ ἐνοικῆσαντος καὶ ἐνωθέντος τῇ ἀγίᾳ σαρκὶ Θεοῦ Λόγου. p. 582: Οὕτως τὸν ἐνοικῆσαντα τῇ ἀγίᾳ σαρκὶ Θεὸν Λόγον ἐπιγινώσκοντες. v. 2, p. 320: τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἐνοικῆσαντος τῇ σαρκὶ Λόγου. Likewise, v. 2, pp. 402; 440; *Fragmenta in Sancti Pauli Epistulam ad Hebraeos*, p. 421: ἐνοικῆσαντος τοῦ Λόγου σωματικῶς τῷ ἐκ παρθένου ναῷ. *De Sancta Trinitate Dialogi I–VII*, pp. 491; *Epistulae Paschales sive Homiliae Paschales* (epist. 1–30), PG.77.573.22–27; *Thesaurus De Sancta Consubstantiali Trinitate*, PG.75: 397.41–44; 400.37–39; 540.44–51.

⁹⁴ ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum anno 431*, 1.1.1, p. 37; 42; 1.1.2, p. 89; 1.1.3, pp. 92; 93; 95; 99; 1.1.4, p. 60; 1.1.5, p. 24; 1.1.6, pp. 5; 18; 20; 22; 27; 28; 29; 30; 31; 79; 80; 124; 125; 127; 142; 1.1.7, p. 22; 29; 30.

⁹⁵ Op. cit. 1.1.7, p. 57: This is the eleventh anathema imposed by the synod: Εἰ τις οὐχ ὁμολογῇ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου σάρκα ζωοποιόν εἶναι καὶ ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγου, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἑτέρου τινὸς παρ’ αὐτόν, συνημμένον μὲν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἢ γοῦν ὡς μόνην θείαν ἐνοικῆσιν ἐσχηκός, καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ μάλλον ζωοποιόν, ὡς ἔφην, ὅτι γέγονεν ἰδίᾳ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ τὰ πάντα ζωογονεῖν ἰσχύοντος, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

authors took heed to use 'inhabitation' along with 'union',⁹⁶ although Cyril of Alexandria himself had not cared to be equally circumspect on this point. The notion of ἐνοίκησις appeared in no other council ever since, as if the guardians of orthodoxy wished to push this into oblivion. Like Cyril's formulations that had offered ground to the Monophysite cause, Cyril's statements involving 'inhabitation' appeared to differ too little from Nestorius' vocabulary.⁹⁷ The following example is indicative of the decades that followed Ephesus, since the same question is treated in the spurious *Quaestiones Et Responsiones Ad Orthodoxos*, which I have surmised to be Cassian's work.⁹⁸ This work is currently attributed to either Theodoret or Pseudo-Justin. The latter starts with the sixteenth Question of the text, which is attributed to Theodoret, too; which means that the first fifteen Questions appearing in Pseudo-Theodoret are absent from the text ascribed to Pseudo-Justin: the Question which I quoted is the seventh one.

Caesarius treats the very same question which appears in Pseudo-Theodoret. I believe both instances betoken Cassian's concern to clarify a tantalizing issue, which resulted not only in Nestorius being condemned, but also in the Akoimetoι having been written-off, as well as Cassian himself resulting in being a suspect of heresy. Therefore, both the question and reply are designed to exonerate the author from any stain of theological aberration. He distances himself from any notion bespeaking mere 'inhabitation' of God in Christ in the sense of 'dwelling', which might compromise

⁹⁶ Oecumenius, *Fragmenta in Epistulam ad Hebraeos (in catenis)*, p. 462: Ἰστέον ὅτι οἱ Νεστοριανοὶ παραπταίουσιν τῇ γραφῇ καὶ οὕτως ἀναγινώσκουσιν· ὅπως χωρὶς θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς γεύσῃται θανάτου, τοῦτο κατασκευάζοντες ὅτι οὕτως ἐνοίκησιν ἔσχεν ὁ Χριστός, φασί, τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου καὶ οὐχ ἔνωσιν, ὅτι σταυρουμένῳ αὐτῷ οὐκ ἦν ἡ θεότης. John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei*, 46; 56; 66: Νεστορίῳ δὲ τῷ ματαιόφρονι πειθόμενοι σχετικὴν ἔνωσιν καὶ ψιλὴν ἐνοίκησιν τερατεύονται.

⁹⁷ Cf. Nestorius, *Sermones*, Sermon 17: οὐκ εἶπον ὅτι καὶ ἐγεννήθη ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου, ὑποκατιόντες δὲ ἐρμηνεύουσι τὸ σαρκωθέντα τὸν ἐνανθρωπήσαντα τοῦτον λέγοντες τὸν σαρκωθέντα, οὐ τροπὴν τῆς θείας φύσεως ὑπομεινάσης εἰς τὴν σάρκα, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐνοίκησιν τὴν εἰς ἀνθρώπων. *Apud ACO, Concilium Universale Ephesenum anno 431*, 1,1,6, pp. 5; 27; 28; 29; 30.

⁹⁸ Pseudo-Theodoret, *Quaestiones et Responsiones Ad Orthodoxos*, p. 2: ζ'. Εἰ ἡ θεία οὐσία μία κατέστηκε, πῶς τὴν ἐνανθρωπήσιν καὶ τὴν ἔνωσιν καὶ τὴν ἐνοίκησιν ἐν τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ μόνῳ τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ τινὲς περιάπτουσι καὶ ἐξῆς; Reply to this, in op. cit. p. 21. The gist of this argument is this: the 'divine essence is one, and everything pertaining to this essence is common to the Three Persons'. However, in relation to the Incarnation, which is proper to the Logos (ἰδικὴ ἐστὶ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου), during this drama of dispensation each one of the Father and Spirit is referred to separately, in accordance with his peculiar function (about the Father: διηρημένως ποιεῖ τοὺς λόγους. About the Spirit: εἰς τὴν οἰκονομίαν διαιρεῖ τοὺς λόγους). By contrast, Christ is referred to indiscriminately, as either human or divine (εἰς δὲ τὸν θεοῦ λόγον καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκονομίαν οὐδαμῶς ποιεῖ τὴν τοιαύτην διαίρεσιν).

Christ's own divinity. It is telling, however, that he does not mention Nestorius at all, as if he wished to betoken that he himself did not actually believe that Nestorius ever sustained such a heretical doctrine.⁹⁹

Nevertheless, an assiduous exploration of some of Caesarius' expressions shows him aware of the pro-Chalcedonian literature. To cite an instance, he had definitely read the defense of Chalcedon by John Grammaticus, the stringent sixth-century presbyter, who was also a Palestinian (Caesarea) and played a significant part in the intellectual war surrounding the Monophysite controversy. The idiom ἀμυδροῖς παραδείγμασι χρῆσθαι ('to use examples which attest to a point obscurely, or not overtly'),¹⁰⁰ which Caesarius repeatedly uses, was one launched by John Grammaticus,¹⁰¹ whose works were available in his native Palestine at the time when Caesarius was writing his own work. The formula did not enjoy much currency, which is what makes it valuable to our exploration. Through the writings of Patriarch Nicephorus I of Constantinople, we can confirm that this was used by Theodore Studites. For indeed Patriarch Nicephorus I of Constantinople (802–811) used the construction in a text,¹⁰² which is actually a quotation from his contemporary Theodore Studites, as we can also learn from Philotheus Coccinus (fourteenth century), who used the same quotation.¹⁰³ Once again, Studites reproduced the vocabulary of Cassian.

All of my analyses bring to the fore a line connecting the Sabaite environment in Palestine with the monastery of the Akoimetoι and its daughter-

⁹⁹ Caesarius, *QR*, 127: Πάσης ὑπέρτερον δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος, ἰσοκλεῖ ὄντα τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ ἔγωγε φημι θεὸν τὸν Χριστόν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν κύριον εἰρήσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ ἀποστόλου ἀφαιρεῖται αὐτὸν τῆς θεότητος. οὐδ' ἂν πάλιν τὸ θεὸς ἐν Χριστῷ ἐνοικούμενον αὐτὸν δείκνυσιν.

¹⁰⁰ Caesarius, *QR*, 20, line 34 (ἀμυδροῖς παραδείγμασιν χρῆσάμενος); 37, line 9 (ἀμυδροῖς χρῆσασθαι παραδείγμασιν); 69, line 6 (ἀμυδροῖς παραδείγμασι χρώμενοι).

¹⁰¹ John Grammaticus, *Apologia Concilii Chalcedonensis (excerpta Graeca)*, lines 156–159 (also, in *Doctrina Patrum*, p. 196): Οὕτως οὖν ἐν Χριστῷ τῶν δύο οὐσιῶν γέγονεν ἑνωσις εἰς μίαν ὑπόστασιν καὶ ἐν πρόσωπον, εἰ καὶ ἀμυδρῶς διὰ τῶν παραδειγμάτων ἀποδεδείχται. John is also the author of the polemic treatises *Adversus Manichaeos* and *Capitula xvii Contra Monophysitas*. John Grammaticus, a Chalcedonian who was not content with the ambiguities allowed in the debate with Monophysitism, challenged Severus of Antioch (probably shortly before 518). His epigrammatic statements against the Monophysites (such as the seventeen short statements—styled by him 'chapters') outlined what is orthodox and what is Monophysite belief.

¹⁰² Nicephorus I of Constantinople (eighth–ninth century), *Eusebii Caesariensis Confutatio*, 50: καὶ ἵνα παραδείγματι ἀμυδροτέρῳ καὶ παχυτέρῳ, ἡμῖν δὲ οἰκιστέρῳ χρῆσωμαι. Later still, Symeon Neotheologos (tenth–eleventh century), *Orationes Theologicae*, Oration 2: καὶ παραδείγματι ἀμυδρῷ τῷ σκοπῷ τοῦ λόγου χρῆσόμεθα.

¹⁰³ Philotheus Coccinus, *Antirrhetici Duodecim Contra Gregoram*, Oration 11, lines 1803–1804.

monastery of Studios. The fact that Theodore Studites is abundantly present reproducing rare expressions found here and there is not fortuitous. One more point is telling indeed. In his first Reply (which is extensive), Caesarius declares that what he has to say is not out own: he only recapitulates the teaching he had collected from the 'blessed fathers'.¹⁰⁴ This is a point made by Cassian addressing Castor, too,¹⁰⁵ on which we should dwell. The author says that his teaching is the harvest he collected from 'the meadows of roses of the blessed fathers' (τοὺς λειμῶνας τῆς ἐκείνων ῥοδωνιάς). To speak of 'meadows of roses' is all but common in literature, and this only tells us that we are upon the work of an Antiochian author. The imagery, beautifully rhetorical as it is, originates in Libanius (an Antiochian, too),¹⁰⁶ though it was another man of the region who entertained this in its present metaphorical sense, namely, John Chrysostom.¹⁰⁷ This Antiochian flowery-prose by the Archbishop of Constantinople, along with Libanius no doubt, inspired one more eminent scholar of the region, notably Theodoret, to entertain the metaphor.¹⁰⁸ Scarce though this usage is, it reveals the Antiochene air that Caesarius, actually Cassian, breathed. When, therefore, John Moschus employed the title 'Meadow of the Fathers' for his chronicle, he did so only because he employed the figure of speech he came upon in Palestine. He was a Syrian, too, after all.¹⁰⁹ And yet, the author whom we find once again

¹⁰⁴ Caesarius, *QR*, 1, lines 69–70: Οὐκ οἰκεῖά τινα ἢ αὐτοσχέδια φράζων, ἀλλ' ὅσα τῶν ἀοιδίμων καὶ μακαρίων πατέρων τοὺς λειμῶνας ἐπελθὼν τῆς ἐκείνων ῥοδωνιάς συνήγαγον. Riedinger's Οὐχ οἰκεῖα is not correct.

¹⁰⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 22^v: Καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἂν ἑαυτῶν ἐροῦμεν, ἀλλ' ἅπερ εἰλήφαμεν παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν. *Op. cit.* p. 24^r: Ὅρος ἐγκρατείας καὶ κανὼν παραδεδομένος παρὰ τῶν πατέρων. *Op. cit.* p. 29^r: Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο οἱ πατέρες. *Op. cit.* p. 36^v: Οὕτω γὰρ δυνησόμεθα καὶ τοῖς τῶν πατέρων ἴχνεσιν ἀκολουθήσαι. *Op. cit.* p. 56^r: Ταῦτα καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐπιστάμενοι, πάντες μιᾷ γνώμῃ παραδεδώκασι.

¹⁰⁶ Libanius, *Progymnasmata*, *Progymnasma* 10.5.18: ποίας δὲ οὐ γραφῆς τερπνότερον ἰωνιά καὶ ῥοδωνιά καὶ λειμῶνες καὶ κλάδοι τέττιγας φέροντες;

¹⁰⁷ John Chrysostom, *Ad Populum Antiochenum* (*homiliae* 1–21), PG.49.17.20–23: Καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν λειμῶνι πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα ὄρα τῆς ἀναγνώσεως τὰ ἄνθη, καὶ πολλὴν μὲν τὴν ῥοδωνιάν, πολλὰ δὲ τὰ ἴα, καὶ οὐκ ἔλάττω τὰ κρίνα. *In Sanctum Ignatium Martyrem*, PG.50.587.45–46: οἷον ἂν εἴ τις εἰς λειμῶνα εἰσελθὼν, καὶ πολλὴν μὲν τὴν ῥοδωνιάν ἰδὼν, πολὺ δὲ τὸ ἴον, καὶ τὸ κρίνον τοσοῦτον. *De Anna* (*sermones* 1–5), PG.54.652.46–49: καὶ εἰς τὸν λειμῶνα τῶν κατορθωμάτων τῆς γυναικὸς εἰσαγαγεῖν τὸν λόγον· λειμῶνα οὐχὶ ῥοδωνιάν ἔχοντα, οὐδὲ ἄνθη μαραινόμενα, ἀλλ' εὐχὴν καὶ πίστιν καὶ ἀνεξίκακίαν πολλήν.

¹⁰⁸ Theodoret, *Eranistes*, p. 253: Οὐκοῦν, ὦ ἀγαθέ, ζήλωσον τὰς μελίττας, καὶ τῷ νῶ περιπετόμενος τοὺς τε λειμῶνας τοὺς τῆς θείας γραφῆς, καὶ τῶν πανευφήμων πατέρων τὰ ἄνθη τὰ ἀξίεραστα ἐραυνάμενος.

¹⁰⁹ John Moschus (born in Damascus, c. 550–619), *Prologus in Pratum Spirituale* (the prologue was actually written after Moschus' death): Συνεγράφη ἡ βίβλος αὕτη τοῦ Λειμῶνος ἥτοι αἱ πολιτεῖαι τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἐναρέτων καὶ θεαρέστων πατέρων.

entertaining this Antiochene simile is Theodore Studites,¹¹⁰ along with the collection *Analecta Hymnica Graeca* (bespeaking both the Akoimatoi and the Great Laura), where Cassian's vocabulary recurs abundantly. The origins of Christian hymnology are Antiochene, as I have canvassed,¹¹¹ and the monastery of the Akoimatoi (a spiritual colony of Antioch in the heart of the capital) was the place where psalmody was ceaseless. Either way, these hymns bear on Cassian's spiritual environment.¹¹²

For all the author's enterprise to launch a vitriolic attack on Origen, either by name¹¹³ or implicitly,¹¹⁴ there are points where he could not help falling under the spell of what was, or was alleged to be, an Origenistic teaching. For instance, when the author refers to λόγους σωμάτων καὶ ἀσωμάτων καὶ κρίσεως καὶ προνοίας ('reasons of corporeal and incorporeal things, and these of judgement and providence'),¹¹⁵ he actually uses a language which exclusive to Origen and Evagrius,¹¹⁶ and re-appears only later in Maximus Confessor.¹¹⁷

Even the verb *καρηβαροῦμεν*,¹¹⁸ which Caesarius uses just after this expression, is a word ascribed to Origen.¹¹⁹ It is remarkable that this word is used at no more than three instances during the first Christian millennium, to be later reproduced twice by the philosopher Michael of Ephesus (eleventh–twelfth century) never to appear again, save as a technical term in Modern Greek medical locution.

Besides, the author refers to 'tropological interpretation' in a purely Origenistic vocabulary and embarks on such exegeses at certain points.¹²⁰

¹¹⁰ Theodore Studites, *Μεγάλη Κατήχησις*, Catechesis 20, p. 137: τοὺς πνευματικοὺς τῶν πατέρων λειμώνας ἐρανίζεσθαι καὶ οἶον ἀνθολογεῖν.

¹¹¹ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Introduction, and *RCR*, pp. 32–33.

¹¹² *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, *Canones Decembris*, 29.56.3: Ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι, πάτερ, τῶν ἀγώνων. *Canones Januarii*, 5.13.9: λειμῶνι τῆς ἀσχίσεως. *Canones Februarii*, 17.22.2: Θεῖον λειμῶνά σε, πάτερ, ἐγνώκαμεν.

¹¹³ Caesarius, *QR*, 166, 168, 170.

¹¹⁴ *QR*, 128, confirming 146, denounces the idea of 'end of punishments', following the first anathema by Justinian. Chapter 139 is a very extensive one: the author is anxious to rebut any notion of pre-existence of the soul, thus bypassing the first anathema, too. So he does in chapters 170 (p. 149) and 173 (p. 150).

¹¹⁵ *Op. cit.* 1.

¹¹⁶ Origen, *expProv*, PG.17: 161.24–28; 181.3–4. Evagrius, *Expositio in Proverbia Salomonis*, pp. 77; 87; 89; *Scholia in Proverbia (fragmenta e catenis)*, Scholia 2; 3; 88; 104.

¹¹⁷ Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 5; *Capita de Caritate*, 3.33.

¹¹⁸ Meaning the state of one being very dizzy and dull after having drunk too much.

¹¹⁹ Origen, *frPs*, 77:65.

¹²⁰ Cf. τροπικῶς and tropological exegesis in Caesarius, *QR*, 36; 203; 213.

It was Origen who had urged that one's ability to know is commensurate with one's moral quality. For all his appeal to Wisdom of Solomon 1:4, he was accused of Platonism. Caesarius complies with the Alexandrian using a typically Origenistic language.¹²¹

Likewise, Origen's tripartite cosmological pattern is maintained. The world comprises three levels of being: angels, humans, and those who 'are beneath them' (ἄγγελοι, ἄνθρωποι, τὰ ἐπόμενα).¹²² Caesarius also sustains Origen's fundamental doctrine that all rational creatures outside the human level of being are corporeal, although vested with bodies of different material.¹²³ The argument is based on 1 Cor. 15:40,¹²⁴ which was also the point of departure for Origen himself. Nevertheless, for all his anxiety to renounce Origen, Caesarius contradicts himself later by urging that 'angels' have no bodies, and they are only sheer incorporeal spirits.¹²⁵

The notion of δραστική δύναμις ('active power') originates in medical accounts, indeed in Galen. Caesarius makes much of the notion, too.¹²⁶ Although it was Origen who had introduced the notion in theological thought with reference to the active power of the soul,¹²⁷ Caesarius came upon this in Eusebius, who had entertained the notion with regard to God the Logos.¹²⁸ Basil of Caesarea made a casual reference, applying this power invariably to God.¹²⁹ Maximus Confessor followed once again in the same vein, notably, applying the notion to God.¹³⁰ Two texts ascribed to Basil of Caesarea have a strong Origenistic sentiment and make this 'drastic power'

¹²¹ Caesarius, *QR*, 41: ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸ μέτρον τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς καὶ ρώσεως ψυχικῆς κατὰ τοὺς ἐρρωμένους ἢ τεθολωμένους τὰς τοῦ σώματος δυνάμεις, τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ πολὺ δυναμένων τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀτενίζειν, τῶν δὲ ἀμυδρῶς μὴ φερόντων τὴν ἀστραπὴν τοῦ φωστήρος μηδὲ τὴν προσβολὴν τῶν μαρμαρυγῶν. Cf. Origen, *Cels*, VI.17; IV.15; VI.66–67; *homJob*, PG.17.92.40–47.

¹²² Caesarius, *QR*, 45.

¹²³ Caesarius, *QR*, 47: 'Ασώματοι μὲν οἱ ἄγγελοι καθ' ἡμᾶς, σώμα δὲ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, ὡς ἄνεμος ἢ πῦρ ἢ ἀήρ· σώματα γὰρ ὑπάρχουσιν λεπτά καὶ αἴϋλα, ἔξω τῆς ἡμετέρας παχύτητος.

¹²⁴ Cf. Cassian making the same point drawing on the same authority. *SerenPrim*, Codex p. 86v: Εἰ γὰρ καὶ λέγομεν πνευματικὰ εἶναι φύσεις ἀγγέλων καὶ τῶν λ(οι)πῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ αὐτῆς ὁμοίως τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' ὅλως γυμνάς σωμάτων παντελῶς ταύτας οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνομεν· ἔχουσι γὰρ καὶ αὐταὶ σώματα, εἰ καὶ πολλῷ λεπτ(ό)τερα τοῦ ἡμετέρου, καθὼς καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει· καὶ σώματα ἐπουράνια καὶ σώματα ἐπίγεια· καὶ πάλιν, σπείρεται σῶμα φθαρτόν, ἐγείρεται σῶμα πνευματικόν. Cf. similar statements in *De Trinitate*, Appendix II, pp. 488; 587.

¹²⁵ *QR*, 58: τοὺς δ' ἀγγέλους φημὶ πνεύματα ἁσβεστάς μὴ ἔχοντα σωματικὴν συνάφειαν καὶ διάστασιν. Likewise, *QR*, 60: αἱ ἄσφαρκοι τῶν ἀγγέλων χορεαίαι.

¹²⁶ *QR*, 50; 67; 79.

¹²⁷ Origen, *commJohn*, XXVIII.1072.

¹²⁸ Eusebius, *DE*, 4.5.12; *Contra Marcellum*, 2.2.43; *De Ecclesiastica Theologia*, 3.3.65; *De Laudibus Constantini*, 12.16.

¹²⁹ Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae in Hexaemeron*, 2.3.

¹³⁰ Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 33; *Ambigua ad Thomam*, 5.

an element of human nature.¹³¹ I believe the first of them is heavily interpolated (if this is Basil's at all), whereas the second is definitely not Basil's. On the other hand, Aristotelian commentators attached only a natural sense to the notion of 'drastic power'.¹³²

Moreover, the author endorses Origen's fundamental tenet of God having created a providential creation in the first place,¹³³ and goes on with this Origenistic theory later.¹³⁴ According to this doctrine, actual creatures were made according to certain 'forms', which themselves were also created in the first place.¹³⁵ The author employs Origen's view of creation fully. What is 'good' about creation is not any creature *per se*, but the *reason* of its existence, which is what Origen had taught.¹³⁶ Where if not among Origenists could Cassian/Caesarius have learned to pen a theory such as this?

When Caesarius uses the expression πολύθεον πλάνην ('the fallacy of polytheism'),¹³⁷ he employs an expression applied by Eusebius in tens of instances. This was taken up by Didymus, followed by Theodoret and Cyril of Alexandria, and to a minor extent, by Cyril of Jerusalem and Severianus of Gabala. It is noteworthy that the Cappadocians showed no interest in the expression.

There are points where the reader might wonder whether the author knows what he is talking about. While on the one hand he rebukes Origen, on the other he reproduces and advances the most contested points of his theology. In chapter 99, he reasons (as one might have expected a Christian to do) that although the human body suffers death, his spirit does not. What is surprising is how he goes on: "And yet, a short while later, the soul once again clothes itself with the garment of flesh, which had been cast off. For

¹³¹ Basil of Caesarea, *Sermones de Moribus a Symeone Metaphrasta collecti*, PG.32.1242.34. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaiam*, 1.35.

¹³² Cf. Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, v, 8, p. 364. Olympiodorus, the philosopher of Alexandria, *In Aristotelis Meteora Commentaria*, pp. 17–18.

¹³³ Caesarius, *QR*, 50: ἐποίησεν οὐρανὸν πρῶτον, οὐ τὸν ὁρώμενον ἀλλ' ὑπερκείμενον. Cf. *COT*, pp. 39–64.

¹³⁴ *QR*, 113: εἰ καὶ οὖν θάτερα θατέροις τινὰ παρυφίσταται τύπῳ τινὸς ἐκτυπούμενα, ἀλλ' οὖν γε οἱ τύποι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τεχνίτου χειρὸς γεγόνασιν.

¹³⁵ Cf. Origen, *commJohn*, 1.19.113–114: ἵνα κατὰ τὴν σοφίαν καὶ τοὺς τύπους τοῦ συστήματος τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ νοημάτων τὰ πάντα γίνηται. Οἶμαι γάρ, ὥσπερ κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχιτεκτονικοὺς τύπους οἰκοδομεῖται ἡ τεκταίνεται οἰκία καὶ ναὺς, ἀρχὴν τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τῆς νεῶς ἔχόντων τοὺς ἐν τῷ τεχνίτῃ τύπους καὶ λόγους, οὕτω τὰ σύμπαντα γεγονέναι κατὰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ προτρανωθέντας ὑπὸ θεοῦ τῶν ἐσομένων λόγους.

¹³⁶ Caesarius, *QR*, 83: οὐ μὴν οὕτως καὶ θεῶ οἶσθαι χρὴ καλὴν καὶ ἡδεῖαν ὦφθαι τὴν θάλατταν, ἀλλὰ τὸ καλὸν ἐκεῖ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς δημιουργίας κρίνεται. Cf. *COT*, p. 43.

¹³⁷ Caesarius, *QR*, 87 & 106: πολύθεον πλάνην.

I is not the body; but *I* is the soul, whereas the body is *mine*" (ἀλλὰ μικρόν ὕστερον τὸ ἀποτεθεὶν ἱμάτιον τῆς σαρκὸς ἢ ψυχῇ πάλιν περιβάλλεται. οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἡ ψυχὴ, ἐμὸν δὲ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τῆς χέρσου ἐκφέρεται, ὅθεν καὶ τοῦτο). This goes far beyond Origen, and is actually sheer Platonism. What the author urges is that the personal identity of a human being (which he determines as *I*) is not the body, it is the soul proper. Man is simply a soul clothed with a material body. As a matter of fact, never did Origen utter such a theorem—it was Plato who did so. Origen had reasoned that man is a 'whole' comprising *both* soul and body as an inseparable entity (τὸ συναμφοτέρον).¹³⁸

What is going on here? One should be neither surprised nor bewildered at this at all. The author, who is in fact Cassian of Scythopolis, reproduces some of the fascinating theories he had learned from Leontius of Byzantium during their discussions, both in Palestine and in Constantinople. Cassian cherished utter admiration for Leontius, the erudite and robust intellectual of the New Laura, who had made his mark so distinctive throughout Palestine as well as in Constantinople. The point is that Leontius taught Cassian this anthropology, but withheld the information that this theory comes from Plato, while being under the impression that Origen somehow was relevant to it. We cannot be sure about the extent to which Leontius had a first-hand knowledge of Origen's real theology, especially of delicate points such as this. If any modicum of the 'true Origen' actually existed at all at those times of the sixth century, to have an accurate knowledge of this phenomenon is indeed an extremely rare commodity. In the proposition of Cassian (or, Caesarius), one thing is for sure: it endorses and sustains the theory of a prolonged life of the soul through different material bodies. This is the true teaching of Origen. What is not Origenistic is the theory that one's *soul* alone constitutes the human personal identity. But Cassian (or, Caesarius) had no inkling of such statements bearing either on Plato or indeed Origen. Had he been aware of such a 'danger', he could have disowned all this intellectual armour, which he so proudly and complacently shows off in this treatise.

This is not the sole point where the author walks on Platonic grounds while essaying to exhibit his Greek erudition. As a matter of fact, he is one of the extremely few Christian authors to entertain the idealistic Platonic notion of 'formless matter' (ἀνείδεος ὕλη).¹³⁹ Eusebius had recorded the

¹³⁸ I have canvassed this in *COT*, p. 97.

¹³⁹ *QR*, 139.98–99: διατυπωθέντος δὲ ἐν τῇ νηδύϊ τοῦ βρέφους καὶ πρὸς τελείαν διάθρῳσιν τῆς ἀσῆμου καὶ ἀνείδεου ὕλης τρέφεται.

concept¹⁴⁰ at a point which was in fact a quotation from doxographer Aetius.¹⁴¹ When Gregory of Nazianzus mentioned the idea in one of his songs, his aim was actually to refute the Platonic notion, arguing that there is no way to substantiate this abstraction of formless matter empirically.¹⁴² We are left then with only two writers besides Caesarius entertaining the notion. One, Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite arguing that ‘matter is not evil’.¹⁴³ Two, Zacharias of Mytilene, who argued that ‘formless matter’ (which old philosophy regarded as being only ‘potentiality’, *δυνάμει*) is brought forward and then becomes a material reality implemented with ‘form and shape’ (*εἶδος καὶ σχῆμα*) by means of divine action.¹⁴⁴ In other words, it appears that Caesarius is the sole Christian theologian to use the idea of ‘formless matter’ (*ἀνείδεος ὕλη*) conveniently and without disputing it.

He also makes reference to our ‘ancient fatherland’ (*ἀρχαίαν πατρίδα*),¹⁴⁵ which is a characteristic expression of Origen and plays a significant part in his eschatology.¹⁴⁶ The motif of ‘longing for our ancient fatherland’ enjoyed some currency among certain Christian authors,¹⁴⁷ most of whom are obscured behind the names of eminent Christian authors spuriously credited with text they never wrote. Beyond Origen and Chrysostom, other writings have reached us under spurious names.¹⁴⁸ Making a relevant reference, John of Damascus may well have carried on with a literary inheritance of Cassian, which he found on the selves of the library at the Laura of Sabas.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁰ Eusebius, *PE*, 15.44.4.

¹⁴¹ Aetius (doxographer, first–second cent. AD), *De Placitis Reliquiae (Stobaei excerpta)*, p. 308.

¹⁴² Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmina Dogmatica*, p. 416.

¹⁴³ Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Divinis Nominibus*, p. 174. He does not really endorse the notion, which he uses only for the sake of argument: if matter proper is without qualities (*ἄποιος*) and formless (*ἀνείδεος*), how is it possible for this to either do or suffer anything?

¹⁴⁴ Zacharias of Mytilene, *Ammonius sive De Mundi Opificio Disputatio*, 2.

¹⁴⁵ Caesarius, *QR*, 121.12: καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν τοῦ παραδείσου ἐπιζητοῦσα πατρίδα.

¹⁴⁶ I have canvassed the notion of ‘ancient fatherland’ in my *PHE*, pp. 287–291.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Origen, *selPs*, PG.12.1584.27–37, a text largely copied by John Chrysostom, *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG.55.337.1–8. Also, John Chrysostom, *De Cruce et Latrone (homilia 1)*, PG.49.401.15–16; *De Cruce et Latrone (homilia 2)*, PG.49.409.34–40; *De Futuræ Vitæ Deliciis*, PG.51.350.49–50; *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG.55.214.20–24; 273.3–4; *In Joannem (homiliae 1–88)*, PG.59.152.5–6; *Contra Ludos et Theatra*, PG.56.264.9. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *Interpretatio in Daniele Prophetam*, PG.56.227.1; *In Pentecosten (sermo 1)*, PG.52.805.58.

¹⁴⁸ Pseudo-Basil of Seleucia, *De Vita et Miraculis Sanctae Theclae Libri ii*, 1.7, which might be Cassian’s work. The same goes for Pseudo-Athanasius, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem*, PG.28.620.26. Also, *DT (lib. 2.8–27)*, PG.39.697.47. Didymus did not entertain this notion, as far as we know from his extant work.

¹⁴⁹ John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei*, 85.

The difference between ποιήσις ('creation', 'production') and πλάσις ('formation', 'shape') is accounted for, which is the topic of Caesarius' chapters 137 and 173. The theme was introduced by Origen, and was advanced by his most faithful followers. Caesarius reproduces this Origenist theme precisely.¹⁵⁰ In Migne, this account appears as the reply to Questions 138 and 154. There is no substantial difference between the two versions.

However, Riedinger appears suspicious of the fact that Origen's real thought was transmitted through Gregory of Nyssa, who in turn was the flare for Caesarius/Cassian to follow. Hence, this editor expelled the last passage of Migne's text¹⁵¹ for Reply 156 from the correspondent Reply 175 of his own edition. This text is a plain liability to Gregory of Nyssa, but Caesarius had hardly any inkling of the fact that Gregory reproduced Origen's doctrine faithfully.¹⁵² There are no more authors reproducing this Origenistic doctrine.¹⁵³

A point that I mentioned in Cassian's texts in relation to Origenism¹⁵⁴ is reproduced by Caesarius: Christian Godhead is represented as being analogous to the Stoic λόγος that permeates, encompasses, and sustains everything in the world. This is partially relevant to Origen's conception of this Logos, but Origen regarded this Logos as being *at the same time* transcendent to the world.¹⁵⁵ This is a sheer misreading of Gregory of Nyssa by Cassian/Caesarius, for which he can hardly be blamed, given the ambiguous phraseology by the Cappadocian.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁰ Caesarius, *QR*, 137: τὴν ποιήσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς μοι δοκεῖ νοεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ πλάσιν ἐπὶ τῆς σωματικῆς πηλοπλασίας. The author returns to further consideration in chapter 173. Cf. Origen, *Cels*, IV.37; *homJer*, Homily 1.10. The theory is reproduced in Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa, *De Creatione Hominis Sermo Alter*, p. 44. Eusebius, *Commentarius in Isaiam*, 2.24. Cf. Didymus, *comPs* 29–34, Cod. p. 178: ὁ “κατ’ εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν” θεοῦ γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος οὐκ εἴρηται πεπλάσθαι, ἀλλὰ πεποιησθαι. *commJob* (7.20c–n), Cod. p. 273: ἵν’ ὡς εἴπομεν τὴν μὲν ποιήσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς δεχόμεθα, τὴν δὲ πλάσιν ἐπὶ τῆς σαρκός. So in op. cit. Cod. p. 276. I have canvassed this topic in my *COT*, p. 84 and *PHE*, pp. 331–333.

¹⁵¹ PG.38.113.20–116.35. The Migne-note has it that this passage actually comes from Gregory of Nyssa, *De Opificio Hominis*, 17 (p. 181f.), which is correct.

¹⁵² *COT*, pp. 84–86.

¹⁵³ Therefore, one should consider whether the foregoing spurious work, Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa, *De Creatione Hominis Sermo Alter*, is actually a work by Cassian.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. *RCR*, pp. 325–329.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Cassian about God being omnipresent. *SerenPrim*, 86v: μόνη ἐστὶν τῇ Τριάδι δυνατὸν, ἥτις πάσῃ τῇ νοητῇ φύσει ἐνυπάρχει δι’ ὅλης τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτῆς καὶ οὐσίας διήκουσα καὶ ἐρευνώσα τὰ ἀφανῆ αὐτῆς καὶ περιέχουσα καὶ μόνη ὑπάρχουσα ἀπλή καὶ ἀσώματος οὐσία. Caesarius, *QR*, 162: τὸ θεῖον ... ἐν πᾶσι γὰρ ὑπάρχον καὶ πάντων ἐστὶν περιεκτικὸν οὐρανίων τε καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ ὑποχθονίων. There is a perfect coincidence of this doctrine in both works.

¹⁵⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum Cantecorum (homiliae 15)*, v. 6, p. 438: ταῦτα φιλοσοφοῦντος ἡμῖν διὰ τούτων τοῦ λόγου ὅτι ἡ περιεκτικὴ τῶν ὄντων φύσις καὶ δύναμις πάντα ἐν ἑαυτῇ

He also allows for tropological,¹⁵⁷ as well as anagogical¹⁵⁸ interpretation of a scriptural text.

Origen introduced the verb λευκαίνειν ('to make something white') and its cognates (adverb λευκοτέρως) in the sense of explaining or expounding an idea 'clearly'.¹⁵⁹ Some authors took this up only casually. They all happen to be Christian¹⁶⁰ (no pagan ever used this), but it was Eusebius who entertained the usage abundantly.¹⁶¹ Caesarius¹⁶² took this up, certainly from Eusebius, but it is possible that he noticed this in Origen's homilies on Ezekiel, since no author other than him and Caesarius ever used the adverb λευκοτέρως ('whitely'), either in this or any other sense.

Caesarius and Dionysius Areopagite

It seems that writers of this period, especially the Akoimatoi, relished the bizarre habit of concealing themselves behind famous names. 'Dionysius' of course was the one who championed this practice. Caesarius followed, after he had definitely met Dionysius personally at the monastery of Akoimatoi,

περιείρουσα τόπον έαυτής και χώρημα ποιείται των δεχομένων την καθαρότητα. *De Vita Mosis*, 2.177: 'Η γάρ περιεκτική των όντων δύναμις έν ή κατοικεί πάν το πλήρωμα της θεότητος, ή κοινή του παντός σκέπη, ό έν αὐτῷ το πάν περιέχων, σκηνή κυρίως κατονομάζεται. Cassian did not realize that Gregory refers to the Logos, not to Godhead in general.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. τροπικῶς in Caesarius, *QR*, 36; 203; 213. I have canvassed tropological and anagogical interpretation by Origen in *PHE*, pp. 29–32; 375.

¹⁵⁸ Caesarius, *QR*, 14: επί την ύψηλοτέραν αὐτοὺς άνάγον διάνοιαν. 35: άνάγων ήμῶν πρὸς τὰ θεϊότερα την διάνοιαν. 115: πρὸς την μέλλουσιν ζῶην άνάγων ήμῶν την έννοιαν. 186: τὰ μέν της παλαιάς διαθήκης εις τον πατέρα άνάγουσα. 193: τις ή τούτων άναγωγή εκ της προχείρου μεταφοράς; 216: ει δέ κατ' άναγωγήν πρὸς τὰ ήμέτερα μεθαρμοσθήναι τον λόγον εικότως βούλεσθε.

¹⁵⁹ Origen, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*, p. 452: και το γεγραμμένον έν τῷ 'Ησαΐα "βιβλίον έσφραγισμένον". Το αὐτό τουτο "βιβλίον" λευκοτέρως εύήσεις και έν τη 'Αποκαλύψει 'Ιωάννου και τὰ περί αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένα και πῶς "ήνοιξεν ό εκ φυλῆς 'Ιούδα" τουτο και μόνος.

¹⁶⁰ Athanasius, *Apologia ad Constantium Imperatorem*, 26: και λευκοτέραν έποιεί την ύποψίαν, *et passim*. Gregory of Nyssa, *In Diem Luminum*, v, 9, p. 235: σαφέστερον και λευκότερον γράφων. Eustathius of Antioch, *De Engastrimytho Contra Origenem*, 16.5: Λευκοτέρῳ προσετίθει φράσει. Cyril of Alexandria, *expPs*, PG.69.1149.38: τὰ μέν άπλούστερα και λευκότερα τοις άπλουστέροις προφέρεται. Gelasius of Cyzicus, *HE*, 2.21.20: λευκοτέρας δέιται φράσεως.

¹⁶¹ Eusebius, *Commentarius in Isaiam*, 1.71: λευκοτέραν τουτων έρμηνείαν ό Σύμμαχος έποίησατο. *DE*, 2.3.150: τούτων οὐδ' άν τι γένοιτο λευκότερον. 3.2.10: δ δη και παριστάς λευκότερον. 7.1.63: όπερ και ό σωτήρ ήμῶν λευκοτέροις όνόμασι έθέσπιζε ειπών. *PE*, 11.9.5: και τουτο γε λευκότερον διασαφήσας. 11.14.4: ό αὐτός προφήτης έν έτέροις λευκότερον διασαφεί. 11.14.10: την δε του δόγματος διάνοιαν Φίλων ό 'Εβραίος λευκότερον έρμηνεύων. *commPs*, PG.29.1332.20: λευκότερον δε και σαφέστερον την διάνοιαν ήρμήνευσεν ό 'Ακύλας, *et passim*.

¹⁶² Caesarius, *QR*, 23: περί ής λευκότερον μικρόν ύστερον διαλέξομαι. 121: λευκαίνει το νόημα. 146, line 97: εκ του ύψηλου άποστόλου λευκοτέρως τῶν ρήθέντων νύν παιδευόμεθα. 218, line 676: έν ευαγγελίοις θεγορών λευκοτέρως φησίν.

where they both lived. Caesarius is probably the first to mention Dionysius Areopagite. During the same period, John Philoponus takes it for granted that Dionysius Areopagite 'wrote an epistle to Polycarp of Smyrna' (first century bishop) about an eclipse that happened during the times of Jesus.¹⁶³ Furthermore, Caesarius is the sole author to advise us confidently about the native region of Dionysius, which he says was Thrace.¹⁶⁴

For all the current opinion that a Syrian monk lurked behind this name, Caesarius/Cassian confidently assures that Dionysius is a native of Thrace and that he had been a pupil of the apostles. This only means that the author conspired with Dionysius' wish to present himself as a first-century figure. Why this 'Dionysius' liked so much to conceal his identity, is a mystery for a psychologist rather than a scholar to explore. Sometimes I reflect on this, when I pause from scholarly research and allow myself the luxury of a hunch. Since time and again there are indications that this Dionysius may have been either a converted Simplicius or a converted Damascius, it seems to me that, were that the case, a Neoplatonist philosopher that had just been converted wished to indicate that he had grasped the essence of Christianity as much as a first-hand witness that had been initiated by Paul had done. At any rate and any hunch apart, serious subsequent authors refer to him as a very wise person.¹⁶⁵ John Malalas along with Photius alike take him as a 'genuine' disciple of Paul.¹⁶⁶ No surprise that his name is praised abundantly in the collection *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, which for a large part of it originates in the Akoimetoι monastery, and it actually praises a distinguished member of their community.

The question is why some of the authors who mention 'Dionysius' take it for granted that he was a first-century man, who saw heavenly phenomena (eclipses) of that period and wrote a letter to John the Evangelist while the latter was confined in Patmos. Be that as it may, Caesarius/Cassian

¹⁶³ John Philoponus, *De Opificio Mundi*, p. 101.

¹⁶⁴ Caesarius, *QR*, 111, lines 29–30: ἐν δὲ Θράκη Ἰερὴν, τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπώνυμον, ἐξ ἧς ἡμῖν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ δυσστήνου Ἰσαὺ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεοπαγίτης ἀνέτειλεν, τῶν θείων ἀποστόλων γενόμενος φοιτητής.

¹⁶⁵ *Doctrina Patrum*, pp. 67; 91; 279; 309 (epistle by Severus of Antioch praising 'the all-too wise Dionysius', τοῦ πανσόφου Διονυσίου). Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 380 & 393 & 476 & 528 & 552 alike: ὁ πάνσοφος Διονύσιος. 406 & 455: Διονυσίου τοῦ πανσόφου. 408: Διονύσιος ὁ πάνσοφος. 408: ὁ πολύσοφος Διονύσιος. 489: τοῦ θείου καὶ πανσόφου Διονυσίου.

¹⁶⁶ John Malalas, *Chronographia*, p. 251. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 222, p. 189b. Likewise, Maximus Confessor, Anastasius of Sinai, John of Damascus, whereas the Sixth Oecumenical Council of Constantinople takes it for granted that Dionysius was the Bishop of Athens ordained by Paul himself.

was fascinated by the designation *θεανδρικός* that was introduced by 'Dionysius': he took up the term *θεανδρικός* from the Areopagite and entertained it and its cognates at no less than thirty-three points; in addition, he made up the derivative *θέανδρος*, which he applied in five instances. The latter remained characteristic of Caesarius and it was only the Council of Lateran (649) that made a pertinent brief reference of no particular importance.¹⁶⁷ Nevertheless, enthralled though Cassian was by the term introduced by the Areopagite, it is clear that he had not grasped its meaning fully. Dionysius had spoken (once only) of *θεανδρική ἐνέργεια* by Christ,¹⁶⁸ evidently referring to the action of the incarnate Son. Caesarius, on the other hand, makes reference to the anticipated eschatological second advent of Christ: he styles this advent *θεανδρική*, which means both human and divine.¹⁶⁹ However, once he anticipated this divine second advent as a presence that will pass judgement on the entire world and yet he styles this *θεανδρική*, he evidently had not grasped the meaning of the epithet. In any case, although the term was praised by Severus of Antioch, use of this term alone does not make Caesarius a Monophysite. For this was common to both pro- and anti-Chalcedonians, with each party rendering the term in a manner suiting the corresponding cause.

Cassian and Caesarius: A Common Vernacular

My first suspicion that the two persons are one and the same occurred to me out of their vernacular and characteristic terminology that they use, which I came across for the first time in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*. However, this could not be safe ground in order to resolve a serious question. For one thing, a common colloquial language might have been not the author's but a scribe's. For another, one has to explore the authors who shared this common language. Nevertheless, no result of this exploration appeared to be a sufficient basis for disputing a common source of this colloquial language, even though this part of the evidence cannot be sufficient on its own merits.

Subsequently, further common features came up. Both authors express aspects of (real, or sixth-century) Origenism; they are heavily influenced by

¹⁶⁷ ACO, *Concilium Lateranense anno 649 celebratum*, Act 3, p. 148.

¹⁶⁸ Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *Epistulae*, 4.1: κοινήν θεανδρικήν ἐνέργειαν ἡμῖν πεπολιτευμένος.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Caesarius, *QR*, 22: τοῦ δὲ Δαυὶδ μελωδοῦντος τὴν δευτέραν αὐτοῦ θεανδρικήν ἐπιφοίτησιν. 195: καὶ Ἥλϊαν караδοκῶμεν ἐν τῇ θεανδρική δευτέρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιφοιτήσει.

such followers of Origen as Eusebius, Gregory of Nyssa, Didymus, as well as Theodoret, whereas their vocabulary draws on some of the best moments of Classical and later Greek literature.

With regard to common vernacular, and also taking into account Cassian's *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, some points should be mentioned.

In Scholion XV, we have συνκαταβαίνειν, instead of the normal συγκαταβαίνειν, which appears only in manuscripts of Didymus¹⁷⁰ and Caesarius.¹⁷¹

In Scholion XX, the form λημφθέντες, although a Septuaginta-one, appears in only a few authors (Apologist Melito of Sardis, mathematicians Theon and Pappus) among which Didymus made the most of it, in tens of instances. Two instances appear in Caesarius's manuscripts, *Quaestiones et Responsiones*, 135 (λημφθέντι) & 218 (λημφθέντος). Although in Didymus we come upon this usage at nearly sixty points, no such usage appears in his *frPs(al)*, which was composed by a catenist (either Anastasius of Sinai or Olympiodorus the deacon of Alexandria),¹⁷² although it does in his *commPs*.

In Scholion XXXV, the participle συνθάλπουσα (derived from the verb συνθάλπειν) in its different forms appears only in Plutarch, Galen, Caesarius, plus a spurious work, which is a strong candidate for attribution to Cassian the Sabaite.¹⁷³

In Scholion XX, we have συνβαδίζων (for συμβαδίζων). Again, this is characteristic of Didymus. There is only one Christian parallel, as it is the case with other Didymus' colloquialisms, namely, Caesarius.¹⁷⁴

The idiom ἀφελπίσης for ἀπελπίσης is a colloquialism used in writings by both Cassian¹⁷⁵ and Caesarius.¹⁷⁶ It seems to me that it indicates once again a language spoken at the Laura of Sabas, by certain monks at least.

¹⁷⁰ Didymus, *commEccl* (7–8.8), Cod. p. 222 (συνκαταβαίνει); *commEccl* (1.1–8), Cod. p. 15 (συνκαταβαίνοντες); *commEccl* (9.8–10.20), Cod. p. 313 (συνκαταβαίνων); *comPs* 20–21, Cod. p. 5 (κατὰ συνκατάβασιν); *comPs* 29–34, Cod. p. 138 (συνκαταβαίνων); op. cit. Cod. p. 152 (συνκαταβαίνων); op. cit. p. 187 (κατὰ συνκατάβασιν); *comPs* 35–39, Cod. p. 237 (συνκαταβαίνη); op. cit. Cod. p. 287 (συνκαταβαίνομεν); op. cit. p. 237 (συνκαταβατική); *comPs* 40–44.4, Cod. p. 327 (συνκαταβαίνει); op. cit. Cod. p. 328 (συνκαταβαίνουσης). The form does not transpire in Didymus' *frPs(al)*, where we have the normal συγκαταβαίνειν (Frs. 104; 173; 268; 581; 869; 972). This plainly suggests the hand of another compiler, whom I have surmised to be Anastasius of Sinai, probably drawing on Olympiodorus, the deacon of Alexandria.

¹⁷¹ Caesarius, *QR*, 35; 41; 47; 137.

¹⁷² Cf. *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Introduction.

¹⁷³ Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaiam*, 16.302: πρὸς τὸ ἐν νυκτὶ συνθάλπεσθαι.

¹⁷⁴ Caesarius, *QR*, 114 (συνβαίνει for συμβαίνει).

¹⁷⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 75^v: μηδὲ ἀφελπίσης ἑαυτὸν.

¹⁷⁶ Caesarius, *QR*, 191, line 2: πῶς δὲ καὶ μετέλθοι τις ἀρετῆς ἀφελπίζων τελειότητος;

Like the idiomatic ἐφίσης (or, ἐφ' ἵσης), this also appears in manuscripts of Didymus' works¹⁷⁷ and in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*.¹⁷⁸ Its presence in the Septuaginta¹⁷⁹ suggests that it belongs to the same idiomatic language appearing in Palestine and Egypt alike.¹⁸⁰

A specific reference to an apocryphon ascribed to John the Evangelist is worth mentioning. I have maintained that the designation applied to John is mainly a sixth-century usage originating in the Antioch/Palestine region.¹⁸¹ We have two different texts under the title 'Apocalypse of John'. In one of them, the term θεολόγος transpires only in the title.¹⁸² There is also another text under the same title, which is short and supposed to relate a conversation between apostles James and John the Evangelist, with the former asking the latter to teach him in some detail about the anticipated eschatological events. What is interesting about this text is that the designation θεολόγος accorded to John appears not only in the title, but also at three different points therein.¹⁸³ It is also in this text only that we have the colloquial ἀφελπής occurring.¹⁸⁴ Strange though this appeared to the editor, he felicitously did not emend it, although he felt that some gloss was necessary.¹⁸⁵

Of interest is also the idiomatic adverb for ἐφ' ἵσης (or, ἐφ' ἵσης) for ἐπίσης, which transpires in both Cassian and Caesarius.¹⁸⁶ The form ἐφ' ἵσης is identical with ἐφίσης. Reading manuscripts, it is often not easy to opt for either the former or the latter; different writing of the same colloquialism

¹⁷⁷ Didymus, *comPs* 20–21, Cod. p. 26 (ἀφελπισθεῖς); *comPs* 20–21, Cod. p. 27 (ἀφελπιζουσιν); *comPs* 29–34, Cod. p. 142 (ἀφελπίζει).

¹⁷⁸ *Apophthegmata Patrum* (*collectio anonyma*) (*e codd. Coislin. 126*); p. 413 (ἀφελπιζειν); op. cit. (*collectio systematica*) (*cap. 1–9*), 7.51 (ἀφελπίσαι & ἀφελπιζειν); (*collectio systematica*) (*cap. 10–16*), 10.68 (ἀφελπίσης).

¹⁷⁹ Septuaginta, Ecclesiasticus 22:21 (ἀφελπίσης).

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Hippolytus, *Commentarium in Daniele*, 3.4.6 (ἀφελπίσας). Cassian was himself interested in writings by Hippolytus and Irenaeus. Codex 573 ('The book of Cassian') contains texts ascribed to Irenaeus (folia 119^r–155^v) and to Hippolytus (folia 156^r–200^v).

¹⁸¹ Cf. *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, EN IVb.

¹⁸² *Apocalypsis Apocrypha Joannis*, ed. C. Tischendorf, *Apocalypses apocryphae*. Leipzig: Mendelssohn, 1866; pp. 70–93.

¹⁸³ *Apocalypsis Apocrypha Joannis (versio tertia)*, ed. A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*, vol. 1. Moscow: Imperial University Press, 1893; pp. 317–322. Beyond the title, see θεολόγος on pp. 317, line 4; 319, line 4; 320, line 6.

¹⁸⁴ *Apocalypsis Apocrypha Joannis (versio tertia)*, p. 320, line 31: μὴ ἀφελπής ἀπὸ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας τοῦ Θεοῦ.

¹⁸⁵ Consequently, A. Vassiliev has the text reading thus: μὴ ἀφελπής (= μὴ ἀπελπίσης) ἀπὸ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας τοῦ Θεοῦ.

¹⁸⁶ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, pp. 33^v; 39^v; *ScetPatr*, p. 79^r; *SerenPrim*, p. 89^v. Caesarius, *QR*, 190, line 7 (ἐφίσης).

only suggests the hand of a scribe, since he would have heard the same sound for either term. It is staggering that, of all of Justinian's writings, this is employed only in the documents under his name that were prepared for him by Sabaite monks under abbot Gelasius, which suggests that he signed these documents as they were presented to him.¹⁸⁷ The authors in whom this colloquialism occurs are the same ones who recur heavily in my discussion in connection with Cassian: Maximus Confessor, John of Damascus, Theodore Studites; also, in the *Epistulae et Amphiloquia*, only for us to become once again alert to the fact that this part of the collection does not belong to the pen of Photius.¹⁸⁸

According to later testimonies, authors who were prone to practicing Attic language opted for this.¹⁸⁹ For indeed Attic writers, and those who aspired to emulate them, had a predilection for a different pronunciation (προσωδία): this was later recorded as a rough breathing-mark on words where other Greeks normally pronounced what smooth breathing later represented. The people of Attica were in general prone to rough breathing, whereas Ionians and Aeolians opted for smooth breathing.¹⁹⁰ There are several instances by lexicographers and grammarians pointing out that a certain word should be pronounced in rough breathing in Attic, in contrast to different pronunciation (smooth breathing) by all other Greek-speaking populations.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁷ Justinian, *Epistula Contra Tria Capitula*, 63 (ἐπίσης); *Edictum Rectae Fidei*, p. 150 (ἐφίσης).

¹⁸⁸ Cf. ἐπίσης in Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones et Dubia*, 27. John of Damascus, *Fragmenta Philosophica* (e cod. Oxon. Bodl. Auct. T.1.6), 11, lines 14 & 118. Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 34; 305; 437; 464; 476. Photius, *Epistulae et Amphiloquia*, 34 (line 200); 43 (line 589). Also, *Apophthegmata Patrum* (collectio systematica) (cap. 1–9), 5.39, lines 9; 13; 23. *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 662. Pseudo-Anastasius of Sinai, *De Haeresibus*, 14 (written after the seventh century AD). Furthermore, see ἐφ' ἵσης in Hesychius of Alexandria, *Lexicon*, alphabetic letter iota, entry 915. Ephraem (or, Ephraemius) of Amida (sixth-century Patriarch of Antioch), *Capita XII*, p. 262. In both Hesychius and Ephraem the normal ἐπίσης does not appear at all, whereas in a tenth-century collection of texts we have ἐφ' ἵσης (Pseudo-Gregentius, *Vita Sancti Gregentii*, 1 [line 135]; *Dialexis*, 4 [line 453]), as well as one instance of ἐπίσης (*Dialexis*, 4 [line 456]).

¹⁸⁹ See pp. 160–161, note 22.

¹⁹⁰ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Ἀττικά Ὀνόματα, Alphabetic letter alpha, entry 98: καὶ ὅλων τῇ δασείᾳ προσωδίᾳ χαίρουσιν οἱ Ἀττικοί. Dionysius was copied by Photius verbatim. Photius, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter alpha, entry 1197. Also, the anonyma Scholia in Aristophanem, *Commentarium in Nubes*, p. 5a: εἰ γὰρ καὶ δασυνταὶ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ καθεστήκασιν, ὅμως ἐνιαχοῦ καὶ ψιλῶται γίνονται κατὰ Ἰωνὰς τε καὶ Αἰολέας. Scholia In Hesiodum, *Scholia in Opera et Dies*, p. 156: δασυνταὶ γὰρ οἱ Ἀττικοί. p. 450: οἱ γὰρ Ἀττικοὶ δασυνταὶ εἰσιν. John Tzetzes, *Exegesis in Homeri Iliadem* A.97–609, Iliadic verse 140, scholium 11: ψιλῶται γὰρ Ἴωνες καὶ Δωριεῖς καὶ Αἰολεῖς δασυνταὶ δὲ ἐν πολλοῖς Ἀττικοί.

¹⁹¹ Pseudo-Arcadius of Antioch (grammarian, fourth century AD), *De Accentibus*, p. 222:

Caesarius has a predilection for Homeric words, which were used by no other Christian writer, except by Gregory of Nazianzus in his *Carmina*, who had employed Homeric language for this particular work only. Which is why Photius reviewing this work by Caesarius wrote that the author 'is many times prone to novelty by using poetic words'.¹⁹² Besides, his language points to other Classical writers and poets, such as Pindar (present also in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*) and the three tragic poets along with comic Aristophanes. The writer who cared most to reproduce such a Classical vocabulary during later times was Athenaeus in his *Deipnosophistae*, a work that Caesarius would have studied, which is also evident from the vocabulary of the *Scholia*, which reveals Cassian to have studied the same lore.

One should notice the designation 'John the Theologian' ('Ιωάννης ὁ θεολόγος), which is a hackneyed one nowadays, but it was not so at that time. However important Didymus and Gregory of Nyssa were to Cassian, they were not the authors that accorded this appellation to John. Theodoret, on the other hand, did so, and so did Greek translations of Ephraem Syrus.¹⁹³ Cassian used the appellation twice in the *Scholia* (IV and VII), Caesarius did so three times,¹⁹⁴ so did Pseudo-Didymus' (actually, Cassian's) *De Trinitate*.¹⁹⁵ Likewise did Asterius of Antioch, whereas this appears in the anonymous *Dissertatio Contra Iudaeos*, which seems to have been a product of the Akoimetoι.¹⁹⁶ The designation in Justinian's *Contra Monophysitas* (section

'Αττικοί δὲ δασύνουσι τὸ εἰρκτή εἰρχθῆναι. p. 223; τὸ ἄθρους, ὅτε ἐπιτατικὸν ἔχει τὸ Α, δασύνεται παρὰ Ἀττικοίς. ... loc. cit., καὶ τὸ ἰάλλω Ἀττικοί δασύνουσι. p. 224; τὸ ἀνύω Ἀττικοί δασύνουσι. Athenaeus had some objections to this Attic practice. Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, 9.57: παραλόγως δ' οἱ Ἀττικοί καὶ δασύνουσι καὶ περισπῶσι. loc. cit., εἰ δὲ τοιαύτη ἡ δασύτης, μή ποτ' ἄλόγως κατὰ τὴν τελευτώσαν συλλαβὴν ὁ ταῶς πρὸς τῶν Ἀττικῶν προσπνεῖται. Athenaeus objected to Athenians accenting the word ταῶς as ταῳς, which he finds 'irrational'. *Etymologicum Genuinum*, Alphabetic letter alpha, entry 1378. *Etymologicum Gudianum*, Alphabetic entry eta, p. 239; Alphabetic entry iota, p. 276. *Etymologicum Magnum*, pp. 167; 377; 382; 424. Lexica Segueriana, *Collectio Verborum Utilium e Differentibus Rhetoribus et Sapientibus Multis*, Alphabetic entry alpha, pp. 72; 106 *et passim*. Aelius Herodianus, *De Prosodia Catholica*, v. 3.1, pp. 450; 538; 539; 541; 544; *et passim*. Hesychius of Alexandria, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letters: delta, entry 2425; kappa, entry 2685.

¹⁹² See Greek text and English translation in *RCR*, Appendix III.

¹⁹³ The Laura of Sabas was a main centre for translating Ephraem's works, with Abramius and Patricius having been two renowned translators. See note 37 (p. 308) to the Greek text, Cod. p. 98^r, and *RCR*, Introduction, pp. 35–36.

¹⁹⁴ Op. cit. 2; 197; 198.

¹⁹⁵ *DT* (lib. 1), 15.4: Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ θεολόγος Ἰωάννης ἐν μὲν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ εἶπεν. *DT* (lib. 1), 276.1: Ἰωάννης μὲν ὁ πολὺς ἐν θεολόγοις. *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.796.8: παρὰ τῷ Θεολόγῳ εἰπών "Πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ Πατὴρ, ἐμὰ ἐστίν" (John 16:15). Didymus himself accords the appellation ὁ θεολόγος to differencr biblical figures, but never to John the Evangelist.

¹⁹⁶ Chapters 8 & 10.

165) is a quotation from the Antiochene Bishop Paul of Emesa¹⁹⁷ delivering a sermon at the urging and presence of Cyril in Alexandria. I have canvassed the point,¹⁹⁸ and my analysis has clearly shown that the designation ὁ θεολόγος accorded to John is an Antiochene feat—and Cassian/Caesarius was an Antiochene, who enormously admired the Origenistic tradition conveyed through Eusebius, Gregory of Nyssa, and Didymus. Cassian was a Palestinian, that is, a native of the place where Origen had spent his maturity and Eusebius had composed his own works, which were therefore easily accessible to any native scholar. The designation 'John the Theologian' distinctly shows that the *Scholia* as well as Caesarius (Cassian) belong to the spiritual atmosphere of Antioch.

The same goes for the second person of the Trinity, Christ, being styled 'Lord' (δεσπότης Χριστός). Whereas previously the epithet was reserved for God in general, Theodoret applied this to Christ. Cassian¹⁹⁹/Caesarius²⁰⁰ moved precisely along the same line. The author goes as far as to so style the Holy Spirit, which is an extraordinary designation to apply among theologians.²⁰¹ Beside the hackneyed formulas 'three persons', 'three hypostases',

¹⁹⁷ Op. cit. 1, 14, p. 12; also, p. 13.

¹⁹⁸ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, EN IVb.

¹⁹⁹ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 14^v: πλησίον τοῦ σπηλαίου ἔνθα ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς ἐκ παρθένου ἐτέχθη. Op. cit. 14^v: κατὰ τὴν δεσποτικὴν φωνήν. Op. cit. p. 16^v: ὁ δεσπότης ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ ἐκρεμάσθη. Op. cit. p. 17^v: Κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀπόφασιν τοῦ δεσπότη. *OctoVit*, p. 44^v: Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν διδάσκων ἡμᾶς. *ScetPatr*, p. 57^v: μετὰ τὴν τοῦ δεσπότη προδοσίαν. *SerenPrim*, p. 96^v: καὶ τῆς δεσποτικῆς κοινωνίας ἀπέχεσθαι διηνεκῶς ποιοῦσιν. *De Panareto*, p. 118^v: μέχρι τῆς σταυρώσεως τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν σωτήρος Χριστοῦ. Nevertheless, Cassian applies the term to God, too: *OctoVit*, p. 26^v: τοῦ δεσπότη Θεοῦ. Op. cit. p. 54^v: ταῦτα τῇ τοῦ δεσπότη χάριτι οὐκ ἐβουλήθη ἐπιγράψαι. *SerenPrim*, p. 80^v: ἔτυχε τῆς αἰτήσεως παρὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ δεσπότη. *De Panareto*, p. 109^v: αὐτὸς ὁ δεσπότης Θεός.

²⁰⁰ Caesarius, *QR*, p. 196: ὁ εὐγνώμων οἰκέτης ἐπέγνω τὸν δεσπότην. p. 212: ἐργάτην γενέσθαι τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ ἀμπελῶνος. p. 213 (Son and Holy Spirit): καὶ τὸν δεσπότην ὑπηρετήν καὶ δοῦλον παραφρονοῦντας. p. 218: τὸν σφῶν δεσπότην ξύλῳ καθηλώσαντες ... πρόσθετε καὶ αἷμα δεσποτικόν. ὁρᾶς συμφωνίαν τοῦ δεσπότη καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν; ... ἡ τὸν δεσπότην ἀποσειομένη. ... πᾶσα πεφοινιγμένη προφητικῶ καὶ δεσποτικῶ αἵματι; ... τὸν δεσπότην πεφόνευκας; ... ἐπὶ τὸν δεσπότην τὰς μαιφόνους χεῖρας ἐπήγαγες. Reference to God: p. 139: τοῦ δεσπότη τῆς φύσεως ... τὸν σφῶν δεσπότην p. 146: βδελυκτὰ τῷ δεσπότη. p. 193: θεῷ καὶ δεσπότη.

²⁰¹ Caesarius, *QR*, 29: πῶς γὰρ οἰκέτης δεσπότην ἐνισχύσειεν ἢ πνεῦμα πέτραν ὑποστηρίσειεν; ... πληρωμα δὲ νόμου Χριστὸς ὁ πάντων ὁμοῦ δεσπότης. νόμος δὲ ἀγγέλοις τὸν σοφὸν ποιητὴν καὶ δεσπότην θωπεύειν καὶ ὑποσαίνειν. ... ἀλλὰ διηκόνουν αὐτῷ, ὅπερ ἐναργὴ τοῦ μὲν τὴν δεσποτείαν τοῦ δὲ τὴν οἰκετεῖαν παρίστησιν. 128: καὶ ἡ δεσποτεία σου ἐν πάσῃ γενεᾷ καὶ γενεᾷ (Psalm 114:3, accorded to Christ); 196: ὁ εὐγνώμων οἰκέτης ἔγνω τὸν δεσπότην. 212: ἐργάτην γενέσθαι τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ ἀμπελῶνος. 213: τὸν κτίστην τῇ κτίσει συναριθμοῦντας καὶ τὸν δεσπότην ὑπηρετήν καὶ δοῦλον παραφρονοῦντας. 218: τὸν σφῶν δεσπότην ξύλῳ καθηλώσαντες. loc. cit. (lines 461–462), καὶ αἷμα δεσποτικόν. ὁρᾶς συμφωνίαν τοῦ δεσπότη καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν; loc. cit. (line 738): ἡ τὸν δεσπότην ἀποσειομένη καὶ εἰδῶλοις ποτνωμένη. loc. cit. (line 757): δεσποτικῶ αἵματι. loc. cit.

which he uses in order to describe the Trinity as comprising three peer persons, he adds the designation ‘three-lordship’ (τριδέσποτον),²⁰² which is a neologism of his own making.

One more characteristic term is ἀδιάδοχος (‘one without a heir, or, successor’).²⁰³ Although the term shows in Origen, the catenae-fragments were in all probability written by later hands having in mind the vocabulary of Didymus rather than that of Origen himself. The term was definitely used by Gregory of Nyssa, also by the other two Cappadocians, and then by Theodoret. No author made more of the term than Didymus, whereas all attributions to Chrysostom are spurious. Caesarius uses the term in reference to either the eschatological ἀδιάδοχος ἡμέρα (‘a day without succession’, viz. an endless one), or ἀδιάδοχον φῶς (the light of the divine life, which is never succeeded by darkness). Both instances are not hard to explore. The expression of Caesarius, ἐπεὶ ἀνέσπερον καὶ ἀδιάδοχον καὶ ἀτελεύτητον τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην οἶδεν ὁ λόγος, ἣν καὶ ὀγδόην ὁ ψαλμῳδὸς προσηγόρευσε,²⁰⁴ is one by Basil of Caesarea,²⁰⁵ which another Sabaite monk, namely John of Damascus, also quoted later.²⁰⁶ At all events, the notion of the eschatological day which is without any succession, and is described by means of the adjective, does not have many parallels: beside Caesarius, we come upon Basil and Theodoret only.²⁰⁷ Furthermore, we also come across the regular reproducers of Cassian’s vocabulary, that is, Theodore Studites and portions in the *Epistulae* and *Amphilochia*.²⁰⁸

The second reference by Caesarius involving the epithet ἀδιάδοχος²⁰⁹ is once again inspired by Basil. It transpires in Basil’s second homily on the *Hexaemeron*, which is the same homily from which Caesarius’ first

(line 773): οὗ τὸν δεσπότην πεφόνευκας; loc. cit. (line 794): καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν δεσπότην τὰς μαιφόνους χεῖρας ἐπήγαγες.

²⁰² QR, 3.31.

²⁰³ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, ENXIV f.

²⁰⁴ Caesarius, QR, 115, line 14.

²⁰⁵ Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae in Hexaemeron*, Homily 2.8.

²⁰⁶ John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, PG.95.1185.15.

²⁰⁷ Basil of Caesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto*, 27.66. It should be recalled that Basil is the sole theologian to be mentioned by Cassian in his treatise on the eight evil thoughts. Also, Theodoret, *De Providentia*, PG.83.569.15 & 21. Beyond them, it is only *De Trinitate* that engages in this phraseology. But I believe that this is a work by Cassian, not Didymus.

²⁰⁸ Theodore Studites, *Parva Catechesis*, Catechesis 66, line 8. Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 62, lines 42–43. Cf. George Monachus (ninth century) entertaining the same theme: *Chronicon* (lib. 1–4), p. 628; *Chronicon Breve* (lib. 1–6), PG.110.777.13. Later still, Michael Glycas (twelfth century), *Quaestiones in Scripturam Sacram* (Cap. 41–98), 73, p. 248.

²⁰⁹ Caesarius, QR, 128, line 61: ἐπεὶ ἀδιάδοχον νυκτὶ τὸ ὑπερκόσμιον φῶς.

reference was taken up.²¹⁰ Gregory of Nyssa must have played a significant part once again.²¹¹ Nevertheless, references by Pseudo-Dionysius should be considered to be a possible influence, too, since he had made abundant use of the notion of 'supra-mundane light' (ὑπερκόσμιον φῶς) referring to divine things.²¹² The Neoplatonists following Proclus made fairly much of the notion,²¹³ yet I believe that Proclus' usage was a Christian liability.

Moreover, only Scholion XIV and Didymus use the term ἀδιάδοχος in connection with the notion of 'new' (καινός) applied to the New Testament, the 'new teaching' which will never pass away or grow old.²¹⁴ At a

²¹⁰ Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae in Hexaemeron*, Homily 2.5: Εἰ γὰρ οἱ καταδικαζόμενοι πέμπονται εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον, δηλονότι οἱ τὰ τῆς ἀποδοχῆς ἀξία εἰργασμένοι, ἐν τῷ ὑπερκοσμίῳ φωτὶ τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν ἔχουσιν.

The catena-fragment ascribed to Didymus might well be a rendering by Cassian/Caesarius himself, initially formulated at the Laura of Sabas. Cf. Didymus, *frPs(al)*, Fr. 1142: Παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον ἑαυτοῦ ὁ δίκαιος φωτιζόμενος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἔσται τελεία οὐ μεσολαμβανομένη ὑπὸ νυκτὸς καὶ αἰνεῖ τὸν θεὸν ἐπτάκις, ὑπερκόσμιος γεγονώς τῷ ἄνω κερωρηκέναι τοῦ ἐν ἑξ ἡμέραις γενομένου κόσμου, ὅτε καὶ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγενημένος.

²¹¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Inscriptiones Psalmorum*, v. 5, p. 44: τὸ δὲ φῶς συνεχές τε μένειν καὶ ἀδιάδοχον. *In Sextum Psalmum*, v. 5, p. 189: διηγεκές τε καὶ ἀδιάδοχον τοῖς ἀξίοις τὸ φῶς ἐμποιεῖ. Gregory of Nazianzus's reference could hardly be an influence upon Caesarius, since he refers to God himself being 'light'. *In Novam Dominicam (orat. 44)*, PG.36.609.18: Φῶς ἦν ἀπρόσιτον, καὶ ἀδιάδοχον, ὁ Θεός.

²¹² Cf. Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Caelesti Hierarchia*, pp. 56; 59; *De Divinis Nominibus*, pp. 11; 128; 145; 150.

²¹³ Proclus, *Theologia Platonica (lib. 1–6)*, v. 2, p. 45: τοῦ δὲ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐνοειδοῦς ὑπάρξεως ἐκ τῆς πρώτης αἰτίας ἀπολαύοντα, τῷ νοερῷ φωτὶ τὰ ὑπερκόσμια συνέχειν. *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 2, p. 80: ἵνα γὰρ συνάπτηται πρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸν νοῦν αὐτοφῶς καὶ ἐναρμόζεται πρὸς τὰ ὑπερκόσμια φῶτα διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὰ ὁμοιότητος. v. 3, p. 81: ὅτι τὸν ὅλον χρόνον ἐκφαίνει τὸ φῶς, ἐκφαντορικὴν ἔχον δύναμιν, καὶ προκαλεῖται τὴν ὑπερκόσμιον αὐτοῦ μονάδα. v. 3, p. 82: ἔστι γὰρ ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου τάξις ἀνωθὲν ποθεν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων ἥκουσα. διὸ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων οὐκ ἐντεῦθεν ποθεν συνέστησε τὸ φῶς, ἀλλ' ἀνάψαι φησὶν αὐτὸ τὸν δημιουργόν. ... ἐτέραν δὲ τὴν τοῦ φωτὸς ἑξαψιν, καθ' ἣν ὑπερκοσμίου δυνάμεως αὐτῷ μεταδίδωσιν. v. 3, p. 83: ὁ Ζεὺς νοερὸν καὶ δημιουργικὸν ἀνάπτει φῶς εἰς πάντας τοὺς ὑπερκοσμίους. v. 3, p. 83: καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ὑπερκόσμιος ὢν τὰς πηγὰς ἀφίησι τοῦ φωτός, καὶ οἷ γε μυστικώτατοι τῶν λόγων καὶ τὴν ὁλόγητα αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὑπερκοσμίους παραδεδώκασιν. Simplicius (quoting Proclus), *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 9, p. 614: τὸ φῶς τοῦτο πρῶτον εἰκὼν ἐστὶ τοῦ πατρικοῦ βυθοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπερκόσμιος ὅτι καὶ ἐκεῖνος. Damascius, *De Principiis*, v. 1, p. 213: ἐν τῷ ὑπερκοσμίῳ φωτὶ, ὃ τι ποτὲ καὶ ὅσον ἐστὶ.

²¹⁴ Didymus, *frPs(al)*, Fr. 1046: τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καινῆς διαθήκης ἀδιάδοχον μενούσης. *comPs 29–34*, Cod. p. 160: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀδιάδοχός ἐστιν ἡ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου. *Fragmenta in Epistulam ii ad Corinthios*, pp. 21–22: ἡ διαθήκη καινὴ, οὐ παλαιουμένη· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιγίνεται διδασκαλία ἄλλη μετ' αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ· ἀδιάδοχος γὰρ ἐστίν. ... διαδέχεται γὰρ αὐτὴν ἡ εὐαγγελικὴ διδασκαλία αὕτη ἀδιάδοχος οὖσα. *comPs 35–39*, Cod. p. 283: ἀδιάδοχον νίκην ἔσχευ. ... τῆς ἀδιάδοχου τὸ ἐπινίκιον καινὸν ἐστίν. τί δὲ ἐστίν τοῦτο τὸ ἄσμα καινόν. ... ἐν τέλει γινόμενοι καινὸν ἄσμα ἄδομεν· τὸ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τέλει ἀδιάδοχόν ἐστίν. *comPs 40–44.4*, Cod. p. 337: καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀδιάδοχον ἔχει τὴν ἱερωσύνην καὶ τὴν διδασκαλίαν—κὰν γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρέλθῃ, μένουσιν αὐτοῦ οἱ λόγοι—, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα εὐλογηθή.

specific point, Didymus says that he has expounded this view many times.²¹⁵ The expression occurs in theologians related to the Laura of Sabas, such as the Sabaite monk Antiochus of Palestine,²¹⁶ John of Damascus, and Caesarius,²¹⁷ that is, Cassian, as well as reproducers of his vocabulary, such as Theodore Studites.²¹⁸ Pithy references in the *Analecta Hymnica Graeca* evince the term having been favoured in the Palestinian milieu as much as it had been cherished at the monastery of the Akoimetoi.²¹⁹

Vocabulary

Furthermore, there are remarkable similarities in terms of vocabulary. Caesarius uses both the forms πιστοποιούμενος and πιστώσασθαι, which Cassian does, too.²²⁰ Likewise, the references to God granting time to sinners in order to repent, leave no doubt that both Caesarius' expressions and Scholion XVII were written by the same hand.²²¹

The verb διαφοιτᾶν ('to permeate')²²² points to Scholion XV (διαφοιτήσας). It comes from Herodotus, Xenophon and Aristophanes. Lucian of Samosata

²¹⁵ Although the codex has a lacuna at that point, still the text makes sense. Didymus, *comPs* 35–39, Cod. p. 283: πολλάκις ἡμῖν [...] τα περὶ καινοῦ, πῶς λέγεται. τὸ ἀδιάδοχον αἰεὶ καινὸν ἐστίν, τὸ δὲ διαδεχθὲν παλαιόν. καὶ διὰ πλειόνων παραδειγμάτων πολλάκις ἀποδέδεικται.

²¹⁶ Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 130.

²¹⁷ Caesarius, *QR*, 115; 128.

²¹⁸ Theodore Studites, *Canon in Requiem Monachi*, lines 309–311; *Μεγάλη Κατήχησις*, Catechesis 88, p. 627; *Sermones Catecheseos Magnae*, Catechesis 78, p. 7.

²¹⁹ *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, *Canones Septembris*, 10.14.1; *Canones Novembris*, 8.18.7; 18.38.1; 18.38.2; *Canones Decembris*, 16.25.9; *Canones Januarii*, 4.11.4; *Canones Februarii*, 27.29.9; *Canones Aprilis*, 19.24.9.

²²⁰ Caesarius *QR*, 198: καὶ μερικῶς παραγυμνοὶ αὐτὴν δι' ἄμυδρου τοῦ ὅλον πιστοποιούμενος. Cassian, cod. p. 103^{r-v}: τὴν περὶ ταύτης ἀπόφασιν συγκεράσαι καὶ πιστοποιῆσαι διὰ τῆς τῶν θείων γραφῶν μαρτυρίας. Nevertheless, we come across the verb πιστοῦσθαι, which is used in the Scholia: op. cit. 218: ἀλλὰ δεῖν ὡγήθην ἐκ τοῦ δράματος παραστήσαι τὸ ζητούμενον καὶ τῷ Δανιὴλ πιστώσασθαι τὸ φραζόμενον. Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, also using the noun πίστωση ('confirmation'), *Const*, p. 10^v: Καὶ πρὸς πίστωση τῶν εἰρημένων. Scholion XXV: καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ἀναβαῖν(ω)ν τις ἐκεῖ τῶν ἁγίων λέγει τὰς πιστώσεις. πιστώσεις δὲ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ γεγράφθαι. Scholion XXIX: πιστοῦτ(αι) ἢ προτέρα (ὕ) πόθεις.

²²¹ Caesarius, *QR*, 21: οὐκ ἀγνοίᾳς δὲ τοῦτο ἀλλὰ μακροθυμίας, καιρὸν διορθώσεως τοῖς μοχθηροῖς παρεχομένης. ... τὸν καιρὸν τῆς θείας μακροθυμίας δηλῶν. ... ὁ διδοὺς θεός, τὸ διδόμενον μεταμελείας καιρός ... καὶ ὁ κριτὴς μακροθυμεῖ ἕως τῆς δευτέρας πρὸς ἡμᾶς φοιτήσεως. Op. cit. 31: ἀλλὰ καιρὸν μετανοίας τῷ μαιφόνῳ μνόμενος. 203: ὅτι κολάζειν οἶός τε, ἀλλὰ τέως ἀνέχεται. Cassian, Scholion XVII: Ἐπεὶ χρόνος μακροθυμίας τοῦ κριτοῦ δέδοται ἐν ᾧ μετανοῆσαι ἦν δυνατόν εἰ ἡβούλετο ἢ ἱεζάβελ, οὐ φύσεως ἀπολλυμένης ἐστίν.

²²² Caesarius, op. cit. 21: οὐκ ἀγνοίᾳς δὲ τοῦτο ἀλλὰ μακροθυμίας, καιρὸν διορθώσεως τοῖς μοχθηροῖς παρεχομένης. ... τὸν καιρὸν τῆς θείας μακροθυμίας δηλῶν. ... ὁ διδοὺς θεός, τὸ διδόμενον

and Cassius Dio made pretty much of it, yet Eusebius and Gregory of Nyssa are the authors who imprinted this into Cassian's mind.

The notion of one being rewarded or punished in accordance with one's actions during earthly life, put in terms of the expression ἐπαξίως τῶν βεβιωμένων,²²³ has remarkable parallels in Caesarius' work.²²⁴ The actual origin of the construction is Philostratus.²²⁵ Then came a catenist of Origen's work.²²⁶ Cassian's hero Gregory of Nyssa championed this usage; the other two Cappadocians wrote likewise, to be occasionally followed by later authors.²²⁷ The germane phraseology in *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaiam*, 1.22 is akin to Gregory of Nyssa rather than to Basil of Caesarea, to whom this work was spuriously ascribed.

Cassian opted for reference to devil as 'one without flesh',²²⁸ which suggests not incorporeality, but a corporeal state which is different from the human one. The parallel in Caesarius is just characteristic²²⁹ and very much like the phraseology of the Scholia.

Caesarius identifies the notion of ἐμπάθεια ('passionateness') with wickedness and sinfulness.²³⁰ This is what Scholion XVI also does.²³¹

Mere literal sense of a holy text is described by means of the adjective πρόχειρος (the 'ostensible' literal sense) by both the Scholia²³² and

μεταμελείας καιρός· ... καὶ ὁ κριτὴς μακροθυμεῖ ἕως τῆς δευτέρας πρὸς ἡμᾶς φοιτήσεως. Op. cit. 31: ἀλλὰ καιρὸν μετανοίας τῷ μαιφόνῳ μνώμενος. 203: ὅτι κολάζειν οἶός τε, ἀλλὰ τέως ἀνέχεται.

²²³ Scholion XXXVII: ἐπὶ τὸ λαβεῖν ἕκαστον ἐπαξίως τῶν βεβιωμένων.

²²⁴ Cf. Caesarius, *QR*, 44: τὴν ὀφειλομένην τῶν βεβιωμένων μίστιγα. 60: πρὸς ἀξίαν ἑκάστῳ τῶν βεβιωμένων. ἀξίαν ἑκάστῳ τῶν βεβιωμένων ἀνταμοιβόμενος. 205: ἀποκαθαίρον τοῦ αἵσχους τῶν βεβιωμένων. 207: πρὸς τὴν κατάλληλον τῶν βεβιωμένων χώραν. 209: ἑκάστῳ πρὸς ἀξίαν τῶν βεβιωμένων ἀνταμοίψασθαι. 218: καὶ ἀποκαθάραι τοῦ αἵσχους τῶν βεβιωμένων.

²²⁵ Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, 6.21: καὶ οὐκ ἀξία τῶν ἑαυτῷ βεβιωμένων.

²²⁶ Origen, *frPs*, 74, 8: κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τῶν βεβιωμένων.

²²⁷ Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *In Sanctum Pascha*, v. 9, p. 264; *Contra Eunomium*, 3.3.36; *De Vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi*, PG.46.904.51; *De Infantibus Praemature abreptis*, p. 73. Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae in Hexaemeron*, Homily 1.4; *Quod Deus Non Est Auctor Malorum*, PG.31.329.47. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Ad Julianum Tributorem Exaequatorem* (orat. 19), PG.35.1061.14. Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Ezechielem*, PG.81.1145.35; *intProphXII*, PG.81.1728.7. John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Categoriae Commentarium*, v. 13.1, pp. 127; 128.

²²⁸ Cassian the Sabaite, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XIII: οὐκ ἀπ(ο)γνωστέον καὶ περὶ ἀσάρκων τινῶν ψευδομάν(ε)ων ταῦτα εἰρήσθαι.

²²⁹ Caesarius, *QR*, 119: τὸν ἄσαρκον ἀνταγωνιστὴν τοῦ δικαίου.

²³⁰ Caesarius, *QR*, 121: ἐκεῖνος ἐκ παραδείσου εἰς τὸ ἐνπαθὲς καὶ ἐπίπονον τοῦτο ἐξοικίσθη χωρίον. Op. cit. 139: εἰ δὲ τῷ διαβόλῳ δι' ἀμελεστέρον καὶ ἐμπαθοῦς βίου προσχωρήσωμεν.

²³¹ Cassian, Scholion XVI: ὅθεν καὶ γυναῖκα αὐτὴν διὰ τὸ ἐμπαθὲς καὶ ἐκτεθλυμένον εἶπεν.

²³² Scholion III: μὴ προχειρῶς ἀκούειν ἀλλὰ πιστῶς. Scholion XXV: πρὸς οὓς ἐρόυμεν μὴ κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον ταῦτα γεγράφθαι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κεκρυμμένον.

Caesarius.²³³ The relevant exploration reveals that these authors, whose work was availed of for the Scholia to be compiled, stand behind Caesarius' specific phraseology, too.²³⁴

²³³ Caesarius, *QR*, 14: ἐκ τῆς προχείρου τοῦ γράμματος ἐξετάσεως, ἐπὶ τὴν ὑψηλοτέραν αὐτοὺς ἀνάγον διάνοιαν. *Op. cit.* 111: κατὰ τὴν πρόχειρον τῶν πολλῶν ὑπόνοιαν. *Op. cit.* 193: τίς οὖν ἡ τούτων ἀναγωγὴ ἐκ τῆς προχείρου μεταφορᾶς; *op. cit.* 209: ἡ ἀπλή καὶ πρόχειρος ἔννοια. *Op. cit.* 214: Καλὴ μὲν καὶ ἡ πρόχειρος ἔννοια.

²³⁴ Philo, *Quod Deterius Potiori Insidiari Soleat*, 155: μηδεὶς οὖν τὴν πρόχειρον ἐκδοχὴν τοῦ λόγου παραδεχόμενος ἀνεξετάστως τῷ νόμῳ τὴν ἰδίαν εὐήθειαν προσαρτάτω. Origen, *Cels*, IV.72: ὁ ὕπνος ἄλλο τι σημαίνει καὶ οὐχ ὅπερ ἡ πρόχειρος ἐκδοχὴ τῆς λέξεως δηλοῖ. V.16: οἷς ὠνόμασεν ὁ λόγος μωροῖς τοῦ κόσμου καὶ ἀγενέσι καὶ ἐξουδενωμένοις ἡ πρόχειρος ἀρμόζει περὶ τῶν κολάσεων ἐκδοχὴ, οὐ χωροῦσιν ἄλλην ἢ τὴν διὰ φόβου καὶ φαντασίας τῶν κολάσεων ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ τῶν πολλῶν κακῶν ἀποχρῆν. VI.60: ἐγκαλοῦντες τοῖς κατὰ τὴν προχειροτέραν ἐκδοχὴν φήσας χρόνους ἐξ ἡμερῶν διεληλυθέναι εἰς τὴν κοσμοποιίαν. *commJohn*, V.6.1 (*Philocalia*, 5.5): Ἡ γὰρ πᾶσα γραφὴ ἐστὶν ἡ δηλούμενη διὰ τῆς βίβλου, ἔμπροσθεν μὲν γεγραμμένη διὰ τὴν πρόχειρον αὐτῆς ἐκδοχὴν, ὅπισθεν δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀνακεχωρηκυῖαν καὶ πνευματικὴν. *Fragmenta ex Commentariis in Epistulam ad Ephesios*, 2: τὸ μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς προχείρου ἐκδοχῆς νοούμενον ἐπηγγέλλεται. *selPs*, PG.12.1092.40: καὶ λέξεις τῶν Γραφῶν δυναμένας κατὰ τὴν πρόχειρον ἐκδοχὴν ὑποβάλλειν τὸ νοούμενον. Eusebius, *Generalis Elementaria Introductio (Eclogae Propheticae)*, p. 106: καὶ ταύτην τὴν γραφὴν, οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ ἔχουεν ἄξιόν τι θείας ἐπιτιμοῖας λεγόμενον ἐν αὐτῇ παραστῆσαι, μὴ πλέον τί τῆς προχείρου ἐκδοχῆς κατὰ τοὺς τόπους φανταζόμενοι. Basil of Caesarea, *Adversus Eunomium (libri 5)*, PG.29.544.36–38: Ὡστε εἴ τις ἀβασανίστως κατὰ τὴν πρόχειρον ἐκδοχὴν ψιλῶς παρίστασθαι φιλονεικοῖ τῷ γράμματι, πρὸς Ἰουδαίους καὶ γραῶδεις μύθους ἐκτραπείς, πτωχὸς παντελῶς τῶν ἀξίων περὶ Θεοῦ νοημάτων καταγράσει. Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 3.1.27–28: πάντως γὰρ ὑπεστὶ τις καὶ τοῖς προδῆλοις εἶναι δοκοῦσιν ἢ κατὰ ἀναγωγὴν θεωρία. εἰ δὲ τὰ πρόχειρα τῆς γραφῆς ταύτης ἀναγκαίως ἐπιζητεῖ τὴν λεπτομερεστέραν ἐξέτασιν, πόσω μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνα οἷς πολὺ τὸ ἀσαφές τε καὶ δυσθεώρητον ἐκ τῆς αὐτόθεν ἐστὶ κατανοήσεως; *In Ecclesiasten (homiliae 8)*, v. 5, p. 391: ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ μηδὲ τὸν νόμον οὕτως ψιλῶς ἐκλαμβάνειν κατὰ τὴν πρόχειρον ἔννοιαν. Athanasius, *Orations Tres Contra Arianos*, PG.26.240.44–46: ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ παροιμίαι εἰσὶ, καὶ παροιμιωδῶς ἐλθόντες, οὐ δεῖ τὴν πρόχειρον λέξιν ἀπλῶς οὕτως ἐκλαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρόσωπον ζητεῖν, καὶ οὕτω μετ' εὐσεβείας τὸν νοῦν ἐφαρμόζειν αὐτῷ. Didymus, *comPs* 35–39, *Cod.* p. 240: Ἰουδαῖοι γοῦν κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἐκλαμβάνοντες αὐτάς λέγονται “μὴ νοεῖν μηδὲ ἀλέγουσιν μηδὲ περὶ ὧν διαβεβαίονται”. *In Genesim*, *Cod.* p. 142: Εἰς ταύτην τὴν διαφορὰν ὁρῶν τις λέγει ὅτι Ἰωάννης “φωνὴ βοῶντος” ἐτύγχανεν, ἐκλαμβάνων τὴν μὲν πρόχειρον λέξιν τῶν γραφῶν φωνήν, τὸν δὲ μυστικὸν νοῦν λόγον. *Op. cit.* *Cod.* p. 223: ὅπερ προχείρως τις ἐκλαμβάνων λέξει. *Op. cit.* *Cod.* p. 231: Φαίνεται ἐκ τοῦ προχείρου τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βίου ἀναχώρησιν αὐτῷ προαπαγγέλλων. Πρὸς δὲ ἀναγωγὴν ταῦτα ἂν ληχθεῖ. John Chrysostom (employing the Origenistic threefold exegesis of Scripture), *frProv*, PG.64.728.36–40: ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος συνέστηκεν ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ πνεύματος, οὕτως καὶ ἡ Γραφὴ τοῦ σώματος τῆς λέξεως, ἀφ' ἧς ὁ ἀπλούστερος ὠφελεῖται· ἥτις λέγεται πρόχειρος ἐκδοχὴ. Ἐκ ψυχῆς, τῆς ἀναγωγῆς, ἧς ἀκούει ὁ ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἀναβεβηκώς· ἐκ πνεύματος, τῆς ὑψηλοτέρας καὶ πνευματικῆς θεωρίας, ἣν οἱ τελεῖοι νοοῦσι τε καὶ λέγουσιν. Cf. Origen, *Princ*, IV.2.4 (*Philocalia*, 1.11): ἵνα ὁ μὲν ἀπλούστερος οἰκοδομῆται ἀπὸ τῆς οἰομένης σαρκὸς τῆς γραφῆς, οὕτως ἀναβαλόντων ἡμῶν τὴν πρόχειρον ἐκδοχὴν, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἀναβεβηκώς ἀπὸ τῆς ὥσπερ ψυχῆς αὐτῆς, ὁ δὲ τελεῖος καὶ ὁμοῖος τοῖς παρὰ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ λεγομένοις “σοφίαν δὲ λαλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις”. Theodoret, *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, p. 250: Τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀναγωγῆς νόημα σαφὲς ἡμᾶς ἐδίδαξεν ὁ θεὸς ἀπόστολος. καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ πρόχειρον εὐσεβές. Cf. also Damascius, *De Principiis*, v. 1, p. 299: μηδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν προχειροτέρων ἐννοιῶν ἀναγέσθω πρὸς τὸν ὑπερφύεστερον τρόπον πάσης συνηθείας. Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 10,

The very rare adjective ἀνύπεικτος ('unyielding', 'intractable'), which recurs in Caesarius,²³⁵ is actually a parallel to an expression in Scholion XXVIII.²³⁶ The adjective seems to be the making of Gregory of Nyssa.²³⁷ Lexicographers made this a lemma almost immediately.²³⁸ No author other than Gregory and Caesarius ever made use of it more than once during the first millennium.²³⁹ Lexicographers aside, it was virtually only Gregory and Caesarius who made this a functional part of their vocabulary.

The term ἔννοια here has the specific meaning of 'comprehension', not 'notion' which is more common in literature.²⁴⁰ This is indeed how ἔννοια is used in the sense of 'comprehension'²⁴¹ in Heb. 4:12, in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*,²⁴² and in Cassian's writings.²⁴³

The number *seven* is treated by Caesarius as a sacrosanct one,²⁴⁴ and this is likewise considered by Cassian.²⁴⁵

p. 1165: ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης παλαιάν συνήθειαν διασώζων οὐ πρὸς τὸν Πλάτωνα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πρόχειρον ἐκδοχὴν τὸ γενητὸν ἀκούοντας ἀντιλέγει.

²³⁵ Caesarius, *QR*, 14; 200 202; 214; 218: ἀνύπεικτος.

²³⁶ οὐκέτι ἐπιδέ(ικ)τό(ν), in Scholion XXVIII is the equivalent of ἀνύπεικτον. Cf. Scholion XXVIII: μετὰ ἀνάστασιν γάρ καὶ ἀνάληψιν ὁφθέν τὸ ἀρνίον οὐκέτι ἐσφαγμένον ὥφθη καὶ ἐπιδέ(ικ)-τό(ν), τουτέστιν οὐκέτι ἀλλοιοῦμενον. See EN XXVIIIc.

²³⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Sanctum Ephraim*, PG.46: 832.32; 841.12; *De Opificio Hominis*, p. 244; *De Infantibus Praemature abreptis*, p. 95.

²³⁸ Timaeus (sophist and grammarian, prob. fourth century), *Lexicon Platonicum*, p. 979a. Hesychius of Alexandria, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter alpha, entry 5566. Suda, *Lexicon*, alphabetic letter alpha, 2788.

²³⁹ We come once again across the medical doctor Paul of Aegina (seventh century), *Epitome Medicae Libri Septem*, 2.43.1. Also, Arethas of Caesarea, *Scripta Minora*, Opus 28, p. 255. Although Eustathius of Thessaloniki took this up in the twelfth century, the epithet was thereafter abandoned altogether.

²⁴⁰ This meaning was recorded by Pseudo-Zonaras, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter epsilon, p. 729: ἔννοια. ἡ περὶ τινος τοῦ νοῦ κίνησις.

²⁴¹ Caesarius, *QR*, 1: ὑπερφέρεται τὴν ἐμὴν ἔννοιαν ἢ τῶν γραφῶν ἀκριβεστάτη διήγησις. 115: πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν οὖν ζωὴν ἀνάγων ἡμῶν τὴν ἔννοιαν. 125: ἀπαγε οὖν ἀξιάγαστε τῆς τοιαύτης περὶ Χριστοῦ ἐννοίας. 138: τὸ ἀκατάληπτον καὶ ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν τῆς δραστηκῆς αὐτοῦ σοφίας. 190: ὑπὲρ τὴν ἐμὴν φημι ὑπάρχειν ἔννοιαν. 191: τῇ ἀπαρβαλῆτῳ ὑπὲρ λόγον καὶ ἔννοιαν θεία φύσει. 209: Καλὴ μὲν καὶ ἡ ἀπλὴ καὶ πρόχειρος ἔννοια. 214: Καλὴ μὲν καὶ ἡ πρόχειρος ἔννοια. Also, see ἔννοια meaning the ability to comprehend properly. 214: ἡ μετὰ τὴν σωματικὴν αὐξήσιν καὶ τῆς ἐννοίας τελείωσιν. Meaning 'notion': op. cit. 115: τὴν αὐτὴν φημι ἔννοιαν.

²⁴² Scholion XXI: ἐπὶ τὸν οὕτω γενόμενον στυλὸν γράφει τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐννοίας αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐγχαράττων.

²⁴³ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, Codex pp. 82^v–83^r: θελήσωμεν, τουτέστιν ὑψηλὰς ἐννοίας καὶ πρὸς Θεὸν ἀγούσας.

²⁴⁴ Caesarius, *QR*, p. 214.

²⁴⁵ Cassian, Scholion XXVIII. Cf. Scholia, XXI; XXVII.

The rhetorical syntax 'being aware of this ... he says' (τοῦτο ἐπιστάμενος ... φησίν, or ἔλεγεν, or likewise) is characteristic of Cassian,²⁴⁶ who entertained this abundantly, both in Scholion IV and in the rest of his works in Codex 573.

Besides, Caesarius emphasizes the Origenistic doctrines of heavenly powers being 'created and mutable', and classifies them²⁴⁷ according to the New Testament-epistles.²⁴⁸ The idea of angels serving as ministering agents, which is the theme of Scholia XXX and XXXI, is expounded by Caesarius, too, who urges that angels act as servants both 'to the Trinity and to us'.²⁴⁹

Although Cassian endorses Luke 6:27–28, and does not allow 'to hate and curse one's enemies', he takes certain Psalmic portions where petition is made for the destruction of enemies and the like (such as Psalms 17:38–39; 29:1; 34:1) to denote opposing 'spirits'.²⁵⁰ Cassian maintains that man is allowed to pray for the destruction of enemies who are not human but daemons, and urges that this is the sole acceptable exegesis of germane psalmic portions.²⁵¹ The text of Caesarius goes half a step beyond. Obsessed as he is with a potential charge of heresy against himself, he is vehement against those who distract Christians by means of 'acts and doctrines of destruction' (γράμμασιν καὶ δόγμασιν ἀπωλείας).²⁵² He goes as far as to endorse the 'eye

²⁴⁶ Cassian the Sabaite, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion IV: Τοῦτο ἐπιστάμενος ὁ θεολόγος Ἰωάννης ἐνταυθὰ φησιν ... τοιαῦτα περὶ τοῦ (Λ) ὄγου νοήσας, Χριστὸν αὐτὸν ἐπιστάμενος, ὁ ἀπόστολος φησιν. *OctoVit*, p. 49^r: Ταύτην τὴν νόσον βαρυτάτην οὖσαν ὁ θεὸς ἀπόστολος ἐπιστάμενος καὶ βουλόμενος αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν ὡς σοφὸς ἱατρὸς πρόρριζον ἀνασπάσαι, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας, ἀφ' ὧν μάλιστα τίκεται, δείκνυσιν. *Op. cit.* 56^r: Ταῦτα καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐπιστάμενοι, πάντες μιᾷ γνώμῃ παραδεδώκασι. *ScetPatr*, p. 57^v: τοῦτο καὶ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐπιστάμενός φησιν. *Op. cit.* 58^v: ἔπερ καὶ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ἐπιστάμενος ἔλεγεν. *SerenPrim*, p. 92^r: Ταῦτα πάντα ἐπιστάμενος ὁ Δαβὶδ καὶ ἔχων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ ἔνδον ἀνθρώπου ὑγίει, καὶ γινώσκων ὅτι χαίρουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ πτώσει ἡμῶν, ἔλεγεν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. *Op. cit.* p. 93^r: Ταύτας τοίνυν τὰς πτώσεις τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὰς ἰδίας νίκας βλέπων εἰς ἕκαστος τῶν ἁγίων, μετὰ ἀγαλλιάσεως ἀναβοῶσιν.

²⁴⁷ Caesarius, *QR*, 44: κτιστοὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι καὶ τρεπτοί. Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, pp. 103^v–104^r; 108^v–109^r. Likewise, Scholion XI states that 'any rational nature is susceptible of death' (πάσα λογικὴ φύσις δεκτικὴ ἐστὶ τῶν ἀποδοθέντων σημαίνωμένων περὶ τοῦ θανάτου); Scholion XXX reasons they are 'all' subject to the 'universal divine judgement' (καὶ κρίσις γίνεται καθολικὴ πρὸς τούτους πάντας), whereas the Fall is the opening theme of Scholion XXXVIII.

²⁴⁸ Rom. 8:38; Eph. 1:21; Col. 1:16; 1 Peter 2:22.

²⁴⁹ Caesarius, *QR*, 44: διακονοῦσιν δὲ ταύτῃ καὶ ἡμῖν, τῇ μὲν θεοπροπῶς δουλεύοντες, τοῖς δὲ οἰκονομικῶς πρὸς σωτηρίαν τὰ παρ' ἐκείνης προσταττόμενα, τοὺς μὲν ἀναίρουντες διὰ κακίαν ἀδιόρθωτον.

²⁵⁰ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, pp. 93^{r-v}.

²⁵¹ See p. 306, note 33.

²⁵² Caesarius, *QR*, 44.

for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth',²⁵³ styling this a command 'by the divine law' (ὁ θεῖος διακελεύεται νόμος), despite Jesus' command in Matthew 5:38 to demolish this precept. Besides, an anti-Jewish sentiment appears at this point (also quoting Ezekiel 18:10), in order to argue that those who shed the blood of Jesus deserve to die, in accordance with Ezekiel's saying. This sentiment of Caesarius²⁵⁴ becomes all too ferocious in the last chapter of this work, where he maintains that there is no hope for the Hebrews ever to return to a restored Jerusalem. It should be observed that there is a striking phrasal similarity between the Scholia with the anonymous writings *Adversus Judaeos*. This calls for further exploration as to the authorship of at least some of these documents by either Cassian or some other monk of the Laura of Sabas or the Akoimatoi.

The exegesis on Genesis 6:2–4, about 'the sons of God' who 'came in unto the daughters of men' is identical in both Cassian²⁵⁵ and Caesarius.²⁵⁶ It is also interesting that Caesarius quotes from a version of the biblical text, which at this point is the same as the one used by Chrysostom and Theodoret only: the characteristic term of this almost singular rendering is that the act of 'the sons of God' who 'came in unto the daughters' is rendered through the verb εἰσῆλθον.²⁵⁷ The similar writing in the spurious work *De Perfecta Caritate*,²⁵⁸ ascribed to Chrysostom, calls for investigation of its real author. George Monachus²⁵⁹ says that this rendering εἰσῆλθον comes from Symmachus, which is also reiterated in the abridged version of this chronicle²⁶⁰ and fits with Cassian making mention of a Bible-version by the 'Jew' (= Symmachus).²⁶¹ The Septuaginta has it εἰσεπορεύοντο, which was also used by Chrysostom,²⁶² Didymus,²⁶³ and Cyril of Alexandria.²⁶⁴

²⁵³ Exodus 21:24; Lev. 24:20; Deut. 19:21.

²⁵⁴ Op. cit. 218.

²⁵⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, pp. 112^r–113^v.

²⁵⁶ Caesarius, *QR*, 47.

²⁵⁷ Caesarius, loc. cit.

²⁵⁸ PG.56.288.11–12.

²⁵⁹ Loc. cit.

²⁶⁰ George Monachus, *Chronicon Breve* (lib. 1–6), PG.110.88.

²⁶¹ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 106^r (ref. to a rendering of Gen. 3:1): ὅπερ ὁ Ἑβραῖος ἐκδίδωσι. See endnote 18 (pp. 318–319) to the Greek text.

²⁶² John Chrysostom, *In Genesim* (*Homiliae* 1–67), PG.53.191.5–6 & 21–22.

²⁶³ Didymus, *In Genesim*, Cod. p. 156.

²⁶⁴ Cyril of Alexandria, *GlaphPent*, PG.69.52.35–36. So *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 39. George Syncellus, *Ecloga Chronographica*, p. 13 (p. 24 has it ἐπορεύθησαν). Philo, *Quod Deus Sit Immutabilis*, 1. Julian, emperor, *Contra Galilaeos*, p. 215.

This point is a telling one and suggests that Caesarius used a Greek version of the Old Testament by Symmachus, which circulated in Palestine, Syria, and Cappadocia. This explains why Philo, as well as theologians such as Didymus and Cyril of Alexandria, rendered this point differently, namely, according to the Septuaginta, which was natural for Alexandrians to do.

It is well known that Jerome admired the Ebionite Jew Symmachus and used his version in order to produce the Vulgate. Quite evidently, Cassian himself, too, used the same version, which is evident from some of his Biblical quotations not matching with the Septuaginta, but have similarities with the *Vulgate's* Greek original. Besides, it is evident that when Cassian refers to 'the Jew' translator rendering Gen. 3:1, he actually reproduces that purity, accuracy, and idiomatic elegance of Symmachus.²⁶⁵

The epithet ἰσοκλής ('equal in glory') is characteristic of Cyril of Alexandria,²⁶⁶ which was a good reason for this to be instilled in the vocabulary of Ephesus.²⁶⁷ This Cyrillic adjective is almost absent from all other theologians, except for Cosmas Indicopleustes²⁶⁸ and a spurious work, which is almost bound to be one by Caesarius²⁶⁹ (that is, by Cassian).²⁷⁰ Finally and characteristically, Theodore Studites is once again present using this scarce epithet,²⁷¹ along with an anonymous tract against the Jews, for which I have suggested the need to be explored in relation to Cassian's pen.²⁷²

In respect to Christ being equal to the Father, or indeed to the Trinity comprising three peer Persons, Caesarius applies the term ἰσοσθενής ('equal in power'),²⁷³ which also *De Trinitate* does.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁵ Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 106^r: ὅπερ ὁ Ἐβραῖος ἐκδίδωσι· ὁ δὲ ὄφεις ἦν σκληρ(ό)τερος πάντων τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. (Gen. 3:1). See note 18, pp. 358–359.

²⁶⁶ Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannem*, v. 2, p. 258; *Fragmenta in Sancti Pauli Epistulam ii ad Corinthios*. p. 354; *De Sancta Trinitate Dialogi I–VII*, pp. 493; 578; 606; 612; 629; *Epistulae Paschales sive Homiliae Paschales* (epist. 1–30), PG.77: 737.37; 773.26; 840.39; 852.38; 901.35; 961.41; *Commentarius in Isaiam Prophetam* PG.70: 581.43; 804.30; 1036.38; *Commentarii in Lucam*, PG.72.476.28.

²⁶⁷ ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum anno 431*, 1,1,1, pp. 13; 17; 1,1,4, pp. 53; 1,1,5, pp. 51; 54; 63; 1,1,6, p. 129.5; 1,1,7, p. 39.

²⁶⁸ Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographia Christiana*, 6.28.

²⁶⁹ Caesarius, *QR*, 3; 60; 126; 127; 174.

²⁷⁰ Pseudo-Athanasius, *Epistula ad Episcopum Persarum*, PG.28.1568.13.

²⁷¹ Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 36; 231; 421; 497; *Cantica*, 1.2.

²⁷² *Dissertatio Contra Iudaeos*, 1, line 348.

²⁷³ Caesarius, *QR*, 3 (lines 11 & 63); 126; 131.

²⁷⁴ Caesarius, *QR*, 126; 127; 174; 3; 60 (ref. to 'faith', not to Trinity or to Christ). *DT* (*lib.* 1), 36.4: διὰ τὸ ἰσότημον καὶ ἰσοσθενὲς καὶ ὁμοούσιον καὶ τὴν εὐκρίναιαν τῶν ὑποστάσεων. *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.781.6: καὶ ταῦτα ἐκφαίνοντα καὶ προφαίνοντα τὸ ὁμότιμον καὶ ἰσοσθενὲς τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος. *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.804.7 (ref. to the Holy spirit): ἄρα ὡς ἰσότημος καὶ ἰσοσθενὲς τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Μονογενεῖ, Θεὸς ἐστίν.

The expression *πρὸς ἀγῶνα ἀλείφειν*, which means to train someone pending a struggle one is going to engage in, is used by Caesarius²⁷⁵ and Cassian²⁷⁶ alike, which is one more indication of the authors to be one and the selfsame person.

Furthermore, chapter 186 is an opportunity for Caesarius to clarify his own position on controversial issues of his day, such as Monophysitism and the alleged tritheism attributed to his contemporary John Philoponus. The provocative Question 186 is whether 'it was the Trinity that was incarnated'. The point was of course relevant to the contentious *trisagion*-issue.²⁷⁷ It should be recalled that Caesarius/Cassian was present at the Local Synod of 536 in Constantinople, which condemned the Monophysite doctrine. The phraseology of chapter 186 is fairly scrupulous and skilful. It appears to essay a resolution on an abstruse and contentious question: it was not the Trinity, but the Son alone, that was crucified on the Cross, and yet the Incarnation is the work of the entire Trinity. His reply indeed matches his philological skill: τοῦ μὲν πατρὸς βουληθέντος, τοῦ δὲ υἱοῦ σαρκωθέντος, τοῦ δὲ πνεύματος συνεργήσαντος ('with the Father willing, the Son being incarnate, and the Spirit collaborating'). The Father 'willed' the incarnation to take place (since there is only one Trinitarian will), the Son assumed incarnation, and the Spirit collaborated. However, the Incarnation was an act by *the entire* Trinity: no Person was ancillary during this drama (οὐκ ἀτονία τοῦ ἐνὸς πρὸς τὸ δράμα, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι συμφωνία τε καὶ ἐνότητι καὶ ταυτότητι καὶ τῆς μίας βουλῆς τε καὶ αὐθεντίας καὶ βασιλείας τῆς ἐν τριάδι). At the time when Caesarius was writing, the problem of the *trisagion* was probably past and the novelty added to the *trisagion* by Peter the Fuller (a once-resident of the Akoimatoi) was condemned. The problem of tritheism, however, was not. John Philoponus was still writing, and he was himself a staunch defender of Monophysitism. Rebutting tritheism was tantamount to rebutting both, the person and the doctrine. Caesarius, therefore, urged that the Incarnation was the act of the entire Trinity and yet it was only the Son who suffered on the

²⁷⁵ Caesarius, *QR*, 218.413: καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀλείψαντες.

²⁷⁶ See note 86 (pp. 245–246) to the Greek text. Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 76^v: πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀλείψαι.

²⁷⁷ The *trisagion* is a pious prayer ancient prayer in Christianity recited many times in the Greek liturgy. It may be that the prayer was originally an expansion of the angelic cry recorded in Revelation 4:8 (sometimes called the Sanctus). It goes thus: "Ἁγιος ὁ Θεός, Ἁγιος ἰσχυρός, Ἁγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. Latin: Sanctus Deus, Sanctus Fortis, Sanctus Immortalis, miserere nobis. English: Holy God, Holy Strong, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us. Peter the Fuller added to this, 'Who was crucified for us', which gave rise to uproar and was condemned by the Local Synod of 536 in Constantinople.

Cross. For ‘the Scripture normally ascribes the divine action to the Father, as far as the Old Testament is concerned, to the Son, as far as New Testament is concerned, and to the Holy Spirit with reference to the events within the Church, which are currently happening’. This is how both problems, namely tritheism and the *trisagion*, are bypassed, which the author also did briefly in chapter 13. His inspiration comes from authority of old, definitely his source is Epiphanius of Salamis.²⁷⁸ Nevertheless, there are some spurious works under either the name of Gregory of Nyssa,²⁷⁹ or Clement of Rome,²⁸⁰ which seem to address the problem of tritheism. A possible relation of Caesarius/Cassian with these works is an issue calling for further research.

²⁷⁸ Epiphanius of Salamis, *Ancoratus*, 28.1–4: φησὶν ὁ πατήρ, “ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ’ εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν”, καὶ οὐκ εἶπε, ποιήσω ἄνθρωπον κατ’ εἰκόνα ἐμήν. ἐλέγχθητι ὁ ἔχων πεπωρωμένην τὴν καρδίαν κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον “ἀλλ’ ἐπωρώθη ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν” καὶ μάθε τὸν υἱὸν ὄντα ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· τὸ γὰρ εἰπεῖν ποιήσωμεν οὐχ ἑνός ἐστι σημαντικόν, ἀλλὰ πατρός λέγοντος πρὸς τὸν υἱόν. ἐλέγχθητι καὶ ὁ λέγων τὸν υἱὸν ἀνόμιον τῷ πατρί· ἐν τῷ γὰρ εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν κατ’ εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν οὐ διέκρινεν ὁμοίωσιν υἱοῦ ἀπὸ πατρὸς οὐδὲ διεἴλε τὴς ταυτέτητος τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν υἱόν. οὐ γὰρ εἶπε κατ’ εἰκόνα ἐμήν ἢ κατ’ εἰκόνα σήν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μίαν οὐσίαν ἐδήλωσε καὶ θεότητα. φησὶ γὰρ “κατ’ εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν”, ὡς εἶναι μὲν μίαν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος τὴν θεότητα, ἄνθρωπον δὲ γεγενῆσθαι κατ’ εἰκόνα τῆς μιᾶς θεότητος πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

²⁷⁹ Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa, *De Creatione Hominis Sermo Primus* (recensio C), pp. 6^r–8^r: διὰ τί δὲ οὐκ εἶπε· ποιήσω ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ· Ποιήσωμεν; ἵνα νοήσης τὴν ἴσῃν δεσποτείαν, ἵνα μὴ τὸν πατέρα ἐπιγινώσκων τὸν υἱὸν ἀγνοῇς, ἵνα εἰδῇς ὅτι πατὴρ ἐποίησε διὰ υἱοῦ καὶ υἱὸς ἔκτισε πατρὶ ὡς θελήματι, καὶ δοξάσης πατέρα ἐν υἱῷ καὶ υἱὸν ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ. οὕτω κοινωνῶν γέγονας ἔργον, ἵνα καὶ κοινὸς προσκυνητὴς ἀμφοτέρων ᾖς μὴ σχίζων τὴν προσκύνησιν, ἀλλ’ ἐνὼν τὴν θεότητα. ὁρᾷς ἱστορίαν μὲν ἀπλὴν τῷ σχήματι, θεολογίαν δὲ ἀκραιφνή τῷ νοήματι. μετὰ γὰρ τὸ Ποιήσωμεν ἐπήγαγε· Καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον. οὐκ εἶπεν· ἐποίησεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἵνα μὴ πολυθεῖας λάβῃς ἀφορμὰς. εἰ γὰρ πληθυντικῶς παρεισήχθη καὶ ἡ ποιήσις, ἀφειδείς ἂν ἐγένοντο οἱ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς τὸ πολλὰ πληθὴ θεῶν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ· Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον, ἵνα γνωρίσης πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· ἔπειτα δέ· Καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἵνα θεὸν ἕνα τὰ τρία πρόσωπα νοήσης οὐ τὰς ὑποστάσεις ἐνοποιῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μίαν οὐσίαν καὶ δύναμιν λογιζόμενος καὶ μίαν δόξαν ἔχῃς μὴ μεριζόμενος περὶ τὴν προσκύνησιν μηδὲ εἰς πολυθεῖαν ἐμπίπτων. οὐ γὰρ εἶπε· καὶ ἐποίησεν οἱ θεοὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ· Ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἰδία μὲν ὑπόστασις πατὴρ ἰδία δὲ υἱὸς καὶ ἰδία πνεύματος ἁγίου, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ καὶ τρεῖς θεοί, ὅτι μία καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ ἡ ἐν τοῖς τρισὶ νοουμένη οὐσιώδης θεότης. Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa, *Liber de Cognitione Dei* (*Θεογνωσία*) (fragmenta apud Euthymium Zigabenum, *Panoplia Dogmatica*) PG.130.260.53–261.2: Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός, Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ’ εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν, καὶ καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν. Ὁ Πατὴρ δηλονότι πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ τοὺς κοινωνούντας αὐτῷ τοῦ δημιουργικοῦ καὶ δεσποτικοῦ ἀξιώματος. Οὐκ ἔχει γὰρ ἐνταῦθα χώραν τὸ τῆς Ἑβραϊδοῦ διαλέκτου ἰδίωμα, τὸ χρώμενον ἔστιν ὅτε τοὶ ἐνικοίς πληθυντικῶς.

²⁸⁰ Pseudo-Clement of Rome, *Homiliae*, 16.11.1–12.1: Ἐπεὶ πυκνότερον σε ὁρῶ τὸν λόγον ποιούμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλάσαντός σε θεοῦ, μάθε παρ’ ἐμοῦ πῶς καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀσεβεῖς. οἱ πλάσαντες δύο φαίνονται ὡς ἡ γραφὴ λέγει· “Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ’ εἰκόνα καὶ καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν ἡμετέραν”. τὸ “ποιήσωμεν” δύο σημαίνει ἢ πλείονας, πλὴν οὐχ ἕνα. καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἀπεκρίνατο· Εἰς ἑστὶν ὁ τῇ αὐτοῦ σοφίᾳ εἰπών· “Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον”. ἡ δὲ σοφία, ἥ ὡσπερ ἰδίῳ πνεύματι αὐτὸς ἀεὶ συνέχαιρεν, ἡνῶται μὲν ὡς ψυχὴ τῷ θεῷ, ἐκτείνεται δὲ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ὡς χεῖρ, δημιουργοῦσα τὸ πᾶν.

The term θεοτόκος²⁸¹ is used only once. The designation 'virgin' (παρθένος) for Mary is scarcely used,²⁸² since the author opts for the term αείπαις ('perpetually virgin'),²⁸³ which transpires in some spurious texts that should be explored as to their relation to Cassian's production.²⁸⁴

Likewise, in an oblique rejection of Monophysitism, the author refrains from using the term θεάνθρωπος, and opts for expressions involving the epithet θεανδρικός and germane cognates, which bespeak relationship with Dionysius Areopagite.²⁸⁵ The θεάνθρωπος is a neologism made up from 'God,' θεός + 'man', ἄνθρωπος. It was felt, it seems, that ἄνθρωπος should point to assumption of a *specific man*, rather than *humanity*. Strange though it might appear, the term θεανδρικός, which was introduced by Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite (and then used abundantly by Caesarius) and is a plain synonym with θεάνθρωπος, did not invite such suspicion. Θεανδρικός is derived from 'God,' θεός + 'manly', ἀνδρικός. As regards the second part of the terms, it

²⁸¹ QR, 197. Although the table of contents has chapter 40 dealing 'about the θεοτόκος', the term is not actually used in that chapter.

²⁸² At two points only. QR, 40: τὴν παρθένον Μαρίαν (the phrase is part of the Question). 218: κατὰ μίμησιν τῆς παρθενοτόκου αείπαιδος.

²⁸³ Caesarius alone entertained the term αείπαις more heavily than all other authors together. Cf. QR, 20; 35; 36; 38; 44; 121; 129; 132; 133; 169; 185; 186; 187; 193; 196; 197; 200; 218 (lines 54; 456; 469). In Cassian's confirmed texts of Codex 573, the term θεοτόκος is never used. He used παρθένος for Mary, however: Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 14^v: πλησίον τοῦ σπηλαίου ἐνθα ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς ἐκ παρθένου ἐτέχθη.

²⁸⁴ Cf. Pseudo-Epiphanius, *Homilia in Laudes Mariae Deiparae*, PG.43.493.25. Pseudo-Basil of Seleucia, *De Vita et Miraculis Sanctae Theclae Librii ii*, 1.1. Pseudo-John of Damascus, *Sermo in Annuntiationem Mariae*, PG.96.648.26. The usage by Peter of Sicily is noteworthy, since he is the sole theologian to use also Caesarius' expression θεία πτυκτὴ for Scripture, if indeed this is not an emendation by the editor. Cf. περὶ τῆς αείπαιδος κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς δεδοξασμένης θεοτόκου. *Historia Utilis et Refutatio Manichaeorum vel Paulicianorum*, p. 15.

²⁸⁵ Caesarius, QR, 14.20: τῆς θεανδρικής τοῦ κυρίου παρουσίας. 20.23: τὴν θεανδρικήν ἐκ τῆς αείπαιδος Μαρίας προέλευσιν. 22.6: τῆς θεανδρικής αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίας. 22.12: τὴν θεανδρικήν ἐπιφοίτησιν. 26.7: περὶ τῆς θεανδρικής ψυχῆς. 35.30: τὴν θεανδρικήν τοῦ κυρίου ἐπιφοίτησιν. 76.7: τῆς θεανδρικής τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀναλήμψεως. 106.11: τῇ θεανδρικῇ γεννήσει. 106.13 & 110.51: τῆς θεανδρικής ἐπιφοιτήσεως. 110.52: τὴν ἄφιξιν τοῦ θεάνδρου διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελικοῦ κηρύγματος. 121.36: θεανδρικός ἀποτιννύς αὐτοῦ τὰ ὀφλήματα. 122.47: ὁ κύριος τῇ θεανδρικῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπιφοιτήσει φησίν. 127.17–18: τὴν γὰρ θεανδρικήν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ λόγου ἔνσαρκον ἐπιφοίτησιν. 131.9: ἡ θεανδρική αὐτοῦ ἐπιφοιτήσις. 131.18: θεανδρική δὲ φύσει ὁ ἅγιος λόγος ἐπιφοιτήσας. 132.6: ὁ ἐκ τῆς αείπαιδος τεχθεὶς θεάνδρος. 132.13: τῆς θεανδρικής νίκης. 134.4: πρὸ τῆς θεανδρικής αὐτοῦ ὅψεως. 161.14–15: σημαίνων θεανδρικήν ἐπιφοίτησιν. 186.21: ἡ ἐκ τῆς αείπαιδος Μαρίας ἔνσαρκος θεανδρική θεοφάνεια. 187.12: τῆς θεανδρικής τοῦ λόγου ὅψεως. 192.33: τῆς θεανδρικής τοῦ λόγου καὶ θεοῦ παρουσίας. 193.30–31: τῆς αὐτῆς ἡρτῆται θεανδρικής οἰκονομίας. 195.6: ἐν τῇ θεανδρικῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπιφοιτήσει. 195.10: ἐν τῇ θεανδρικῇ δευτέρᾳ Χριστοῦ ἐπιφοιτήσει. 196.22: πρὸ τῆς θεανδρικής τοῦ λόγου θεοφανείας. 197.22–23: τὸ ἄγιον τοῦ θεάνδρου στέρνον. 210.11: ὁ θεάνδρος διακελεύεται. 217.12: ἡ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεάνδρου μήτηρ. 218.480–481: τῆς κακῶς τολμηθείσης αὐτοῖς θεανδρικής ἀναίρεσως. 218.645: τῆς θεανδρικής ἀναστάσεως. 218.661–662: ἀπὸ τῆς θεανδρικής ἀρξάμενον παρουσίας.

appears as though ἀνδρικός was tolerated since it pointed to the *nature* of man rather than to a *specific* man, whereas ἄνθρωπος ('man') did not appear as safe as that.

Although not extant in Greek, it seems that the designation θεάνθρωπος is Origen's making. In the first place, we have *De Principiis*, II.6.3: 'for this soul ... there is born, as we said, the God-man' (Heac ergo substantia animae ... nascitur, ut diximus, deus-homo). The expression *Deus-homo* appears in a translation of Origen's Homilies on Ezekiel (III.3) by Jerome. The epithet was forgotten during the ensuing centuries and by all appearances this was revived by the Akoimetoι, since this shows in a series of spurious works that are in all probability the product of this community.²⁸⁶ These hymns evidently stand in line with the Chalcedonian decree granting two natures in Christ.²⁸⁷ However, the Akoimetoι did not escape condemnation and the anathema by the Local Synod of 536 on those who entertain the epithet θεάνθρωπος presumably had, among others, some members of the Akoimetoι in mind.²⁸⁸

John of Damascus (c. 676–749) was hostile to the term, since this appeared to him as suggesting one single nature for Christ, which he staunchly contested.²⁸⁹ The argument against using this term was that Christ as God united himself to a *specific* man, which was regarded as a heretical statement. Orthodoxy demanded that the Logos united himself to *human nature* in general. As John Grammaticus put it, the term θεάνθρωπος might introduce a species which was a *sui generis* one, being neither man nor God, which was deemed as excluding real salvation due to the Incarnation. Nev-

²⁸⁶ *Analecta Hymnica Graeca, Canones Novembris*, 3.7.4 & *Canones Martii*, 31.36.4: καὶ γὰρ τέτοκεν Ἐμμανουὴλ τὸν θεάνθρωπον. *Canones Maii*, 16.18.5: Θεὸς οἰκήσας πρόσεισι θεάνθρωπος. Op. cit. 16.18.8: καὶ ἔτεκες θεάνθρωπον κόσμῳ. *Canones Junii*, 5.2.5: Ὁ σὲ πλαστουργήσας θεάνθρωπος κύριος. Op. cit. 22.15.9: ἡ γενήσασα τῷ κόσμῳ θεάνθρωπον. *Canones Augusti*, 1.1.8: Ὁ σωτηριώδης Λόγος ... χρηματίσας θεάνθρωπος. Op. cit. 11.10.1: Ὁ Μονογενὴς Λόγος ... προελθὼν ἀπορρήτως θεάνθρωπος.

²⁸⁷ *Analecta Hymnica Graeca, Canones Januarii*, 27.34.3: Λόγον πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων ἐν ὑποστάσει μιᾷ ἐν δύο ταῖς φύσεσι θεανθρωπότητος, τὴν Εὐτυχοῦς μυσαττόμενοι κακοδοξίαν τομάς. *Canones Julii*, 14.19.5: ἐν δυσὶν οὐσίαις ἐπιλάμψαντα τῷ κόσμῳ θεάνθρωπον.

²⁸⁸ ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, pp. 17 & 229. See discussion in RCR, p. 37.

²⁸⁹ John of Damascus, *De Duabus in Christo Voluntatibus*, 8, col. 2, lines 86–88: εἰ γὰρ μίας φύσεως ὁ Χριστὸς συνθέτου ἐκ θεότητος τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος, ἔπαθεν δὲ ὁ Χριστὸς, δηλονότι ἡ μία φύσις αὐτοῦ ἡ σύνθετος, ἡ θεανθρωπότης, ἔπαθεν. Op. cit. 8, col. 1, lines 139–143: Εἰ μία φύσις τοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν, πῶς ὀνομάζεται; Χριστότης δηλαδὴ ἡ θεανθρωπότης. Ποία φύσει; Εἰ μία, δηλονότι τῇ μιᾷ αὐτοῦ φύσει. Οὐκοῦν ἡ θεανθρωπότης αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσται ἡ ἐν Χριστῷ θεότης παθητή. These statements make it impossible for the following work to be his own. Pseudo-John of Damascus, *Sermo in Annuntiationem Mariae*, PG.96.656.7: ὅτι μόνῃ Χριστὸν τὸν θεάνθρωπον ἀνάνδρως συνέλαβες, καὶ ἀπόνως ἐκύησας.

ertheless, and for all his attack on the term, a casual use appears in John of Damascus, if indeed the text is his own.²⁹⁰ Were that the case, this would suggest that during his lifetime a shift of attitude towards the terms was underway, since Anastasius of Sinai (who died after 700) made an aleatory use of it.²⁹¹

The belated revival of the designation θεάνθρωπος ('God-man') is a result of the Monophysite controversy. At the turn of the fifth to sixth century spurious texts appeared under the names of glorious Christian writers, in which Christ was so styled.²⁹² The term smacked of Monophysitism, which is why the great inquisitor of the sixth century John Grammaticus took heed to censure it.²⁹³ This was anathematised by the Local Synod of Constantinople in 536, where Cassian was himself present. A letter by a certain 'Cuntinianus, Bishop of Arculiani' addressed to Patriarch Peter of Antioch (471–488) issues twelve anathemas, one of which warns against using the term θεανθρωπία, instead 'man and God' (Θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον).²⁹⁴ The addressee was Peter the Fuller, the Monophysite Patriarch, who had added the phrase 'Who was crucified for us' at the end of the *Trisagion*. This letter was attached to the acts of 536, it is earlier, and actually belongs to the procedure of the condemnation of Peter by a synod of forty-two Western

²⁹⁰ John of Damascus, *Oratio in Occursum Domini*, 4: ο θεάνθρωπος λόγος.

²⁹¹ Anastasius of Sinai, *Viae Dux*, 13.4: οὐ ψιλάνθρωπα εἶχε τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, ἀλλὰ θεάνθρωπα, θεανδρικῶς.

²⁹² Pseudo-Athanasius, *Homilia in Occursum Domini*, PG.28.985.53: τὸν θεάνθρωπον νήπιον. *Symbolum "quicumque"*, PG.28.1588.21: Καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἡ ψυχὴ λογικὴ καὶ ἡ σὰρξ εἰς ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, οὕτω καὶ ὁ θεάνθρωπος εἰς ἐστὶ Χριστός. Pseudo-Cyril of Alexandria, *De Sancta Trinitate*, PG.77.1157.26–29: εἰς ὁ αὐτός θεάνθρωπος· μὴ διαιρούμενος εἰς Θεὸν ἰδικῶς, καὶ εἰς ἄνθρωπον ἰδικῶς· ἀλλ' εἰς ἀμερίστως ὑπάρχων, Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὁ αὐτός, ταῦτὸν δ' εἰπεῖν, Θεὸς καὶ ἀνὴρ. Op. cit. PG.77.1160.6–9: τοῦτο δὴ τὸ δεύτερον σημαίνονμενον τῆς ἐνεργείας προσαρμοστέον τῇ θεανδρικῇ. Θεανθρώπου γὰρ ὑπάρχοντος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ πᾶσα πράξις αὐτοῦ θεανθρωπικὴ καὶ θεανδρικὴ. *Collectio Dictorum Veteris Testamenti*, PG.77.1224.42–44: καὶ διὰ τοῦ διπλοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεανθρώπου τὰ σημαίνονμενα τοῖς εὐαγγελισταῖς ἐνηγχθήσαν. In like manner, Anastasius of Sinai, *Viae Dux*, 13.4: οὐ ψιλάνθρωπα εἶχε τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, ἀλλὰ θεάνθρωπα, θεανδρικῶς. Later still, the term appears in the writings of monk Euthymius Zegebenus (he died after 1118), who claimed to quote from Gregory of Nyssa. Cf. Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa, *Inventio Imaginis in Camulianis*, 5: καὶ εὐθέως ἀπεδείχθη τύπος τῆς θεανθρώπου μορφῆς. *Liber de Cognitione Dei* (Θεογνωσία) (fragmenta apud Euthymium Zigabenum, *Panoplia Dogmatica*), PG.130.269.8: "Ἀνθρῶπος μὲν πάντως οὐδεὶς, ὁ θεάνθρωπος δὲ Χριστός. PG.130.269.39 & 44.

²⁹³ John Grammaticus, *Capitula XVII Contra Monophysitas*, lines 11–14: οἱ τὸ θεάνθρωπον ἡμῖν ἐπινοήσαντες λέγειν ἴσως ἕτερόν τι καὶ παρὰ ταῦτά φασι τὸν Χριστόν, ὡς καὶ τὸν τραγέλαφον οὔτε τράγαν, οὔτε ἔλαφον εἶποι τις ἄν, ἀλλ' ἕτερόν τι τῷ γένει.

²⁹⁴ ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, p. 17: καὶ εἴ τις θεανθρωπίαν λέγει καὶ οὐχὶ θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον μάλλον λέγει, ἀναθεματιζέσθω. p. 229: καὶ εἴ τις θεανθρωπίαν καὶ οὐχὶ μάλλον θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον λέγει, καθαιρεῖσθω.

bishops in Rome, in 485. No wonder then that the designation θεάνθρωπος appears in Monophysite writings.²⁹⁵

This point is important since it seems to cast light upon the conflict between the Akoimetoι and the imperial court in the early 530s. On the one hand, the term θεάνθρωπος along with the notion involved was anathematized in 536. On the other (presumably because of this), it was entertained abundantly in the hymns which, during our analysis, have been shown to be akin to the Antiochene hymnographic tradition cherished by the Akoimetoι.

As late as early tenth century, Arethas of Caesarea (born in 860) could conveniently defend Theodoret against Cyril of Alexandria, on the one hand, while on the other he defended usage of the term θεάνθρωπος.²⁹⁶ He applied this as much as no other author ever did, as if he were eager to establish it as an orthodox one.²⁹⁷ The designation was gradually cleared from all suspicion of heresy, and currently in the Greek Orthodox East this is used as a matter of course.

The terms θεανδρικός and θεάνθρωπος are in effect synonymous, which no text makes so evident as a (presumably sixth-century) spurious one ascribed to Cyril of Alexandria, which applies both terms as plain synonyms.²⁹⁸ Nevertheless, there is a valuable conclusion to be drawn from of this exploration

²⁹⁵ A text of clearly Alexandrine and Monophysite origin. Pseudo-Gregory of Nazianzus, *Liturgia Sancti Gregorii*, PG.36.721.34–35: οὕτως προήλθες ἐξ αὐτῆς θεανθρωπωθείς.

²⁹⁶ Arethas of Caesarea, *Scholīa Arethae in Cyrilli Apologiam XII Anathematismorum Contra Theodoretum et in Theodoretī Impugnationem*, p. 116: ὁ προαιώνιος θεὸς λόγος ὑπόστασις υἱοῦ τῆς πατρικῆς προῶν θείας ὑποστάσεως προσλήψει φύσεως ἀνθρωπίνης, οὐκ ἡφωρισμένῳ ἀτόμῳ, τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐαυτὸν ἀπετέ(λε)σεν, σύνθετον μὲν ἐξ ὑποστάσεως θείας, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὑποστάσεως ἀνθρωπίνης. οὐ γὰρ καὶ τινὰ ἀνθρώπον, ἀλλὰ φύσεως ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα [καὶ] ἡτόμωσεν ἐν ἐαυτῷ, τὸν θεάνθρωπον ἀποφήνας. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐκ ἡτομωμένον ἀνέλαβεν ἄνθρωπον, φύσιν δὲ ἀνθρωπεῖαν καὶ ἡτόμωσεν ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπόστασιν μίαν τὴν θεάνθρωπον. Op. cit. p. 124: καὶ τί τοῦτο παραλλάττον τῆς Θεοδωρήτου περὶ Χριστοῦ ἀκριβολογίας; εἰ μὴ τοσοῦτον ὅσον οἱ καὶ τὸ ἐν καὶ δέκα τοῦ μία καὶ δέκα διαφέρειν λογομαχεῖν ματαιούμενοι. ... ὥς ἔοικεν, κατεσχηματισμένα ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἀληθεῖα προήγεν ὁ θεάνθρωπος· εἰ δὲ ἀληθεῖα, μάτην ἢ πρὸς Θεοδωρήτον ἀλλόκοτος μέμψις, τὰ αὐτὰ κἀκείνου, εἰ καὶ τρανότερον, διεξιόντος. *Fragmenta in Epistulam ad Romanos (in catenis)*, p. 656: εἰ διὰ τὸ σαρκὸς μετασχεῖν τὸν θεάνθρωπον ἢ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτὸν κατέδραμε τυραννίς.

²⁹⁷ Arethas of Caesarea, *Scripta Minora*, Opus 1, p. 7 (θεάνθρωπος γλώσσα); Opus 5, pp. 49; 57 (bis); Opus 7, p. 79 (ἡ τοῦ κυρίου θεάνθρωπος παρουσία); Opus 11, p. 114; Opus 12, p. 118; Opus 14, pp. 138; 144; Opus 15, p. 178 (ὁ θεάνθρωπος Ἰησοῦς); Opus 28, p. 254 (ὁ θεάνθρωπος Ἰησοῦς); Opus 36, p. 286; Opus 56, pp. 346 (τὸν θεάνθρωπον Ἰησοῦν); 358; 359; Opus 60, p. 22; Opus 64, p. 40 (ὁ θεάνθρωπος Ἰησοῦς); Opus 65, p. 47; Opus 67, p. 60.

²⁹⁸ Pseudo-Cyril of Alexandria, *De Sancta Trinitate*, PG.77.1160.7–8: Θεανθρώπου γὰρ ὑπάρχοντος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ πάσα πράξις αὐτοῦ θεανθρωπικὴ καὶ θεανδρική. Likewise, Anastasius of Sinai, *Viae Dux*, 13.4: οὐ ψιλάνθρωπα εἶχε τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, ἀλλὰ θεάνθρωπα, θεανδρικῶς.

of the two terms. Caesarius makes abundant use of θεανδρικός, whereas he eschews θεάνθρωπος altogether. This only suggests that this work was written after 536, the year when the term θεάνθρωπος was anathematised. Once again, it can be urged that Cassian wrote this work after he had returned to Palestine, indeed during the 540s, while he was the abbot of the monastery of Souka.

The expression θεία πτυκτῆ²⁹⁹ for Scripture is a peculiar one, and has virtually no known parallel prior to the sixth century. It should be noted that it was an infelicitous option by Riedinger to emend πυκτῆ to πτυκτῆ.³⁰⁰ The latter (πτυκτός) means anything that can be ‘folded’—not only a book, but also a ladder or a table.³⁰¹ Gregory of Nazianzus used the term for ‘a small book’.³⁰² Some codices have Caesarius’ word πυκτῆ, which is not too rare a term, since it was used in legal records meaning any ‘document’.³⁰³ The expression θεία πυκτῆ itself can be conveniently found in later writers, hence there was no reason for this to be emended to θεία πτυκτῆ.³⁰⁴

The author is an Antiochene, yet at the same time he is a devout student of Gregory of Nyssa. The work itself follows the pattern of Theodoret’s *Eranistes* and the author has a tendency to produce theological formulations of his own. The character of the work itself also evinces that the author’s aim was neither to expound issues already set forth by previous theologians, nor to controvert current heresies, but to compose a catechetical

²⁹⁹ Unknown to Lampe’s *Patristic Lexicon*, as also the expression θεία πυκτῆ is.

³⁰⁰ It is hard to know whether the sole parallel to Caesarius’ expression θεία πτυκτῆ (which shows also in Peter of Sicily) is also an editorial emendation.

³⁰¹ Cf. Homer, *Ilias*, VI.169: ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῷ. Appianus, *Iberica*, p. 408: κλίμακα φέρων πτυκτῆν.

³⁰² Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistulae Theologicae*, 202: ὅτι μοι πτυκτίον γέγονεν ἐν χερσίν. So he did in his letter that he sent to Theodore of Tyana along with the *Philocalia* of Origen, which he had composed with Basil of Caesarea. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου, πτυκτίον ἀπεστάλακμέν σοι τῆς Ὡριγένους φιλοκαλίας ἐκλογάς. Origen, *Philocalia*, Prologue. This prologue was composed by a later editor (probably Theodore Studites), who used the term himself in this prologue (ἐν πτυκτίῳ & τῷ ῥηθέντι πτυκτίῳ). Gregory of Nazianzus, nevertheless, retained the Homeric expression in his poems, which are generally written in the Homeric dialect: *Carmina Quae Spectant ad Alios*, p. 1539: πτυκτῆσιν ἐνὶ πινάκεσιν.

³⁰³ Cf. πυκτῆ in Justinian, *Novellae*, pp. 787; 788 (at three points). George Gedrenus, *Compendium Historiarum*, v. 1, p. 236. *Lexica Juridica Byzantina*, letter epsilon, lemma 75. In the collection of legal documents (*Basilica*), we have both versions: Cf. πυκτῆ in 22.1.75; 7.18.6 (at two points); 22.1.80; 24.8.32 (ἡ γραφὴ τῆς πυκτῆς). On the other hand, πτυκτῆ in *Basilica, Scholia in Basilicorum Libros I–XI*, 21.1.43.4; 22.3.1.1 (at four points); *Basilica*, 13.1.5; 13.1.17.

³⁰⁴ Cf. Philagathus (or, Philip Cerameus, twelfth century), *Homiliae*, 1.16: ἡ θεία πυκτῆ. 5.2: ἡ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων ἁγία πυκτῆ. 13.19: τὴν σεβασμίαν τῶν εὐαγγελίων πυκτῆν. 30.2: τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν τοῖνον πυκτῆν. Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus, *HE*, 11.42: τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν εὐαγγελίων πυκτῆν.

as well as apologetic account. What prevailed in his mind was not the issues discussed: it was *himself*, indeed to secure himself as a person who is both orthodox and highly erudite. The colloquial language he uses has extremely scarce parallels and, as far as Christian writers are concerned, it is akin to that of Didymus and Cassian alone.³⁰⁵

The author is a very good philologist, his legal learnedness is noteworthy and so is his knowledge of geography including habits of other civilizations. Nevertheless, the conspicuous characteristic of his work is its ascetic temperament. For instance, Caesarius' expression τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον τῆς θεότητος, ('the exactly like divinity [of each Person]')³⁰⁶ indicates that the Father and Son are ontologically on a par. This language is an influence by Gregory of Nyssa, taken up by eminent writers. Whether an epistle ascribed to Basil of Caesarea is indeed his own or not, is beyond my present scope. I have suggested that this collection of epistles calls for serious redaction and probably re-attribution of some of them.³⁰⁷ This was anyway the language of Ephesus.³⁰⁸ Besides, Caesarius used the term at the same point where he meant

³⁰⁵ Philological analysis of this work reveals a remarkable similarity with conspicuous works, yet spurious ones, such as the following: Pseudo-Justin, *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos*; the Pseudo-Clementine writings, as well as the ones under the collective designation *Adversus Judaeos* (anonyma); Pseudo-Basil of Seleucia, *De Vita et Miraculis Sanctae Theclae Librii ii*, as well as others, discussion on which I postpone until a later work of mine.

³⁰⁶ Caesarius, *QR*, 3 (lines 11 & 63).

³⁰⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *Ad Eustathium De Sancta Trinitate*, v. 3,1, p. 13 & Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae*, 189.7: οὐκοῦν ἡ τῆς ἐνεργείας ταυτότης ἐπὶ πατρός τε καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος δεικνυσι σαφῶς τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀπαράλλακτον· ὥστε, κὰν φύσιν σημαίνῃ τὸ τῆς θεότητος ὄνομα, κυρίως καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐφαρμόζεσθαι ταύτην. Basil of Caesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto*, 18.45: τῷ ἀπαράλλακτῳ τῆς θεότητος. *Contra Sabellianos et Arium et Anomoeos*, PG.31.601.41: τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον τῆς θεότητος. Pseudo-Basil of Seleucia, *De Vita et Miraculis Sanctae Theclae Librii ii*, 1.13: τῆς ἐν Τριάδι θεότητος τὸ ἀπαράλλακτόν τε καὶ ἰσοδύναμον καὶ ἰσοστάσιον, τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Παιδὸς τὸ μυστήριον. *Op. cit.* 1.26: Τὸ ἰσοστάσιον καὶ ἀπαράλλακτον καὶ ὁμόδοξον τῆς ἐν Τριάδι θεότητος ἔγνω διὰ σοῦ. Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, v. 3, p. 343: καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ταυτὸν μὲν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς θεότητι καὶ ἄξιᾳ καὶ ἴσος διὰ τῆς ἀληθινῆς εἰκόνης καὶ ὁμοιώσεως οὐ παρηλλαγμένης, ἀλλ' ἀπαράλλακτου. Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannem*, v. 1, p. 338: ὡς διὰ τῆς οὐσιώδους καὶ ἀπαράλλακτου ταυτότητος, εἰς ἓνα θεότητος ἀναφερομένης λόγον τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος. *Op. cit.* p. 352: καὶ οὐσιωδῶς ἀνατρέχει πρὸς μίαν αὐτῷ θεότητα διὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀπαράλλακτον. *Op. cit.* p. 724: καὶ μία θεότης, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως ἀπαράλλακτος ἐξουσία τε καὶ δύναμις. *De Sancta Trinitate Dialogi I–VII*, p. 529: διὰ τὸ ταυτὸν εἰς οὐσίαν καὶ ἀπαράλλακτως ἴσον εἰς μίαν θεότητος ἀνακομίζοντος φύσιν. *Quod Unus Sit Christus*, p. 770: καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγέννηται κατὰ φύσιν, τὸ ἀπαράλλακτως ἔχει πρὸς πᾶν ὅτιοῦν, καὶ τῇ τῆς θεότητος ἐναβρύνεσθαι δόξῃ.

³⁰⁸ ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum anno 431*, 1,1,6, p. 148: Πῶς δὲ ἡ μετὰ χρόνον σάρξ ὁμοούσιος ἂν λέγοιτο τῆς ἀχρόνου θεότητος; ὁμοούσιον γὰρ λέγεται τὸ ταυτὸν τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ αἰδιότητι ἀπαράλλακτως.

to emphasize that the Father and Son are 'equally powerful' (ἰσοσθενές).³⁰⁹ This is a clear influence by Cyril of Alexandria,³¹⁰ since neither the Cappadocians nor anyone of the just cited authors did ever entertain the specific term, which had been used also at Ephesus.³¹¹

Besides, a specific description of the Trinity,³¹² with an overdose of the prepositions ἐν- and συν- as a prefix to exalting epithets applied to the Trinity, is virtually a loan from Epiphanius,³¹³ with no other parallel whatsoever.

With regard to chronologies, the reader will be surprised at Caesarius being so inaccurate, despite the erudition he endeavours to show off.

In chapter 30, he refers to 'Job and Isaiah' who 'spoke before a thousand years'. It is known however that Isaiah flourished in c. 759–700 BC and the book of Job was written after 722 BC. This means that we should place Caesarius in the period c. 300, which is out of the question. Therefore, we should consider two alternatives. Either Caesarius was not aware of when Isaiah actually flourished, which is highly unlikely for an author of such impressive learnedness; or, his aim is to persuade that he is actually the brother of Gregory of Nazianzus; or, he wrote about Isaiah having in mind references by another author. This is the possibility I am sustaining, since I have in mind Cyril of Jerusalem (315–386),³¹⁴ who lived in the same region as Caesarius/Cassian did. Theodoret was even more accurate: Isaiah lived 'a thousand

³⁰⁹ So in *De Trinitate*. See discussion in Appendix II.

³¹⁰ Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannem*, v. 1, pp. 167; 168; 317; 319; 334; 350; 352; 353; v. 2, pp. 453; 456; 470; 700; *De Sancta Trinitate Dialogi I–VII*, pp. 493; 516; 523; 565; 578; 618; 620; 622; 644; 657; *Epistulae Paschales sive Homiliae Paschales* (epist. 1–30), PG.77: 704.41; 737.38; 773.26; 901.35; *expPs*, PG.69.1073.47; *Commentarius in Isaiam Prophetam*, PG.70: 581.43; 804.30; 829.6; 1445.24.

³¹¹ Op. cit. 1,17, p. 52.

³¹² Caesarius, *QR*, 3: τρία γὰρ ὑπάρχει ἀεί, τρία συνάγια, τρία ξυνάναρχα, τρία ἐνπρακτα τρία σύνπρακτα, τρία ἐνμορφα τρία σύνμορφα, τρία ἐνεργά τρία συνεργά, τρία ἐνυπόστατα τρία συνυπόστατα, οὐ μεταβαλλόμενα καὶ μεταχροῦντα ἢ μιγνύμενα εἰς ἄλλα.

³¹³ Epiphanius of Salamis, *Ancoratus*, 67.4 & *Panarion*, v. 3, p. 318: τρία ἅγια τρία συνάγια, τρία ὑπαρκτά τρία συνύπαρκτα, τρία ἔμμορφα τρία σύμμορφα, τρία ἐνεργά τρία συνεργά, τρία ἐνυπόστατα τρία συνυπόστατα ἀλλήλοις συνόντα· τριάς αὕτη ἅγια καλεῖται, τρία ὄντα, μία συμφωνία, μία θεότης τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας, τῆς αὐτῆς θεότητος, τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποστάσεως, ὁμοία ἐξ ὁμοίου, ἰσότης χάριτος ἐργαζομένη πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος. Striking though this virtual quotation from Epiphanius is, it was not noticed by editor Riedinger.

³¹⁴ Cf. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses ad Illuminandos 1–18*, Catechesis 12.5: ἀλλ' ἐάν μὴ προφητῶν περὶ ἐκάστου πράγματος δέξῃ μαρτυρίαν, μὴ πίστευε τοῖς λεγομένοις. ἐάν μὴ καὶ περὶ τῆς παρθένου καὶ τοῦ τόπου καὶ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τοῦ τρόπου μάθῃς ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν, μὴ παραδῇ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου μαρτυρίαν. τὸν μὲν γὰρ παρόντα καὶ διδάσκοντα δυνατόν ἐστιν καὶ ὑποπτεῦσαι, τὸν δὲ πρὸ χιλίων καὶ πλείονων ἐτῶν προφητεύσαντα τίς ὑποπτεῦσει νοῦν ἔχων; Catechesis 16.18: Ἡσαΐας ἐτῶν ἐγγὺς ἦν πρὸ χιλίων, καὶ ἐβλεπεν ὡς σκηνὴν τὴν Σιών.

years before the reign of Constantine'.³¹⁵ I believe, therefore, that Caesarius wrote this reference having in mind Theodoret, who was anyway the hero of any Antioch-minded theologian. At the same time, however, it should be noticed that no writer other than Eusebius did make so much of Job 38:16 (which Caesarius quotes), to be followed by Cyril of Alexandria and the writer of the *Adversus Judaeos* (whom I surmise to be Casian/Caesarius).³¹⁶ The portion is taken to predict the death and resurrection of Christ. The authors who evidently instructed the Antiochene Caesarius on this scriptural instance, of which Christian literature made little, are the supposed counterparts of Antioch: the 'Origenist' Eusebius and the Alexandrian Cyril.³¹⁷ This is what I have styled 'Christian universalism',³¹⁸ the meaning that the Akoimetoι were by no means shy to draw on any stream of Christian authorship of the past that might serve to their own exposition.

It is noteworthy, nevertheless, that Caesarius has a predilection for the expression 'five hundred years before' (πρὸ πεντακοσίων ἐτῶν), which results in egregious errors of fact. In chapters 106 and 127, it is Isaiah who is said to have spoken about Jesus (Isaiah 9:5) 'five hundred years before'. The same pronouncement is said to have been voiced by the prophet 'five hundred years before and more', in chapter 187. Again, in chapter 201, the words of Isaiah 11:6 were allegedly pronounced 'five hundred years before'. In chapter 133, Jeremiah (c. 650–586 BC) is said to have uttered what is said in Jer. 17:9 'five hundred years before and more'. In chapter 122, David is said to have written the portion of Psalm 117:26 'five hundred years before', although David flourished in c. 1012–972 BC. Yet in chapter 14, he is supposed to have written Psalm 50:8 'a thousand years before'. According to chapter 203, Moses lived 'a thousand years' before Christ was born. Finally,

³¹⁵ Theodoret (referring to Isaiah 17:7), *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio*, 10.60: Ταῦτα πρὸ πλείονων ἢ χιλίων ἐτῶν τῆς Κωνσταντίνου βασιλείας προηγόρευσεν ὁ προφήτης, μεθ' ἣν τὰ τῶν δαιμόνων κατελύθη τεμένη.

³¹⁶ In the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, I have explored the relevance of the anonymous *Dissertatio Contra Judaeos* with Scholia IV, XXIX, XXXI and XXXVI. This text was in all probability produced at the monastery of the Akoimetoι, which makes natural for the author to apply the term θεανδρικός as some points. Cf. Scripta Anonyma Adversus Judaeos, *Dissertatio Contra Judaeos*, 4 (line 748): τὴν τοῦ θεανδρικοῦ πάτος παιδὸς ἀπόρρητον γέννησιν. 5 (line 15): ἐπὶ τῇ λειτουργίᾳ τῶν τῷ θεανδρικοῦ πάτος παιδὶ καθηκόντων. 6 (line 295): τὴν θεανδρικὴν γέννησιν προκαταγγέλων ὁ προφήτης. 7 (line 472): τοῦ θεανδρικοῦ πάτος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος. 10 (line 104): τὸν θεανδρικότατον Ἰησοῦ καὶ σωτῆρα Χριστόν. 12 (line 236): πρὸ τοῦ θεανδρικοῦ τόκου.

³¹⁷ Eusebius, *DE*, 5.20.3; 5.20.5; 5.20.8; 9.12.5; *De Ecclesiastica Theologia*, 3.3.16; 3.3.25; *Generalis Elementaria Introductio (Eclogae Propheticae)*, p. 108; *commPs*, PG.23: 705.3f. & 21f.; 728.16f; 785. 48f. Cyril of Alexandria, *GlaphPent*, PG.69.931f.; *expPs*, PG.69: 115327f.; 1161.34f. Also, in the *Anonymous Dialogus Cum Judaeis*, 10, lines 333f.

³¹⁸ *RCR*, pp. 6–7.

in chapter 187, an implicit reference to prophet Zachariah³¹⁹ supposes him to have lived 'more than five hundred years before', although Zachariah flourished in c. 520–518 BC.

All of these references only tell us that we cannot rely on them in order to date this work. The author is prone to either the notion of 'five hundred' or 'a thousand' years, while caring little about historical accuracy, which is there only by mere coincidence. Perhaps the sole exception is a reference to the Huns, who flooded Europe in the winter of 394–395, after they had crossed river Danube.³²⁰

History

Given that in a Local Synod only clerics who happened to sojourn in the city could take part,³²¹ the question is why was Cassian living in Constantinople, so as to be able to attend the Local Synod of 536. His identification with Caesarius casts new light on surrounding events. The header of Caesarius' work claims that he was 'kept teaching in Constantinople for twenty years', but the period of six years attested by other manuscripts is more realistic to allow.³²² Cassian knew that Caesarius was the brother of Gregory of Nazianzus, but he was not necessarily aware of Gregory's funeral homily written in honour of his deceased brother. As early as sixteenth century, Jacques de Billy, in his edition of Gregory's funerary oration, noticed that there was an egregious incongruence between the data listed in the title of the *Erotapokriseis* and the real historical data concerning Caesarius. This discrepancy was the basis for him to dispute the attribution of that work.³²³

³¹⁹ Zach. 13:6.

³²⁰ Caesarius, *QR*, 67: χειμῶνος πηγνυμένου καὶ εἰς λιθῶδη ἀντιτυπίαν μεθιατεμένης τῆς μαλακῆς τοῦ ρείθρου φύσεως, ὥς οἶαν τε ἐπιφέρειν ἐπιπορευομένων πολεμίων καὶ πρὸς τὰ Ῥωμαίων Ἰλλυρία τε καὶ Θράκηια μέρη διαφοιτούντων πλήθος.

³²¹ Cf. Justinian enjoining Patriarch Menas to convene the Local Synod of 543, *Edictum Contra Origenem*, pp. 104: συναγαγεῖν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐνδημοῦντας κατὰ ταύτην τὴν βασιλίδαν πόλιν ὁσιωτάτους ἐπίσκοπους καὶ τοὺς θεοφιλεστάτους τῶν ἐνταῦθα εὐαγῶν μοναστηρίων ἡγουμένους.

³²² Otto Seeck, lemma On Caesarius, in Pauly—Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, Stuttgart 1897, v. 3.1, cols. 1298/1300. col. 1299.

³²³ Jaques de Billy, *D. Gregorii Nazianzeni, cognomento Theologi opera omnia quae extant*, Paris 1583 [2nd edition: Paris, Morel, 1630], col. 546C–547C: "thus he [Pseudo-Caesarius] changes the *quaestor* into a secretary and the physician into a theologian, by means of novel and very strange metamorphosis. He would have not done so, had he ever had even for once read this oration [by Nazianzen]. For in this oration he could have seen how far it was from truth to suppose that Caesarius taught publicly for twenty years in the city of Constantinople". According to De Billy, the explanation for the real author to have written

The historical reality behind all this is, according to my suggestion, Cassian's stay in Constantinople during the period 533–539, where he joined the monastery of the Akoimetoι.

It should be recalled that Cassian was appointed abbot of the Laura of Sabas at the recommendation of Patriarch Peter of Jerusalem, in 547, which means that he was not an ordinary monk. He was a respected and renowned theologian, which is why both he represented the Laura at the Local Synod of 536 and he was respectfully mentioned by later Christian authors. His position and powerful friends in the capital made it possible for him to found a new monastery in his native city Scythopolis (the Zougga monastery), according to the testimony of his compatriot Cyril of Scythopolis.³²⁴

If indeed Cassian remained teaching in the capital for twenty years, it would be reckoned that this was the period 519–539. For in 539 he was appointed abbot of the monastery of Souka, where he remained until October 547, when he was appointed abbot of the Laura of Sabas to remain in the post only for ten months until his death, on the 20th of July 548. However, it is more plausible that he remained there for six years, which is indicated by another manuscript, which is the possibility I endorse. For it would be unlikely for a monk of the Great Laura to have remained in the monastery of Akoimetoι in Constantinople for twenty years, and yet in 536 to style himself 'monk and presbyter of the Laura of Sabas', indeed in the presence of other Akoimetoι also taking part in the Synod of 536. Six years of sojourn would be a relatively short period to justify his presence with the Akoimetoι as an Antiochene visitor from Palestine, a region with which the Akoimetoι maintained strong association.

Cassian's personal problems must have started precisely after the year 536, at the time, that is, when Justinian shifted his policy not only against the Monophysites, but also against any theological dissention bearing to the present, no matter how old this was. Which means that Nestorianism, Arianism, and alleged Origenism were targeted, too. His (sixth-century)-Origenistic tones were a praise rather than taint to him, at least in the eyes of such friends of his as Leontius, Theodore Askidas, and Domitian. But the clouds gathering after 536 were too heavy for him to do away with such views.

in title the incredible information on Caesarius' twenty years teaching in Constantinople is the author's ignorance of Gregory's funerary homily.

³²⁴ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 196: καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ζουγγᾶ λεγομένην μονὴν ἐν Σκυθοπόλει συστησάμενον.

The staged ‘interrogation’ he supposedly underwent under the name Caesarius must have been his attempt to exonerate himself. As already noted, later chroniclers refer to this work as if an actual public conference had taken place and Caesarius had replied to questions posed to him in public by the persons named in the title of the treatise. However, there is considerable confusion surrounding this person, which has not simply to do with his fake name.

First, the Suda lexicon made Caesarius a lemma, asserting that he was the brother of Gregory the Theologian and ‘wrote various works, as well as a treatise Against the Greeks’ (Κατὰ Ἑλλήνων).³²⁵ Nothing would be more unlikely than this, given the fact that, during the reign of Julian the Apostate, the real Caesarius served under the emperor being on the best of terms with him while giving scandal to his entire family.³²⁶

Codex 210 of Photius’ *Bibliotheca* has a review of a work by Caesarius, which has to be the present one. Photius nevertheless writes that the book has two hundred and twenty chapters.³²⁷ Although the author, so Photius says, was erudite in both Christian and pagan wisdom, he appeared to be too audacious, meaning that he was too pompous in regard to showing-off of learnedness. He was a person who needed to curb his instinctive fondness of boldness (δεῖσθαι ὁμῶς οὐκ ἐλαχίστων εἰς τὸ μὴ καταισχύνειν τὰς ὀρμάς). Although Caesarius’ statements are clear, he is all too prone to using rare poetic words, some of which are of his own making (πρὸς ποιητικὰς ἐκνευτερίζει λέξεις) and an extravagant syntax, and at points he falls a little short of the accuracy of Christian doctrine (καὶ πρὸς τὴν δογμάτων ἀκρίβειαν οὐκ ὀλίγων δεῖ).

Then Photius comes to the crucial point. He does not actually believe that the scenery staging these questions and replies was an event which actually took place sometime in the past. Rather, Photius believes, it was the author’s choosing to write his views in this specific literary genre, namely, in the form of questions and responses (εἰς ἐρωτήσεις δὲ καὶ ἀποκρίσεις μεθ’ ὑποβολῆς προσώπων τὸ τοῦ λόγου σχῆμα πεποιήται). Photius left his last point for the end of his review, clearly suggesting his disbelief in the hearsay that this person was the brother of Gregory. “And they say that this writer is the brother of Gregory, the one surnamed theologos” (εἶναι δὲ φασὶ Γρηγορίου, οὗ τὸ θεολόγος ἐπώνυμον, τὸν συγγραφέα ἀδελφόν).³²⁸

³²⁵ Suda, *Lexicon*, alphabetic letter kappa, entry 1202.

³²⁶ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistulae*, 7.

³²⁷ The Migne-edition has ‘Four Dialogues’: Dialogue I: chs. 1–100; Dialogue II: chs. 101–114; Dialogue III: chs. 115–179; Dialogue IV: chs. 180–197. The R. Riedinger-edition comprises 218 continuous questions and responses.

³²⁸ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 210, p. 168b. See full text of this review, in *RCR*, Appendix III.

Hardly could anyone furnish a more accurate account of both the person and work of Caesarius than the one composed by Photius. All the points (which happen to be mine, too) are there: the author is too much of an exhibitionist and grandiloquent, his style is far too ostentatious, he picks up extremely rare poetical words and puts them studiously here and there into his text. His statements of Christian doctrine fall short of being flawless. Certainly he was not the brother of Gregory. What I should only add is that this author wrote this treatise while being in panic terror at his past Origenistic accounts. Caesarius wrote in a didactic style combined with too much exhibition of academic turgidity. Although Photius wrote his review in the ninth century, the twelfth-century historian Michael Glycas (indeed a polymath: theologian, mathematician, astronomer, poet) takes it for granted that Caesarius was the brother of Gregory of Nazianzus.³²⁹ So did earlier chroniclers, but none of them is earlier than Photius.³³⁰

Besides, compilers of *catenae* also took Caesarius to be the brother of Gregory, or so they style him. But this is not the main point of confusion there. For the attributions made to Caesarius are portions also ascribed to other authors at the same time, which suggests uncertainty surrounding not only the person, but also the writings of Caesarius. For instance, a comment on Rom. 7:9 is attributed to both Gennadius I, Patriarch of Constantinople (fifth century)³³¹ and Caesarius.³³² Likewise, a comment of Rom. 7:9 is ascribed to Acacius of Caesarea (fourth century)³³³ and to Caesarius.³³⁴ This is in fact a portion from Caesarius' *Quaestiones et Responsiones*, chapter 121, which he quoted from Acacius' work,³³⁵ but Caesarius did not mention his source. Furthermore, the sixth-century scholar and theologian John Grammaticus ascribes a passage commenting on John 17:5 to John Chrysostom.³³⁶ The same comment is ascribed to Caesarius, too.³³⁷

³²⁹ Michael Glycas, *Quaestiones in Sacram Scripturam* (Cap. 41–98), 55, p. 11. *Annales*, p. 153. At this latter point Glycas quotes from Caesarius' *QR*, 60.

³³⁰ George Monachus, *Chronicon* (lib. 1–4), pp. 35; 448. George Cedrenus, *Compendium Historiarum*, v. 1, pp. 269; 435.

³³¹ Catenae (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Epistulam ad Romanos* (typus Vaticanus) (e cod. Oxon. Bodl. Auct. E. 2.20 [Misc. 48]), p. 93.

³³² Op. cit. *Catena in Epistulam ad Romanos* (typus Monacensis) (e cod. Monac. gr. 412), p. 176.

³³³ Cf. Acacius of Caesarea, *Fragmenta in Epistulam ad Romanos*, p. 54.

³³⁴ Catenae (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Epistulam ad Romanos* (typus Monacensis) (e cod. Monac. gr. 412), p. 176.

³³⁵ See *infra*, p. 437.

³³⁶ John Grammaticus, *Adversus Aphthartodocetas*, 11, lines 146–152.

³³⁷ Catenae (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Joannem* (catena integra) (e codd. Paris. Coislin. 23 + Oxon. Bodl. Auct. T.1.4), p. 370.

Following these introductory remarks, I am now coming to discussing Cassian being identified with Caesarius.

Cassian/Caesarius

No matter what the vicissitudes and shifts in Cassian's life, he remained a monk whose words extend throughout his identified writings as well as those of Caesarius. The commencement of the latter's treatise is the self-same one as the opening of his admonition addressed to a novice upon his consecration and admission to the monastery: the supreme concern should be to cherish an 'ear of God' into one's heart. He should practice 'discretion' (διάκρισις, which is a pivotal notion in Cassian's work) and to maintain within himself only 'the best of thoughts' (λογισμός, the second cardinal notion in Cassian).³³⁸ 'Renunciation' is nothing else than regarding oneself as having been 'crucified to the world'. While living in the monastery, one should preserve oneself 'deaf' to any abuse against him.³³⁹ We have the self-same person speaking and setting forth his cardinal priorities, which should be priorities for his spiritual sons, too.

The emperor's edict (of which only the signature was the fruit of his own pen) casts an entirely new light on Cassian's texts. He realized in panic terror that some of the doctrines, which the emperor (indeed the abbot and leading monks of his own Laura) excoriated so vehemently, were present in his writings. Terrified as he was, he set out to write a tract defending his loyalty on the question of Theology, which has been heretofore known

³³⁸ Caesarius, *QR*, 1: 'Ἀρχὴ γὰρ σοφίας φόβος Κυρίου, φησὶν Δαυὶδ ὁ τῶν θείων μελωδός. καλὸν γὰρ τὸ σιωπᾶν διακρίσει καὶ λογισμῷ κρείττονι καὶ οἶονεὶ κωφὸν καὶ ἐσταυρωμένον ὑπάρχειν τῷ κόσμῳ.

³³⁹ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 18^v: Πρώτος βαθμὸς ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας καὶ ἀσφαλείας ὁ φόβος ἐστὶν τοῦ Κυρίου. *Op. cit.* pp. 21^v–22^r: 'Ἀρχὴ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐστὶν σωτηρίας ὁ φόβος τοῦ Θεοῦ. *Op. cit.* p. 20^r: 'Ὅσα τοίνυν βλέπεις ἀλλότρια οἰκοδομῆς καὶ ὠφελείας, ὡς τυφλὸς γενοῦ, καὶ ὅσα ἀκούεις, ὡς κωφὸς καὶ ἄλλως, καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ἐν τῷ στόματι ἑλεγμούς. Καὶ μὴ μιμῆση τούτους, ὅσοι ἄπιστοι, καὶ ἀνήκοοι, καὶ προπετεῖς, καὶ ὕβρισται, καὶ συρφετοὶ τυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς κωφὸς καὶ μὴ ἀκούων ταῦτα παραπέμπου. *Op. cit.* p. 20^v–21^r: 'Ἐάν σοί τις ἐλέγχους, ἢ ὀνειδῆ, ἢ ὕβρεις ἐπιπέμῃ, ἀκίνητος ἔσο ὡς πεφιμωμένος καὶ ἀλλως, αἶε τὸν στίχον τοῦτον τοῦ ψαλμοῦ ἐαυτῷ ἐπιλέγων· Εἴπα, Φυλάξω τὰς ὁδούς μου, τοῦ μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν με ἐν γλώσσῃ μου. Ἐθέμην τῷ στόματί μου φυλακὴν, ἐν τῷ συστῆναι τὸν ἁμαρτωλὸν ἐναντίον μου. *Op. cit.* p. 16^r: 'Ἡ ἀποταγὴ οὐδὲν ἄλλο καθέστηκεν εἰ μὴ σταυροῦ καὶ θανάτου ἐπαγγελία. Πίνωσκε τοίνυν ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας τεθνηκέαι σε καὶ σταυροῦσθαι τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ τὸν κόσμον σοι, κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον· καὶ καταμάνθανε τίς ἡ δύναμις τῆς σταυρώσεως· ἐπειδὴ οὐκέτι λοιπὸν σὺ ζῆς, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ἐν σοὶ ζῇ, ὁ ὑπὲρ σοῦ σταυρωθεὶς. Τούτῳ τοίνυν τῷ τύπῳ καὶ τῷ σχήματι, ᾧ ὁ δεσπότης ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ ἐκρεμάσθη, καὶ ἡμᾶς ὁμοίως ἐπάναγκές ἐστίν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βίῳ διάγειν.

as Pseudo-Didymus' *De Trinitate*. Following this, he wrote a profession of (imperial and Sabaite) faith under the name of 'Caesarius', the brother of Gregory of Nazianzus.

Why did Cassian choose to disguise himself under the name 'Caesarius' is not easy to guess. Given his thorough admiration for Gregory of Nyssa, he might have wished to present himself as a 'Cappadocian', that is, orthodox. Otherwise, he might have considered himself a younger 'brother' of Gregory of Nazianzus in the sense that, philologically, this work stands in the same relation to the rest of Cassian's works (including spurious ones) as Nazianzen's *Carmina* (with their plain Homeric language) stand to the rest of the Theologian's works. In other words, both are prone to extravagance of expression in the specific works (Cassian, in *De Trinitate*, too).

The 'book of Cassian' is a companion including text that was written during various periods: since early times when Bishop Castor was alive, until later when Leontius was an abbot. The book also records Cassian's own Scholia on the Apocalypse, which draw heavily on Origen, Didymus, Evagrius, besides Theodoret and a long series of Greek authors. The commentary on Revelation by Didymus was no doubt a cherished companion of Cassian. These names, along with others, such as Theodore of Mopsuestia and Diodore of Tarsus, were all but popular at the time. This is why this part of Cassian's Book is the sole one with no name of the author on the header of the Scholia. This work was composed at a time when it was dangerous for him to identify his sources. Otherwise, Cassian could have proudly placed his name on the top in the same manner as he did for the rest of his products in the same book. The absence of name is indicative of his ambivalence: on the one hand, this companion allowed for easy and immediate access to his own text. On the other, he did not wish to divulge the names of the authors of whom he availed himself, since it was too dangerous to do so.

At the time when Cassian wrote under the name of 'Caesarius', he could hardly afford the luxury of drawing on 'dangerous' authors as he had done with the Scholia on the Apocalypse. Now he took refuge in the uncontested champions of orthodoxy. The first 'Question' of the *Quaestiones et Responsiones* is an expression of how apprehensive he was, proposing to acquit himself of the stigma of Origenism—but just about so. As already mentioned, the introduction to this text is simply a duplicate (slightly, but demonstratively, paraphrased at points) of Epiphanius of Salamis' opening text of *Ancoratus*.

The words he borrowed from Epiphanius fit, and are quite telling of, his experience: so long as the sea is calm, travelers care little about things around them. But once a strong wind begins to rage and man falls into

dizziness, he realizes that his own life is in danger, even though only a short while ago he thought he was safe and felt no fear at all. Once such a menace appears, the traveler looks for a safe place to take refuge in, since the only thing he has in mind is his own salvation. Now, when 'those who have come close to this' salvation and 'have taken refuge in the safety of a cape, are delivered from death', they offer thanksgiving praise to God, the Saviour of all men.

This is how this work is introduced. A recently relieved, yet still stressed, Cassian puts these words in the mouths of the disciples who are supposed to be his interlocutors posing questions and asking him to offer them his divine wisdom. Although this stage of the work is placed in the capital, by the end of the work the author reveals something of his identity. In the 'reply' to the last Question, he seems to have been oblivious of the more or less short answers he produced during the 'discussion'. This conclusive part is an extensive treatise of several pages designed to prove that the Jews, who believe that the destroyed Jerusalem will some day be restored by and for themselves, cherish vain hopes. He says that he himself and his countrymen are witnesses to the destruction Jerusalem suffered. For the long-destroyed city is *his* city: καὶ μάρτυρες ἡμεῖς καὶ πάντες οἱ τῆς ἑώρας· ἐφ' ἡμῶν γὰρ ἐτολμήθη τὰ εἰκαῖα τοῦ Ἑλλήνος· καὶ μένουσιν μέχρι τήμερον τῆς ἐκείνων θεομαχίας κατήγοροι τὰ θεμέλια μέχρι καὶ ἐνὸς λίθου ἐξορυχθέντα.³⁴⁰ He boasts that he knows the ruins of Jerusalem first-hand, he is an eyewitness to this, since the place happens to be his own country. It is not only himself who knows of the remains of this destruction, but also 'all the people of the East' (πάντες οἱ τῆς ἑώρας). This bespeaks the 'diocese of the East', which encompassed the whole region, with Antioch being the capital city. Forgotten are both Cappadocia and Constantinople, and the impossibility of the real Caesarius (c. 335–369) being a first-hand witness to the ruins of Jerusalem from the patrimonial estates where he must have lived almost one hundred and fifty years before this alleged 'dialogue' actually took place.

Although the dialogue is supposed to take place in the capital city of the empire, the author appears remarkably aware of detailed encyclopedic information,³⁴¹ as well as of Jewish religious practices. Chapter 96

³⁴⁰ Op. cit. 218.

³⁴¹ In chapter 146 (p. 131), editor R. Riedinger did not realize that the MS-word μυριάδρω does not suggest 'a town of ten thousand people', but this is the proper name of the Syrian town called Μυρίανδρος. Cf. Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica*, p. 463. He says that this is a town of Syria, close to Phoenice, adding that Xenophon mentioned in Book I of his *Anabasis*

provides significant information about specific Jewish feast-days and relevant practices. Furthermore, the author speaks in a manner denoting Palestine as his *permanent* residence. The work is couched in a vocabulary suggesting that he is a native of Palestine, who delivers his teaching while temporarily away from his country.

᾽Ωσαύτως Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ, ὁ τούτου διάδοχος, τὸ πολυθρύλλητον Ἰωάννου ρεῖθρον διαστήσας, τὸν αὐτὸν διάγει λαόν· δώδεκα λίθους ἐκ τῆς κρηπίδος τοῦ ρεύματος³⁴² ἀνελέσθαι τῷ λαῷ διαταξάμενος· οὓς ὀρώμεν μέχρι τήμερον οἱ ἐκεῖ φοιτῶντες.³⁴³

‘We who live in that region’, Caesarius says. He speaks of Palestine as being his own country. Nevertheless, he refers to it as being *there* (ἐκεῖ), not ‘here’ (which should be ἐνθάδε), since he is supposed to say this while being and delivering this account in Constantinople. Furthermore, he is so familiar with the region of Jerusalem that he goes as far as to report an evidently local hearsay: the name ‘Jerusalem’ came from that of a man called Σώλυμος, who had pronounced an oracle predicting that the city should become a holy one some day.³⁴⁴

Moreover, he refers to Cappadocia as a place located in ‘the north climate’ (τὸ βόρειον κλίμα),³⁴⁵ which suggests that the author’s region was located south of Cappadocia. This is of course correct to say about Palestine, but to the author Cappadocia was a legendary notion and dream, rather than a geographical location. He was raised as a spiritual son of St Sabas, who was from Cappadocia, as was Sabas’ close friend, Theodosius the Coenobiarch. Cassian’s childhood must have been nourished with narratives about Sabas’ native country, which was located far north. To Cassian/Caesarius, Cappadocia was the land of Gregory of Nyssa and the land which had nourished his saintly father Sabas.

For all his professed hostility to Origen, which seems somewhat ostentatious, some concealed facts can be brought to light. In chapter 121, he refers to Rom. 7:9, arguing that although the statement is made by Paul in

(Cf. 1.4.6). Furthermore, Arrianus refers to the city and the ‘bay of Myriandrus’ (Μυριανδρικὸς κόλπος). Cf. Arrianus, *Alexandri Anabasis*, 2.6.2. Aelius Herodianus makes the same reference speaking of Xenophon (mistaking the name, instead of Arrianus): *De Prosodia Catholica*, v. 3,1; p. 205. Hippolytus mentions the town in his *Chronicon*, with some details about its location (but the question is: *who* this Hippolytus was really? which I leave moot at present). 402; 409; 410. Strabo mentions this town, too: *Geographica*, 14.5.19.

³⁴² The expression ἐκ τῆς κρηπίδος τοῦ ρεύματος suggests river Jordan.

³⁴³ Caesarius, *QR*, 183. Italics mine: ‘which [stones] we, who live there, still see’.

³⁴⁴ Op. cit. 118, lines 569–570.

³⁴⁵ Op. cit. 98.

first person, it is actually Adam who says it. The reply by Caesarius actually refers to the question asked in chapter 121, notably, 'how many days did Adam remain in Paradise'—was it 'six' or 'forty' days? Caesarius replies that he accepts both the 'six days' and the 'forty days' resolution, since he had heard of them both 'by the teaching of some not insignificant elders, which has reached us, and which I embrace' (τὸν ἕκ τινων οὐκ ἀσήμων γερόντων εἰς ἡμᾶς διαφοιτήσαντα περὶ τούτου λόγον μᾶλλον ἀποδέχομαι). His reference to 'elders of note' points definitely to Methodius of Olympus, who sustained that Adam remained in Paradise for six days.³⁴⁶ As for the 'forty days', the apocryphon *Acta Philippi* relates that God kept Philip for forty days out of paradise before granting him access.³⁴⁷ However, the main idea is that Rom. 7:8 actually points to Adam, not to Paul. This also Caesarius says he learnt from 'elders of note'. The idea of 'living without law', a main point made by Cassian³⁴⁸ and associated with the primeval life of Adam, appears in some authors, including Epiphanius of Salamis,³⁴⁹ Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Theodoret.³⁵⁰ I would have identified also the significant 'elders' with the foregoing names, but I came across an author who is not so famous. This is Acacius of Caesarea, the eminent Eusebian, who succeeded Eusebius himself in Caesarea in 340, and died in 365. The text of Caesarius³⁵¹ is a plain copy of a passage from Acacius' commentary on the epistle to the Romans.³⁵² Our author writes having in front of him a text by Acacius and no doubt he knew who this Eusebian actually was. Besides though, the same exegesis is attributed to Gennadius of Gabala, whose thought plays a significant role in the Scholia on the Apocalypse. For indeed the selfsame analysis that applies the same exegesis on Rom. 7:9, appears in two different catenae under two different names. In one of them, the exegesis is ascribed to Caesarius.³⁵³ In the other catena, the same text is attributed to Gennadius of Gabala.³⁵⁴

³⁴⁶ Methodius of Olympus, *Symposium sive Convivium Decem Virginum*, Oration 7.5: ἐμμένητο γὰρ ὅπως ἐν ἑξ ἡμέραις ὁ Θεὸς ἐτεκτὴνατο τὴν κτίσιν, τὰ τε ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ γεγνότα. The portion is quoted also by Photius reviewing Methodius, in *Bibliotheca*, Codex 237, p. 310b.

³⁴⁷ *Acta Philippi*, 137; 139. Cf. the story reproduced by Michael Glycas, *Annales*, p. 156.

³⁴⁸ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 114^r–116^r.

³⁴⁹ Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, v. 2, pp. 476; 486.

³⁵⁰ Theodoret, *intPaulXIV*, PG.80.117.40 f. Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Fragmenta in Epistulam ad Romanos*, p. 128. Gennadius I, Patriarch of Constantinople (fifth century), *Fragmenta in Epistulam ad Romanos*, p. 370.

³⁵¹ Caesarius, *QR*, 121, lines 41–48.

³⁵² Acacius of Caesarea, *Fragmenta in Epistulam ad Romanos*, p. 54.

³⁵³ Catenae (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Epistulam ad Romanos* (*typus Monacensis*) (*e cod. Monac. gr. 412*), p. 176, ascribed to Caesarius.

³⁵⁴ Cf. the selfsame text in Catenae (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Epistulam ad Romanos* (*typus Vaticanus*) (*e cod. Oxon. Bodl. Auct. E. 2.20 [Misc. 48]*), p. 93, ascribed to Gennadius.

Cassian was well trained in the literary style of dialogue, which he had practised in the staged conferences with the ancient hermits. Hence, he set out to prove his faith was orthodox and clear of all stain of heresy, as well as to show-off his erudition. His knowledge of the laws governing alien civilizations is impressive. His philological skill is hard to match: he couches his syllogisms in terms which do not fall under the domain of either the Antiochene or Alexandrine schools, but they are the fruit of his own creative imagination. The Questions are formed so as to result in conclusions studiously planned by the author.

Caesarius picks up Classical words painstakingly, especially Attic ones. And yet, for all his truffle hunting, he speaks of classical philosophical tradition, indeed of Attica itself, with some contempt. He has it that those who used to go to Athens in order to learn the doctrines of sundry philosophical schools while at the same time being fascinated by the Attic style, only did so on account of the vain aspiration to procure education in talking nonsense, foolery, and indulgence in verbosity.³⁵⁵ This is a fundamental characteristic of the Byzantine sentiment and practice: on the one hand, Hellenism was exorcised as a daemon, while on the other, Greek texts were read in order to pick up ideas, elegant expressions, methods of rhetoric, even mere extravagant words to the purpose of grandiloquence. It should be recalled that Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil of Caesarea went to Athens to study. It is a fact that throughout Caesarius' work there is a manifest struggle to mimic the Attic style, by not only choosing words from lexica of the Attic language,³⁵⁶ but also concocting extravagant words of his own. There is excessive use of prepositions in order to produce composite verbs and epithets, and one comes upon too many neologisms that appeared just for once, never to be used again by any subsequent author.

The language of this text is deliberately showy indeed, and Caesarius carefully chose words from Homer, Pindar, the Greek tragic poets, and the comic Aristophanes.³⁵⁷ For all his allegiances to earlier authors (some of whom Rudolf Riedinger pointed out at the end of his remarkable edition), there is one Christian name (beyond some scripture-figures) he chose to mention, in order to excoriate it in the harshest terms possible. This is

³⁵⁵ Caesarius, *QR*, 217: Οἱ κακόσχολοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων συνήγοροι οὐχ ἑτέρως μοι δοκοῦσιν πάλαι ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐπιφοιτᾶν καὶ Στοᾶς καὶ περιπάτου καὶ Ἀττικῆς φαντασίας ἄγασθαι ἢ διὰ παιδείουσιν φλυαρίας.

³⁵⁶ See Moeris, *Lexicon Atticum* cited on p. 475.

³⁵⁷ Many of these words, yet not all of them, had been transmitted to Late Antiquity through Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*.

Origen,³⁵⁸ and the author's panic during doing so is all too evident. Along with Origen, only the names of outspoken heretics such as Manichaeans, Arius, Sabellius, Eunomius, Macedonius are mentioned, not actually by coincidence, since all of these names were included in Justinian's *Edictum Rectae Fidei*, urging everyone to anathematize them. It seems that the enterprise was to show how erudite Cassian was, and that the imperial court could not have afforded to allow condemnation of such a person who also declared himself an enemy of Origen. At all events, Caesarius writes with one of his eyes on his pen and the other on Justinian's writings. For instance, in his time the issue of 'incomposite' applying to the Trinity was crucial, since the Monophysites made reference to a 'composite Christ' (σύνθετος Χριστός). Justinian had renounced the idea, grounding his argument on the notion of an 'incomposite Trinity'. Caesarius wrote following the emperor's words to the letter.³⁵⁹

To sum up, the synod of 536 was a local one (ἐνδημοῦσα), which means that Cassian *happened* to be present in the capital. Identifying Caesarius provides a further source of details about Cassian's life, which squares with the rest of information gathered from Cyril of Scythopolis and Cassian's own texts. Cassian must have set out to defend himself from the stain of heresy while he was abbot of the monastery of Souka. Still this must have been a retrospective account of the situation he experienced during the crisis of the early 530s, when the emperor was at odds with the Akoimetoι. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the persons of the dialogue have to be real.

The *Erotapokriseis* were in all probability composed after 539, that is, after Cassian decided to leave the dangerous world of the capital to return to the serenity of Palestinian monastic life. The distance from the capital was long enough as to make him feel safe at not having to take sides with the resolutions against Origen at the Local Synod of 543 in the capital enjoined by Justinian in his letter to Patriarch Menas, a synod about which we actually know nothing.

³⁵⁸ Op. cit. 166: κατὰ Ὀριγένην τὸν ἀνοσιώτατον. 168: τὰ Ὀριγένους φρονεῖν δηλητήρια καὶ φοροποιὰ δόγματα. 170: τοὺς Ὀριγένους φληνάφους. But in *RCR*, pp. 319–321, I discuss the sixth-century phenomenon of Origenists who, for various reasons, condemned Origen by name at some critical moments of their lives. Paradoxical though it seems, this is a real historical fact, which has to do with 'Caesarius', too. Op cit. pp. 255; 266; 290–321.

³⁵⁹ Justinian, *Contra Monophysitas*, 58: διὰ πάντων ὁμολόγηται ἀπλὴν εἶναι καὶ ἀσύνθετον τὴν φύσιν τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος. Caesarius, *QR*, 214: πλὴν μόνῃς τῆς πρώτης καὶ ἀσυνθέτου θείας τριάδος. Maximus Confessor, an admirer of Cassian, followed: *Quaestiones et Dubia*, 13: Ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατ' ἐξαιρετον τὰ σύμβολα ταῦτα τῆς θείας οὐσίας εἰσὶν μυστήρια καὶ ἀπεικονίσματα, ἔστιν δὲ αὕτη ἀσύνθετος, πᾶσα δὲ κτίσις σύνθετος ἔστιν, μόνῃ δέ, ὡς εἴρηται, ἡ ἁγία τριάς ἀπλὴ καὶ ἀσύνθετος.

On the other hand, Caesarius (in the title of his work) says that he 'was kept' (ἐκρατήθη) in Constantinople. This bespeaks his activity at the monastery of the Akoimatoi, a place where all Christian colourations were tolerated and Chalcedonians could conveniently live under the same shelter with Monophysite sympathizers. Caesarius writes in a style that is redolent of the philosophical schools rather than of the Greek Testaments, Old or New, or even of the Christian writers that had preceded him, his liabilities notwithstanding. Exhibitionist as he is in this specific work, he craves to show himself quite independent from the common stock of educated writers. He cannot deny them as antecedents, but he tries his best to annul them as his ancestors. More important to him is to exhibit an excessive fondness of Greek Classical vocabulary. Though inferior in wit and style it might appear, the text is comparable in content to the exquisite harangues produced by such sophists (or showpiece orators) as Lucian and Philostratus, whose influence can be detected in Cassian's writings.

We therefore come upon Cassian in 536 being present in the Local Synod of Constantinople as a monk and presbyter of the Laura of Sabas, and in 539 being the abbot of the monastery of Souka. This means that he returned to Palestine from Constantinople, where he remained for some time. Otto Seeck has argued that the number 'twenty' of Caesarius' sojourn at Constantinople should be emended to 'six' years, 'according to other codices'.³⁶⁰ This fits well with relevant circumstances, since in 536 Cassian was living in the capital. Cassian must have been introduced or indeed appointed to teaching at the recommendation of St. Sabas, who had been his spiritual father since Cassian's 'early childhood' (ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων ἀποταξάμενον καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου Σάβα παιδευθέντα).³⁶¹ Therefore, the period 533 (immediately after the death of Sabas) until 539 (the year he settled at Souka) is the probable one for Cassian to have remained teaching at Constantinople.

³⁶⁰ Otto Seeck, loc. cit.

³⁶¹ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 196.

APPENDIX II

PSEUDO-DIDYMUS' *DE TRINITATE* IS CASSIAN'S WORK

The Author in His Own Words

The work currently under the title *De Trinitate* was discovered in 1759 and the studies by the brothers J.A. Mingarellio and F. Mingarellio conspired to establish this as a work written by Didymus. In his initial approach (1763), and although the authorship of *De Trinitate* was not resolved, J.L. Mingarellio argued that it originated in Egypt and should be dated at around the beginning of fifth century. It was in 1769 that the same author made up his mind and went on with attributing the work to Didymus,¹ thus aligning himself with the same view of his brother Ferdinando, who had arrived at this conclusion earlier. The arguments were now more concrete: 1. The author of *De Trinitate* had previously written a treatise *On the Holy Spirit*, which F. Mingarellio identified with the one that exists in a Latin translation by Jerome. 2. The treatise comprises three books, which tallies with the testimony by Socrates that Didymus had written a tract *On the Trinity* in three books.² 3. The work spoke of God by means of the epithet ἀμεγέθης, which transpires in a fragment ascribed to Didymus commenting on the Psalms. 4. There are similarities in style between *De Trinitate* and the rest of Didymus' works.

The ascription of the unattributed work to Didymus, to which the title *De Trinitate* was attached by editor J.A. Mingarellio, was fatal to scholarship. Little attention was paid to scanty voices arguing against this attribution,³ as indeed overlooked was the fact that the manuscript was found not only with no header determining its author, but also without any title designating its scope: From Book I, the first six chapters are missing; so are

¹ Louis Doutreleau has it that it is in fact Ferdinand Mingarellio who 'deserves the merit of the attribution'. "La *de Trinitate* est il l'oeuvre de Didyme l'aveugle?", p. 515, n. 4.

² Socrates Scholasticus, *HE*, 4.25: ὑπαγορεύσαι δὲ καὶ τὰ "περὶ Τριάδος" τρία βιβλία.

³ Cf. the case of P. Jacquier, a French religious person who lived in Rome and argued against the Mingarellio argument in 1764. *Op. cit.* pp. 515–516, n. 4. Nevertheless, the bitter exchange between F. Mingarellio and P. Jacquier, which ensued, only reveals two hardly informed parties. *Op. cit.* p. 518, n. 7.

chapters XII, XIII, XIV, and we cannot know the extent of the lacuna in chapter XI. From Book II, chapters IX and XII are missing, too, and so is the final part of the last chapter (XLII) of Book III. Not extensive though these sections may be, they suffice to deprive us of both the name of the author and the title of the treatise. Quite simply, 'it was Mingarellio who baptised the book he had discovered *De Trinitate*'.⁴

These arguments were considered by Louis Doutreleau as the main ones used by J.A. Mingarellio to make his point. Doutreleau also listed a set of 'secondary arguments', which he deemed weak, and they are indeed too feeble to deserve consideration during the present discussion.⁵ For one thing, they are not correct: for instance, the author is *not* an Alexandrian (which L. Doutreleau did not see). For another, even if some of these arguments made any sense, they were too general and common to apply to a specific author, let alone determine a name (which L. Doutreleau did point out). I return to the article of this French scholar and Jesuit priest at the end of this section, in order to make some further brief comments.

It is important to bear in mind that the title *De Trinitate* is not actually the real one, since the title of the book along with some ensuing pages are missing. It was only J.A. Mingarellio that attached this title to the text. However, any reader of this tract would easily notice that the author does not actually deal with the Trinity. The author's aim was to compose an affront to specific heresies, namely, Arianism, Eunomianism, and Macedonianism, which posited either the Son or the Holy Spirit as creatures. It is actually the unknown author himself who speaks out his topic, which is to expound 'the theologies concerning the Son and the Holy Spirit'. He is quick to add that it is by no means his intention to 'underestimate the ineffable glory of God the Father' (οὐδὲ κατὰ ἔννοιαν παραβλάπτων τὴν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἄφραστον δόξαν), but he has to deal with the other two Persons, in order to overturn heretic accounts which 'insult' (ἐνυβρίζουσιν) the true ontological status of the two Persons.⁶ This is actually why he has very little to say about the First

⁴ Louis Doutreleau, op. cit. p. 533: "C'est Mingarellio qui a baptisé son livre *De Trinitate*".

⁵ Louis Doutreleau, op. cit. pp. 516–517.

⁶ *DT* (lib. 1), 35.1: Συναγωνίσασθαι δὲ ὁ ἀνάξιος ἐγὼ ταῖς περὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος θεολογίαις προήχθη οὐδὲ κατὰ ἔννοιαν παραβλάπτων τὴν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἄφραστον δόξαν—οὐ γὰρ ἡγνόηται, ὡς εἰ καὶ μὴ πρὸ ἀμφοῖν δεδῆλωται τῶν εἰρημένων θείων ὑποστάσεων, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἄμφω αἱ ὑποστάσεις ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατὰ φύσιν συμφυῶς εἰσιν, ἡ μὲν τοῦ υἱοῦ γεννητικῶς, ἡ δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ ἐκπορευτικῶς—, ἀλλ' αἰρετικῶν τὰς πανολεθρίους ἐξηγήσεις ἀποσκευαζόμενος καὶ συνιστάμενος, ὅδι δι' ὧν δοκοῦσι παρὰ τὴν γραφὴν πλεόν τιμάν τὸν πατέρα, διὰ τούτων αὐτὸν τε λυποῦσι καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐνυβρίζουσιν.

Person, of whom he is mostly content to speak in Neoplatonic terms (such as ἀνείδεος). On that account, a more accurate heading for this treatise should be, *De Filio contra Arianos et Eunomianos, et De Spiritu Sancto Contra Macedonianos*. The purpose of this tract is Theological, not Christological, which is why the author refers to heresies relating to the Theology, not Christology, of the catholic church. In other words, he set out to determine and confirm the ontological status of the Trinity comprising three peer persons. My own surmise is that the author was indicted for Origenism, which was associated with Arianism, following a long-standing anachronistic distortion. This is why the author distances himself from what was held to be (real or imagined) Origenistic doctrines. He is indeed anxious to present himself as disowning any association with Origenism, at a time when misconception of Origen's theology was the rule rather than the exception.

To cite an instance, Origen taught that the notion of the Son having been born from the Father indicates an atemporal ontological relation rather than an occurrence which took place once and before time was created. This is the meaning of his proposition that 'the Son is always being born from the Father'.⁷ The author of *DT*, using the selfsame phraseology as Origen (both quote Prov. 8:25) and not having grasped Origen's point, reasons that Prov. 8:25 refers to 'created wisdom', not to 'the Son', who is no longer born' (ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔτι γεννᾶται).⁸

Here is then one more case of an author criticizing Origen and yet at the same time the writing under Origen's influence. While he is under the impression that he refutes Origen, he actually draws on a cardinal tenet of Origen, which I have canvassed in detail, namely, the notion of *created* wisdom. The Son is the Wisdom of God; however, creation means that God made a 'created wisdom', a set of 'reasons' (λόγοι) according to which the world was made; these reasons were placed in the 'body' of his Son-Wisdom, thus making up this body itself an 'embroidered' Wisdom.⁹ This is the wisdom that underlies and permeates the world. This is also the 'creator Wisdom' (δημιουργὸς σοφία).¹⁰ For all his foregoing misconception of Prov. 8:25

⁷ Origen, *homJer*, Homily 9.4: Εἰ οὖν ὁ σωτὴρ αἰεὶ γεννᾶται,—καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λέγει· "Πρὸ δὲ πάντων βουνῶν γεννᾷ με", οὐχὶ δὲ πρὸ δὲ πάντων βουνῶν γεγέννηκέν με, ἀλλὰ· "πρὸ πάντων βουνῶν γεννᾷ με",—καὶ αἰεὶ γεννᾶται ὁ σωτὴρ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός. Cf. *COT*, p. 138.

⁸ *DT* (*lib. 3*), PG.39.813.27–34: Καὶ τὸ ἔχειν δέ, "Πρὸ πάντων βουνῶν γεννᾷ με," ὡς περὶ τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν κτιστῆς λέγει σοφίας, ὅτι δημιουργικῶς γεγέννηται, καὶ, ὡς εἶπεν, ἐφ' ἐκάστης μετὰ ἐκάστου σοφοῦ συντίκτεται. Ὁ γὰρ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐγεννήθη συνυφεστῶς τῷ τεκόντι, ἅτε Λόγος, καὶ ἀπαύγασμα, καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔτι γεννᾶται.

⁹ *COT*, pp. 54; 65.

¹⁰ See quotation in next note.

and of the involved ontological relation between Father and Son (which pertains to Theology), this author had grasped one of the most delicate tenets of Origen and renders this by means of the expression ‘created wisdom’ (κτιστὴ σοφία), which pertains to Cosmology. No author did ever use this expression at all. When Gregory of Nyssa spoke of ‘created wisdom’ he only did so in order to refute the claim that the Son is a created being,¹¹ which means he used the expression in order to refute it. *De Trinitate*, however, mentions this in order to expound a meaningful notion, indeed it does so twice.¹² What the author refutes is not the core of the Origenistic doctrine itself, but only Origen’s tenet that Prov. 8:25 (‘he begets me before all mountains’)¹³ about the Father ‘always’ begetting the Son. Origen had taught that this bespeaks an ontological relation between the two Persons, not a perpetual act by the Father.¹⁴ This appeared too precarious or weird an idea to subsequent authors, who preferred to express themselves by means of the notion of ‘birth of the Son before all eternity’.¹⁵ Not strangely then, this author is all

¹¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 3.1.49: εἰ γὰρ κτιστὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ σοφία, Χριστὸς δὲ θεοῦ δύναμις καὶ θεοῦ σοφία, ἐπέισακτον ἔσχε πάντως ὁ θεὸς τὴν σοφίαν, ὕστερον ἐκ κατασκευῆς προσλαβὼν ὃ μὴ παρὰ τὴν πρώτην εἶχεν.

¹² *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.812.17–22: “Ὡστε δὲ καὶ τυφλοῦς, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ λόγου, μὴ ἀμφιβάλλειν ὑγιῶς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐρμηνείαν, ἡ κτιστὴ σοφία φάσκει περὶ ἐκείνου, περὶ οὗ εἶπεν Ἰωάννης, “Καὶ ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, περὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν.” “Ἡ σοφία ὠκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῇ οἶκον, καὶ ὑπῆρξε στύλους ἑπτὰ.” Περὶ οὗ οἴκου ὁ αὐτὸς Δεσπότης ἔφη: “Λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον, καὶ ἐγὼ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐγερῶ αὐτόν.” Μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον δεικνύς Σολομών, ὡς οὐ περὶ τῆς δημιουργοῦ διαλέγεται σοφίας.

¹³ *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.813.27–34: Καὶ τὸ ἔχειν δέ, “Πρὸ πάντων βουνῶν γεννᾷ με,” ὡς περὶ τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν κτιστῆς λέγει σοφίας, ὅτι δημιουργικῶς γεγέννηται, καὶ, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐφ’ ἐκάστης μετὰ ἐκάστου σοφοῦ συντίκτεται. Ὁ γὰρ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐγεννήθη συνυφεστῶς τῷ τεκόντι, ἅτε Λόγος, καὶ ἀπαύγασμα, καὶ χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ· ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔτι γεννᾶται.

¹⁴ Origen, *homfer*, Homily 9.4: Εἰ οὖν ὁ σωτὴρ αἰεὶ γεννᾶται,—καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λέγει: “Πρὸ δὲ πάντων βουνῶν γεννᾷ με,” οὐχὶ δέ: πρὸ δὲ πάντων βουνῶν γεγέννηκέ με, ἀλλὰ: “πρὸ πάντων βουνῶν γεννᾷ με,”—καὶ αἰεὶ γεννᾶται ὁ σωτὴρ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός.

¹⁵ Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 3.3.12: οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸναντίον τὸν λόγον βιαζόμενοι τὴν προαιώνιον τοῦ υἱοῦ γέννησιν τῇ Ἐποίησεν φωνῇ παρὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου διασημαίνεσθαι λέγουσι. 3.7.27: ἄρ’ εὐσεβὲς ἐστὶν ἐκ πάσης γεννήσεως καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τεκμήρασθαι τὴν προαιώνιον γέννησιν. Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Joannem*, v. 1, p. 14: τὴν ἄρρητόν τε καὶ προαιώνιον τοῦ Υἱοῦ γέννησιν. ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum anno 431*, 1.1.6, p. 26: διδασκῆτω παρελθόντων πολεῖν ἅρα τῶν γεννήσεων παραδέξεται, τὴν προαιωνίον τε καὶ ἐκ πατρός, καθ’ ἣν οὐπω σεσαρκωμένος θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος, ἡ γοῦν ταυτηνὴ τὴν πρόσφατον καὶ ἐκ γυναικός; John of Damascus, *De Fide Contra Nestorianos*, 49: Δύο γὰρ γεννήσεις οἶδαμεν τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ καὶ λόγου τοῦ θεοῦ, μίαν τὴν προαιώνιον ἀσωμάτως καὶ θεϊκῶς ἐκ μόνου τοῦ πατρός, ... καὶ ἄλλην τὴν ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων. *Contra Nestorianos*, 43: Καὶ δύο τοῦ φύσει υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θεοῦ τὰς γεννήσεις γινώσκόμεν τε καὶ καταγγέλλομεν, μίαν τὴν ἐκ πατρός προαιώνιον ἀσωμάτως καὶ ἀναγίτως καὶ μίαν τὴν ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων τῶν χρόνων. Romanus Melodus, *Cantica Dubia*, Hymn 60, 26: ὁ βροντήσας τῷ κόσμῳ τοῦ ἀνάρχου υἱοῦ τὴν προαιώνιον γέννησιν. Photius, *Homiliae*, Homily 5, p. 58: ἡ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἄρρητός τε καὶ ὑπεραιώνιος γέννησις.

too quick to declare that the Son was born from the Father once and for all, as if he wished to thwart the censure expressed through the shibboleth 'eternal generation of the Son': the latter was an obloquy imputed on Origen, but in fact this is nonsense invented by the his detractors after his death.

When the author remarks that 'certain' authors 'have understood' the portion Prov. 8:22 ('the Lord has made me a beginning of his ways towards his works') as suggesting that it is 'the created wisdom that speaks',¹⁶ the author seems to be aware of what Origen himself had said. For no author other than Origen's one could possibly cross one's mind in relation to this idea.¹⁷ It could hardly be a coincidence that, at that very same point, the author discusses the title 'Proverbs' of Solomon's work in order to supply his readers with a definition of the term 'proverb' (παροιμία). This definition is only a slight paraphrase¹⁸ of the one which Origen had furnished,¹⁹ which was not actually reproduced by any other subsequent author, save some much later lexicographers.²⁰

Furthermore, the author rejects a cardinal doctrine of Origen's eschatology,²¹ stemming from 1 Cor. 15:28, about God eventually being 'all in all'.²² To someone who had set out to refute Arianism, the statement about Christ at the end 'being subjected to the Father' is a precarious one: the author's spontaneous reaction is that it is not befitting God to be 'subjected'. Were this true, it could have happened right from the beginning, and the Son would have been subordinate to the Father—but to urge this (so the author has it) would be Arianism.²³ This position seems to be close to that of Gregory of

¹⁶ *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.816.16–18: Τινὲς δὲ τὸν γενεσιουργὸν ἐνόησαν ἐκ προσώπου τῆς κτιστῆς εἰρηκέναι σοφίας τὸ, "Κύριος ἔκτισέ με."

¹⁷ Cf. discussion in *COT*, pp. 31; 48; 84; 86; 139.

¹⁸ *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.813.33–36: στάσεως αὐτοῦ· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔτι γεννᾶται. Καὶ οὐ ταῦτα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Παροιμία ὄνομα τῇ βίβλῳ, ὡς οὐ πάντως αἰεὶ τὸ φαινόμενον, ἀλλ' ὅτι μάλιστα δι' ἑτέρου πράγματος, ἢ προσώπου ἕτερον σημαίνουση.

¹⁹ Origen, *expProv* (*fragmenta e catenis*), PG.17.161.20–21: Παροιμία ἐστὶ λόγος ἀπόκρυφος δι' ἑτέρου προδῆλου σημαίνμενος. In the Pseudo-Hippolytus' text entitled *Fragmenta in Proverbia*, Fr. 36, the same definition is ascribed to Origen, too.

²⁰ Cf. the definition stated verbatim in Suda (tenth cent.), *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter pi, entry 733. George Monachus (ninth cent.), *Chronicon* (lib. 1–4), p. 151. So in the abridged *Chronicon Breve* (lib. 1–6) (*redactio recentior*), PG.110.201.5–6. George Cedrenus (eleventh–twelfth cent.), *Compendium Historiarum*, v. 1, p. 97. Pseudo-Zonaras (thirteenth cent.), *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter pi, p. 1508.

²¹ See *PHE*, pp. 250–265; 278–282; 299; 320–321; 332; 355; 415.

²² *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.893.2–6 (then quoting 1 Cor. 15:24–28): Ἀποτίθεσθαι τὸν Μονογενῆ τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ μὴ εἶναι βασιλεῖα αἰώνιον, ὑποτάσσεσθαι τε τῷ Θεῷ, ὡς τινα ἀντίθεον (Ἰλεως δὲ ἡμῖν ἔστω), καὶ εἶναι μόνον "τὰ πάντα ἐν πασὶν" τὸν Πατέρα φαντάζονται.

²³ *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.893.18–19: εἰ θεϊκῶς ὑποτάσσεται, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἂν ὑπετέτακτο.

Nyssa in *In Illud: Tunc et Ipse Filius*, where, however, Gregory copies word for word from Origen. In other words, the author of *De Trinitate* was on the same line as Origen and Gregory,²⁴ yet he appears prepared to allow a thesis sustained by Origen, only once he has made sure that theologians of incontestable orthodoxy had advanced this, too.

When he comes to explaining Matt. 11:11 ('the least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than'), which refers to John the Baptist, he is content with a literary understanding of it: John the Baptist is the 'least' one, since the eminent figures of the Old Testament had preceded him.²⁵ Nevertheless, he feels he can safely report another exegesis, only because grim censors of the doctrine had subscribed to this. The portion of Matthew may also bespeak 'the Lord' himself, by reason of his 'form' as a 'servant', while at the same time this by no means makes the Son inferior to the Father.²⁶ Likewise, he appears to be only one of the few to be aware of a difference existing between the notions of νοητός and νοερός, which I canvassed some twenty-five years ago.²⁷

Authors subsequent to Origen were mostly ambivalent with his work. With the exception of Athanasius and Gregory of Nyssa, theologians treated him as a suspect of heresy, while they drew heavily on his theology, as well as his phraseology. The author of *DT* is not an exception. However hard he strives to distance himself from whatever was presumed to be 'Origenist' doctrine, he fell under the spell of the Alexandrian. For example, the expression ἐπιπορεύεσθαι τῷ νῷ, which denotes a supervision and exploration through the mind, is characteristic of Origen. It was used by no other

²⁴ Ilaria Ramelli has demonstrated this in "The Trinitarian Theology of Gregory of Nyssa in his *In Illud: Tunc et Ipse Filius*: His Polemic against 'Arian' Subordinationism and the Apokatastasis," in *Gregory of Nyssa: The Minor Treatises on Trinitarian Theology and Apollinarianism*, Leiden (2011), pp. 445–478.

²⁵ *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.885.26–36: Καὶ πάλιν· "Ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν μικρότερος, μείζων αὐτοῦ ἐστίν." Ἐλεγε δὲ περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, τοῦ χρόνις μὲν μικρότερου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου, τῇ δὲ ἀξίᾳ τῆς ἀποστολῆς μείζωνος. ... Εἶπε δέ, "Ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν μικρότερος," διὰ τὸ ἐν βίβλῳ ζώντων πάντων τὰ ὀνόματα γράφεσθαι, καὶ ὡς μεταγενεστέρος εἰκότως ὕστερον τετάχθαι τὸ αὐτοῦ ὄνομα.

²⁶ *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.885.36–41: Τινὲς δὲ τὸ μέρος τοῦτο περὶ τοῦ Δεσπότου ἐνόησαν, μικρότερον μὲν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ δούλου μορφήν, καθ' ἣν ἦσαν προφητῶν καὶ ἱερέων ὑπαπετεύετο τυγχάνειν, μείζονα δὲ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα. Ὡστε καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα τὸ "μείζων" καὶ τὸ "πέμψας" τῷ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα ὁμοουσίῳ μείωσιν οὐ ποιεῖ.

²⁷ *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 1.6: πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλεν τὰ τῆς τριάδος πᾶσιν ἀκατάληπτα τυγχάνειν, ὅτε αὐτῇ πάντων ἐστὶ γενεσιουργὸς καὶ ἀνωτάτω πάσης νοεράς, ἔτι μὴν καὶ νοητῆς κτίσεως. I have canvassed the difference between νοητός and νοερός in an Appendix to my thesis, *The Concept of Time in Origen*, University of Glasgow, 1986.

author, except for the author of *DT*,²⁸ only to notify us that he is the same author as the one who wrote the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, namely, Cassian the Sabaite.²⁹ He accordingly preserves Origen's fundamental doctrine positing all creaturely rational beings as corporeal, which makes angels corporeal agents, too.³⁰ This is the thesis clearly sustained in Cassian's works³¹ preserved in the *Meteora-Codex*. Furthermore, the comment on Psalm 67:5 (Ὁδοποιήσατε τῷ ἐπιβεβηκότι ἐπὶ δυσμάς· Κύριος ὄνομα αὐτῷ) is characteristic. First though a comment is called for. Whereas the LXX text has it ἐπὶ δυσμῶν, there are only two instances in Greek literature rendering this ἐπὶ δυσμάς. Both of them transpire in *DT*³² and explain this verse as bespeaking the Incarnation of Christ. This is the exegesis ascribed to Origen in the fragments on the Psalms,³³ as well as to Athanasius³⁴ and Eusebius.³⁵ However, Didymus renders δυσμάς as betokening the state of sin,³⁶ and so does Theodoret.³⁷ Caesarius³⁸ takes δυσμῶν to mean 'our nature' and 'the state of the present world, which is subject to passion'. The exegesis is almost the same, simply there is an evolution in this subsequent work by Caesarius/Cassian. Indeed, where *DT* says that 'west' denotes 'the Lord who manifested himself (Κύριον τὸν ἐπιφανέντα), Caesarius says that 'west' is 'Hades, where the light of the Lord shone' during his three-day death. It is remarkable that both *DT* and Caesarius quote this Psalm subsequent to arguing that whenever God is represented as ostensibly 'asking questions', this does

²⁸ Cf. *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.777.46–780.1: Φωρᾶν ἔνεστι ταῦτα μὴ ἄλλως ἔχειν, ἐπιπορευόμενον τῷ νῷ, ὡς αὐτίκα τῷ τοιοῦτῳ ἐπιλάμπει καὶ συνεργεῖ ὁ ἐπιβεβηκὼς τοῖς ὅλοις Υἱὸς Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ. Origen, *commGen* (*fragmenta*), PG.12.64.16–18, *apud Philocalia*, 23.8, also preserved by Eusebius, *PE*, 6.11.34: ἐπιβάλλων ὁ Θεὸς τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς κοσμοποιίας, οὐδενὸς ἀναιτίως γινομένου, ἐπιπορεύεται τῷ νῷ ἕκαστον τῶν ἐσομένων. This is one of the indications that the version of Origen's *Philocalia* that now is available to us, is a product of an Akoimetan hand.

²⁹ Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XV: Τὴν ἐποπτικὴν καὶ ἔφορον τῶν ὅλων δύναμιν καὶ τὴν πορευτικὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τῶν προκειμένων δηλοῖ. ... καὶ (οἱ) πόδες αὐτοῦ, καθ' οὓς ἐπιπορεύεται τῷ παντὶ διαφ(οι)τήσας, ... ἡχον ποι(ῶ)ν τινα ἐπιπορευόμενος. Scholion XXVII: καὶ ἐπ(ε)ῖ ἀνεξερευνήτα τὰ κρίματα καὶ αἱ ὁδοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καθ' ἃς ἐπιπορευόμενος τοῖς ὅλοις κρίνει καὶ οἰκονομεῖ τὰ περὶ ἕκαστον.

³⁰ *DT* (*lib.* 2.1–7), 4.3.

³¹ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, pp. 84^v–85^r; 87^r.

³² *DT* (*lib.* 1), 27.6; *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.928.13–14.

³³ Origen, *selPs*, PG.12.1505; *frPs*, 67:5.

³⁴ Athanasius, *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG.27.293.

³⁵ Eusebius, *commPs*, PG.23.685&717&724.

³⁶ Didymus, *frPs(al)*, Frs. 683a & 982. However, Fr. 857 employs the exegesis of the corporeal advent.

³⁷ Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80.1377.15–17.

³⁸ Op. cit. ch. 30.

not suggest ignorance. However, on the exegesis of this Psalm, *DT* by and large follows Origen, not Didymus.

At the time when this work was written, not only were Arianism and all its ramifications long condemned, but also Macedonianism had been anathematized, too. Nevertheless, with Arian Goths lurking around the north border of the empire, Arianism was not simply a theoretical discussion concerning past dispute: it was a political problem of the present. Besides, the followers of Macedonius, Bishop of Constantinople, who regarded the Holy Spirit as a 'creature', were all Arian. Macedonius was condemned in a council held in Constantinople in 360, then by a synod held in Antioch in 379, to be followed by a universal condemnation at the Second Oecumenical Council of Constantinople, in 381. It is possible, however, that Macedonius was not actually the father of Macedonianism, but only a Patriarch who had tolerated relevant preaching at Constantinople. It is quite strange that, although the works of Theodoret and Cyril of Alexandria run parallel to each other with regard to theological concerns, Cyril never mentions either Macedonius or the so-called Πνευματομάχοι, which by contrast is a recurrent reference by Theodoret.

The author of *DT* is evidently an abbot³⁹ under censure, and this is the defense of his orthodoxy. He wrote this work under the spell of a very distressing psychological predicament. He supposedly delivers this 'speech' (λόγος) to some of his devout pupils. Why the author had been called into account, and what the precise nature of the indictment was, is not explicated. The vehemence of his attack on Arianism allows for the surmise that he had been accused of Arianism, which was an all-inclusive censure of theological aberration during the sixth century. Cassian was a native of Scythopolis, the bustling city that had been the stronghold of an Arian majority during the fourth century and later. The city boasted this majority party and had been a battleground between orthodoxy and Arianism, as much as one between Christianity and Paganism. When Constantius II, Constantine's son and successor, attempted to silence the vociferous uncompromising orthodox Italian Bishop Eusebius of Vercelae, he exiled him to the Arian 'safety' of Scythopolis.⁴⁰ Epiphanius of Salamis had been offered hospitality by a certain man in Scythopolis called Josephus, of

³⁹ The author of *DT* is a monk who has the same priorities as Cassian. One should 'live amidst books' and join unflinching all ecclesiastical services. *DT* (*lib.* 2.8–27), PG.39.768.8–11: ζῆν ἐν βιβλίοις, καὶ ἀχώριστον εἶναι μετὰ καθαροῦ συνειδότητος τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συνάξεων.

⁴⁰ Hagith Sivan, *Palestine in Late Antiquity*, p. 26.

whom he says was the sole person who was orthodox, whereas the rest of Scythopolitans were Arian.⁴¹

When Caesarius/Cassian set out to write his new dialogue, his ordeal was behind him, yet only just so. He had hardly recovered from that. His introduction, therefore, could not afford not to make an implicit mention of what he had been through by that time. Caesarius' audience were his 'most valued of friends and brothers' (φίλων ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀδελφῶν τιμιώτατοι) and they were presumably the same ones to whom the *Erotapokriseis* were addressed, too. They were 'the elect worshippers of the Most Holy Trinity and mediators for the sake of the human race' (ἐκλεκτοὶ λατρευταὶ μὲν τῆς παναγούς τριάδος, πρεσβευταὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπων γένους).⁴² They were those who stood by him during his ordeal, to whom he felt he ought to show utmost respect. In his mind and heart, they were second only to his respect for the Trinity herself, since they were also those who had defended him (μηδὲν μετ' αὐτὴν [νῖς. τῆς παναγούς τριάδος] τὴν πάντων αἵτιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν αἰδοῦς εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐλλειψέσθαι μοι τῆς ὀφειλομένης εἰς τοὺς συναγορεύοντάς με).⁴³ *DT* is a discourse addressed to 'the children' whom God 'gave to' him, as well as 'to the children of those children', which means that the author was aged, and to younger monks his spiritual children were already elders, too.⁴⁴ We can indeed notice the same person speaking the words found in both Cassian and this work. The sublime pronouncement by (an evidently younger) Cassian is that 'renunciation is nothing but a proclamation of the cross and of death'.⁴⁵ This (evidently elderly) Cassian says that he *has lived* in allegiance to (and through) the Cross of Christ and has now been redeemed through his death.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, v. 1, p. 340: ἐν γὰρ τῇ πόλει ἐκεῖνη, Σκυθοπόλει φημί, μόνος οὗτος ὀρθόδοξος ὑπῆρχεν, πάντες δὲ Ἀρειανοί.

⁴² *DT* (*lib.* 2.1–7), 7. 8,13.

⁴³ *DT* (*lib.* 2.1–7), 7. 8,13. A declaration of loyalty and obligation to those who had supported him: τοὺς συναγορεύοντάς με means 'those who defend me'. On the verb συναγορεύειν meaning 'defending in court', see Suda, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter sigma, entry 1423 & Lexica Segueriana, *Collectio Verborum Utilium e Differentibus Rhetoribus et Sapientibus Multis* (Σβ) (*recensio aucta e cod. Coislin.* 345), Alphabetic entry sigma, p. 374: συναγορεύειν: συνηγορεῖν. ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγειν. Suda, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter sigma, entry 1547: Συνηγοροὶ: εἰκόασι παρ' Ἀθηναίοις τινὲς χειροτονεῖσθαι συνηγοροὶ, ἐπὶ τὸ συναγορεύειν, ὡς Ἀντιφῶν φησι. *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 735: Συνηγορος: Προστάτης ὑπὲρ τινων λέγων· εἰκόασι γὰρ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις τινὲς χειροτονεῖσθαι συνηγοροὶ ἐπὶ τῷ συναγορεύειν, ὡς Ἀντιφῶν φησι.

⁴⁴ *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.784.1–3: πρόειμι ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξῆς πιστεύων, ὡς πρὶν ἢ λαλήσω σὺν τοῖς παιδίοις, οἷς ἔδωκέν μοι, καὶ τοῖς παιδίοις τῶν παιδίων, δι' ἃ καὶ ζῶντες πονοῦμεν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πάσιν, οἷς οἶδεν, τὴν χάριν δέξομαι.

⁴⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const.*, p. 16': Ἡ ἀποταγή οὐδὲν ἄλλ(ο) καθέστηκεν εἰ μὴ σταυροῦ καὶ θανάτου ἐπαγγελία.

⁴⁶ *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.908.21–22: ἡμεῖς δὲ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ζήσαντες, καὶ τῷ προμνηστὰ-
τῳ αὐτοῦ θανάτῳ λυτρωθέντες.

At a certain point the author suggests that he had been called to account because of his teaching. He addresses his disciples styling them 'honourable angels' (εὐδόκιμοι ἄγγελοι), expressing his confidence that they 'did not take exception to' his teaching (τέλειοι οὐκ ἠχθέσθητε ἐπὶ τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν παρ' ἐμοῦ). For they had a clear idea of the true angels, namely, of 'those who are angels by nature', not simply humans styled angels by convention on account of their 'laudable belief'.⁴⁷ The author adds that his teaching was reprimanded right from the start (οἷς ἐξ ἀρχῆς μέμψις παρηκολούθησεν) and that some of his statements appeared not to be persuasive during the struggle against those who dispute the truth (ὥς καὶ οἵτινες ὑμῖν μάλιστα ἀπίθανοί τινες πρὸς τὸν κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀγῶνα φαίνονται). He further states that all he had taught was that the works by the Holy Spirit in respect to creation are equal (not inferior) to those made by the Father and the Son (ὁ γὰρ λόγος μοί ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεϊκοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ φωτίζοντος ἅπαντα καὶ φιλοτιμουμένου τὰ θεϊκὰ τοῖς κτίσμασι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ ἐφάμιλλα). He then praises his pupils for having embraced this teaching and having considered these words as being as much their own as they are their author's, since this doctrine has been propounded by 'many' doctors and there is no way for this 'to be silenced'.⁴⁸

This only tells us that it is Cassian who actually wrote this text, as a senior monk addressing monks. I have discussed⁴⁹ his expression about a monk becoming μιμητὴν ἀγγέλων ('imitator of the angels'),⁵⁰ which he took up from casual references by Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanius of Salamis, and Theodoret. Cassian's notion of a monk becoming an imitator of the angels occurs in translations of Ephraem Syrus,⁵¹ where we come upon a specific point which is identical with the one Cassian has in his own text.⁵²

⁴⁷ At this point he makes the distinction between 'angels by nature' and those who are angels 'on account of their praiseworthy belief' (ἐνεκα τῶν κατὰ τὴν φύσιν, οὐ κατὰ τὸ ἐπαινετὸν τῆς γνώμης, ὁμοίων ὑμῖν ἀγγέλων). Cf. Cassian the Sabaite styling humans 'angels'. *De Panareto*, p. 113: Οὐκοῦν ἡ θεία γραφή αὐτοὺς ὀνομάζει ἀγγέλους κατὰ τὴν ἐξ(ι)ν τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἀσώματον φύσιν.

⁴⁸ *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 7.8,8: μάλλον δὲ καὶ συνεπενεύσατε πνεῦμα τοῦτο τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ θεοῦ ἔν καὶ μόνον καὶ θεὸν ἀνευφημήσαντί μοι καὶ ἐβούλεσθε ἂν τάχα (πανηγυρίζει δέ μοι ἐν τῷ μέρει τούτῳ τὸ βιβλίον) δι' ὑπερβολὴν εὐνοίας ὑμῶν τῆς περὶ τὴν σεπτὴν καὶ ὁμοούσιον τριάδα ὑμετέρα τε εἶναι ῥήματα τὰ ἐκ τῆς τῶν γραφῶν διανοίας λεχθέντα παρὰ πολλῶν καὶ νῦν παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ μηδέποτε σιωπὴν τούτοις ἐπιβληθῆναι.

⁴⁹ *RCR*, pp. 183–184.

⁵⁰ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 26^v.

⁵¹ Ephraem Syrus, *Paraenesis ad Ascetas* (*ordine alphabetico*), p. 341: Ζωὴ μοναχοῦ κατὰ μίμησιν 'Αγγέλων γινέσθω.

⁵² Ephraem Syrus, *op. cit.* p. 346: Μίμημα 'Αγγέλων μοναχὸς ἐπὶ γῆς ἀγαθῆς, δς οὐκ ἐτρώθη τοξεύματι ἡδονῆς. It is doubtful that John Chrysostom ever used this expression, which

Besides, the imagery is interesting, since this is common in both Caesarius and *DT*: all of this adventure is depicted as a journey on the sea, and all animadversions are only a 'storm' that God can restrain and put it to an end.⁵³ This is actually how the text of Caesarius begins, being a loan from Epiphanius befitting his own condition.⁵⁴ Caesarius' interlocutors, who are his pupils, speak of a predicament just overcome, a storm that brought their 'vessel' extremely close to death. However, they have just escaped the lethal hazard: they have been 'saved from death' and now it is time for them to offer thanksgiving to God.⁵⁵ Although the metaphor is plain, the author (Caesarius/Cassian) is quick to explain that 'stormy sea' betokens 'life' itself, which is shaken by the 'waves of heresies'. This is why the author's disciples have come to ask questions in order to clarify the doctrine 'about the Holy Trinity, as well as other questions arising from the Holy Scripture'.⁵⁶

Whereas *DT* is a fiercely polemical work, Caesarius' *Erotopokriseis* is a fairly sober exposition⁵⁷ expanding a vast number of issues, which are not only theological ones. Their aim is quite different, and Caesarius/Cassian had in mind to write such a book, of which he makes an announcement in *DT*.⁵⁸

It is indicative of the author's distress that *DT* is a stunningly unorganised work: there is hardly any arrangement of his material, in order to

appears only in spuria under his name. See Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *In Mediam Hebdomadam Jejuniorum*, PG.59.702.56. *De Jejunio*, PG.62: 734.41; 736.57.

⁵³ *DT*, 39.781.45–49: Τῷ δὲ Θεῷ αὐθις τὸ πᾶν θαρρήσας, τῷ τὰ κύματα παύοντι, καὶ εὖδιον πλοῦν διδόντι, καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦντι, οὐ κατὰ χάριν (ἦν καὶ ἀμαρτωλοῖς καὶ στενοῖς τὸν λόγον, ἰδία δ' ἐμοῦ λέγω, χορηγεῖν εἴωθεν).

⁵⁴ Here is the opening of Caesarius' work: Οἱ τὴν μεγάλην καὶ εὐρύχωρον διαπλέοντες θάλασσαν, ἕως μὲν ἐξ οὐρίας ἡδέως ποντοποροῦσιν, μικρῷ τῶν παρακειμένων φροντίζουσιν· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐναντίος καὶ σφοδρὸς ἀντιπνεῦση ἄνεμος, τὴν ζάλην διεγείρων καὶ θάνατον ἀπειλῶν τοῖς πρὸ ὀλίγου ἀφόβως πλέουσιν, τότε δὴ τὸν εὖδιον ἐπιποθοῦσι λιμένα καὶ πᾶσαν ἀντικρὺ κειμένην ἡπειρον περισκοποῦντες μηδαμοῦ τε ἐνορμισθῆναι δυνάμενοι λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πλησίον, εἰ τύχοι, νῆσον διὰ τῶν πηδαλίων τὴν ὁλκάδα ἰθύνουσι παντὶ τρόπῳ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἑαυτοῖς πραγματευόμενοι.

⁵⁵ Loc. cit. ταύτη δὲ πλησιάσαντες καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπη τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων ὑποφυγόντες καὶ τοῦ ἀπεικτοῦ θανάτου περισωθέντες, εὐχαριστηρίους ἀναπέμπουσι φωνὰς τῷ σωτῆρι πάντων θεῷ.

⁵⁶ Caesarius, *QR*, 1: Καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῖνον, ὃ φιλότεκνε πάτερ, τὴν πολύζαλον τοῦ βίου διαπλέοντες θάλασσαν καὶ τοῖς κύμασιν τῶν αἰρέσεων διαφόρως περιαντλούμενοι καὶ μηδαμοῦ λιμένα λογικὸν εὐρίσκοντες, πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἡκαμεν ἀγάπην δεόμενοι τὰ περὶ τῆς προσκυνητῆς καὶ ἀγίας τριάδος καὶ ἐτέρων κεφαλαιῶν τῆς ἀγίας γραφῆς ἀκούσαι ἡμᾶς, ὅπως μὴ πλανώμεθα τοῖς ματαιόφροσιν.

⁵⁷ In *DT*, the name *Eunomius* is mentioned twice; *Eunomians* three instances; *Arius* seven, *Arians* four; *Macedonius* eleven, *Macedonians* thirteen; *Sabellius* once. By contrast, Caesarius mentions *Eunomians*, *Macedonius*, 'Macedonians and Marathonians' once, *Sabellius* twice, *Arius* five times and *Arians* once.

⁵⁸ See the question about sea-water being salty, which is dealt with, *infra*, p. 619.

expound his ideas in an orderly manner. There are repetitions, unnecessary digressions, and the author remains undecided as to whether this is a 'book' (βιβλίον) or a 'discourse' (λόγος). There are points where the text betokens a speaker addressing an audience, not a writer composing a treatise to be subsequently read. "Now, pay attention to my point! For I am going to enunciate this succinctly" (Δεῦρο οὖν προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν· δι' ὀλίγων γὰρ φράσω).⁵⁹ On the other hand, there are points, where the phrasing suggests that he writes rather than speaks and expects this treatise to be studied in the future.⁶⁰ The author suggests that *DT* comprises 'books', and that he has written other books before the present one (τοῦδε τοῦ βιβλίου ... τῶν τε ἐν τῷ πρὸ αὐτοῦ).⁶¹ At the same time, however, he refers to those 'books' as λόγοι, and it should be recalled that the collection *Doctrina Patrum* refers to Cassian's work comprising λόγοι, too. Besides, Pseudo-Justin, in whose text points of resemblance with Cassian's texts are recurrent, as well as striking, treats 'books' and λόγοι as synonymous terms,⁶² and so does Gelasius of Cyzicus (an author making a considerable mark during our exploration), who styles each book of his Ecclesiastical History λόγος.⁶³

As for the celebrated phrase by the author, 'as it has been explained in the teaching about the Holy Spirit' (καθὰ ἤδη ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐξηγήθη λόγῳ),⁶⁴ he actually refers to the selfsame work, indeed to the title

⁵⁹ *DT*, PG.39.617.41–42. Likewise, *DT*, 39.784.1–3: πρόειμι ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξῆς πιστεύων, ὡς πρὶν ἢ λαλήσω σὺν τοῖς παιδίοις, οἷς ἔδωκέν μοι.

⁶⁰ *DT*, PG.39.781.24–28: Οἱ μὲν οὖν λόγοι, οἱ τὰς θεολογίας περιέχοντες, ἀποχρώντως ἀπειργάσθησαν, ἤδη οὐσὼν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων μυριολέκτων ἀποδείξεων, μὴ μνημονευθεῖσάν δέ, ὅπως μὴ τε ὀκνοῖεν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες, μῆτε μακροπερίοδος καὶ πολυλογῶν φαῖνται ὁ γράφων.

⁶¹ *DT* (*lib.* 2.1–7), 5.26–27: πόσα δὲ ἄλλα ἐμφέρεται περὶ τοῦ θεικοῦ πνεύματος οὐ διαφέροντα πρὸς τὰ γεγραμμένα περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ, ἐξ ὧν τινα διαφοροὶς τόποις τοῦδε περιέχεται τοῦ βιβλίου, δι' ὧν ἦλθεν ὁ τοῦ λόγου δρόμος. *Op. cit.* 6.4.9: ῥᾶστα ἂν καταμάθοι ὁ ἐξέτασιν τινα ἡσυχί ποιησάμενος τῶν σοφίας μεστῶν λογίων, τῶν τε ἐν διαφοροῖς τόποις τοῦδε τοῦ βιβλίου μνημονευθέντων, τῶν τε ἐν τῷ πρὸ αὐτοῦ. *Op. cit.* 7.3.15: τὰ θεῖα γραφεῖα τὰ ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῷδε καὶ τῷ πρὸ αὐτοῦ μνημονευθέντα. *Op. cit.* 7.8.8: πανηγυρίζει δέ μοι ἐν τῷ μέρει τοῦτῳ τὸ βιβλίον. (*lib.* 2.8–27), PG.39.620.26: ὡς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἀπεδείχθη βιβλίῳ. *Op. cit.* PG.39.652.40: ὡς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἐμνημονεύθη βιβλίῳ. (*lib.* 3) PG.39.825.12: καθὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ εἴρηται βιβλίῳ. *Op. cit.* PG.39.965.36–37: Ἄλλ' εἴρηται μὲν ἤδη εἰς ὁμοίотροπα προβλήματα πολλὰ περὶ τούτου, καὶ μὲντοι ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δεκάτῳ, καὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ βιβλίῳ ἐν κεφαλαίῳ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῳ ῥηθήσεται δὲ καὶ νῦν.

⁶² Cf. Pseudo-Justin, *Confutatio Dogmatum Quorundam Aristotelicorum*. Setting out to refute certain Aristotelian doctrines, the author refers to the different book of *Physica* as λόγοι. pp. 112; 114; 115; *et passim*; or *De Caelo*, pp. 127; 143.

⁶³ Gelasius of Cyzicus (fifth-century historian, fl. c. 475), *HE*, book 1 (title); Proem (section 25); 1.10.5; *et passim*. The headers of Books II and II also style them Λόγοι.

⁶⁴ *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.872.23.

of a specific section, not to another treatise.⁶⁵ This caused scholars to seek to identify Didymus as the author of this book, only because a single reference by Socrates says that Didymus wrote 'three books on the Holy Spirit'.⁶⁶

However, the text of *DT* bans even the slightest affinity or similarity with Didymus' extant work. Besides, one should wonder as to how it could be possible for Didymus to refute what was allegedly Nestorianism some four decades before Nestorius became Bishop of Constantinople (428–431) and promulgated his teaching. For indeed the present author clearly rebukes the alleged heresy, although it is doubtful that he had Nestorius in his mind: he only wished to endorse the imperial orthodoxy. "We decline the blasphemy against his divinity; we do not believe that the Son of the Father is one [person] and the one who was born in flesh and was crucified was another one. For it is neither possible that divinity could disown itself, nor did the Apostle suggest two persons by saying 'as Christ hath suffered for us in the flesh'".⁶⁷

Editor J.A. Mingarellio was at pains to urge that this is not actually a rebuttal of Nestorius, but refers to earlier disputes over the question of some theologian having introduced 'two Christs', one of them being the Logos and the other the man born of Mary.⁶⁸ He believed that this dispute goes back to the time when Origen was accused of this distortion, according to the *Apologia pro Origenem* by Pamphilus. Subsequently, he draws on Theodoret recounting an anathema by Pope Damasus 'against those who assert two sons'. I can sustain these references by actual citations, which Mingarellio did not.⁶⁹ Desperate as he was to support his assumption that this work had been authored by Didymus, he had to make this portion of *DT* a retrospective one, and relegate this as early as he could, to the times of Origen if

⁶⁵ Cf. *DT* (*lib.* 2.1–7), 6 (title). Περὶ τοῦ πάντα, ὅσα ἴδια θεότητος, μαρτυρεῖσθαι περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος οὕτως.

⁶⁶ Socrates Scholasticus, *HE*, 4.25: ὑπαγορεῦσαι δὲ καὶ τὰ "περὶ Τριάδος" τρία βιβλία.

⁶⁷ 1 Peter 4.1. *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.844.12–21: Οὕτω δὲ φαμεν, ἐπινοίᾳ τινὶ τὴν ἄφραστον αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίαν σημαίνοντες, καὶ τὴν εἰς τὴν θεότητα αὐτοῦ συντείνουσιν βλασφημίαν ἐκκλίνοντες, οὐκ ἄλλον δὲ πιστεύοντες εἶναι τὸν ἐκ Πατρὸς Υἱόν, καὶ ἄλλον τὸν γενόμενον σάρκα καὶ σταυρωθέντα· ἐπεὶ μήποτε διαζεύγυσθαι ἐαυτῆς, μηδὲ τρέπεσθαι πέφυκεν ἡ θεότης. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ Ἀπόστολος δύο ἐνόησεν ἄν, εἰπών· "Χριστοῦ οὖν παθόντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σαρκί."

⁶⁸ PG.39.844; note 30.

⁶⁹ Theodoret, *HE*, p. 298 (recording the anathema by Pope Damasus, communicated to Bishop Paulinus in Macedonia): Ἀναθεματίζομεν καὶ τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς εἶναι δισχυριζομένους, ἕνα "πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων καὶ ἄλλον μετὰ τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας ἀνάληψιν." ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum anno 431*, (anathema against Nestorius, allegedly introducing two sons), 1.1.4, p. 10. *Concilium Universale Chalcedonense anno 451*, 2.1.1, p. 111; 2.1.3, pp. 9; 126; 130; 132; 134; 135. Justinian, *Contra Monophysitas*, 199 (condemning Paul of Samosata and Nestorius for 'introducing two sons'). Evagrius Scholasticus, *HE*, p. 129 (anathema against Nestorius and Eutyches).

possible. But this is only interpolated anachronism and he was wrong. For had he studied the context of this phrase in *DT*, he could have seen that the expression 'ineffable oikonomia' (ἄφραστος οἰκονομία)⁷⁰ is not as old as he would have wished it to be. The expression is in fact a by-product of the expression 'ineffable union' (ἄφραστος ἔνωσις, of the two natures in Christ), which became a catch-phrase during the Christological dispute in the fifth century. As it normally happened with such religious disputes, enthusiasts and fanatic forgers essayed to put such phrases into the mouth and pen of theologians of old, such as Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus, or Athanasius. The fact is, however, that this phrase was actually entertained by such theologians as Cyril of Alexandria, Marcus Eremita, Theodoret (only in his *Eranistes*), possibly Chrysostom, certainly by Justinian and Oecumenius. Besides, the author of *DT* used the expression himself, actually following Proclus and Damascius, not the Christian vocabulary.

Therefore, the expression 'ineffable oikonomia' (ἄφραστος οἰκονομία) is slightly later to the 'ineffable union' one (ἄφραστος ἔνωσις), and textual evidence is there to confirm this. Quite simply, the idiom 'ineffable oikonomia' bespeaks an author later than fifth century. There is no way to associate this author with Didymus' era. Furthermore, unlike 'ineffable union' (ἄφραστος ἔνωσις), the expression 'ineffable oikonomia' (ἄφραστος οἰκονομία) transpires mainly in writers of Antiochene sentiment, such as Basil of Seleucia, Romanus Melodus, John of Damascus,⁷¹ and above all (once again)

⁷⁰ *Supra*, *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.844.12–13: Οὕτω δὲ φαμεν, ἐπινοίᾳ τινὶ τὴν ἄφραστον αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίαν σημαίνοντες. Likewise, *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 7.8.9: σὺ δέ, ὦ ἅγιε Γαβριήλ, διακονήσασθαι τῷ μυστηρίῳ τῆς ἀφράστου οἰκονομίας, ὡς ἐχέμυθος καὶ πιστός, ἐξελέγης. *Op. cit.* (lib. 3), PG.39.876.4–5: καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, τὴν ἄφραστον οἰκονομίαν δηλοῖ. *Op. cit.* PG.39.944.11–12: '὘ν τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ τοῖνον ἢ μεσιτεία· ἐν ᾗ ὑπὲρ παντός τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους ἑαυτὸν ἀφράστως ἱερουργήσας.

⁷¹ Basil of Seleucia (fifth cent.), *Homilia in Pentecosten*, p. 100: Δοξαζέσθω τοῖνον ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ πλῆθος ἑορτῶν ἡμῖν πνευματικῶν χαριζόμενος διὰ τῆς ἀφράστου καὶ σωτηριώδους οἰκονομίας αὐτοῦ. Marcus Eremita (post fifth cent.), *Sermo Dogmaticus Adversus Eaos Qui Dicunt Sacram Carnem Non Fuisse Unitam Cum Verbo*, part 29: τὴν ἄφραστον οἰκονομίαν τοῦ κυρίου. So in *De Incarnatione sive Adversus Nestorianos*, 29. Olympiodorus, the deacon of Alexandria (sixth cent.), *Commentarii in Jeremiam* (in *catenis*), PG.93.665.36–38: Τίς οὖν γινώσεται, φησὶν, ἡ τὴν ἐκ Πατρὸς αὐτοῦ γέννησιν, ἡ τὴν μετὰ σαρκὸς ἀφραστον οἰκονομίαν; Romanus Melodus (sixth cent.), *Cantica*, Hymn 43.1: Τὸ μυστήριον τῆς σῆς οἰκονομίας, ὦ σωτῆρ ἡμῶν, ἀφραστὸν ἐστίν, ἀκατάληπτον, John of Damascus (seventh–eighth cent.), *Passio Magni Martyris Artemii*, 26: τὸ τῆς ἀφράστου καὶ ἀρρήτου οἰκονομίας αὐτοῦ μυστήριον. Nicephorus I of Constantinople (eighth–ninth cent.), *Refutatio et Eversio Definitionis Synodalis Anni 815*, 37: τῆς ἀφράστου καὶ ἀνερμηνεύτου τοῦ σωτήρος οἰκονομίας. The same text in George Monachus (ninth cent.), *Chronicon* (lib. 1–4), p. 790 (and *Chronicon Breve*, PG.110.997.36–37). Photius, *Homiliae*, Homily 17, p. 167: τὸ μέγα τοῦτον καὶ ἀφραστον τῆς οἰκονομίας μυστήριον.

the *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*,⁷² which preserve the Antiochene predilection for 'melody' within the church. This context only tells us that coming upon the author of *DT* entertaining the expression again and again, is simply one more token of him having written his work at a time when Didymus was long dead. Subsequently, let me emphasise once again that his statement condemning those who introduce 'the blasphemy of two Sons' is in effect a profession of allegiance to the imperial orthodoxy.

At the time when *DT* was composed, its author was definitely at odds with the censors of all theological aberration, which automatically entailed disfavour by political authorities. Speaking of 'composition' of this tract, as already noted, is only the word. For no plan of composition could be discovered whatever. It is impressive that by the end of Book II, the author makes the most spectacular of his digressions.⁷³ This is in fact a prayer⁷⁴ of his own addressed to the Trinity. The text, with which Book II is concluded, is imbued with a culminating anxiety, and reading this has some important information to afford us.

He refers to those who rush to political authorities in order to question, or even impugn others' orthodoxy. He uses a very rare word for such people, which is σπουδαρχίδαι ('those eager for office of state'). His wish is that this sort of people may be all too 'rare' and people 'might not bewail one over another' (σπάνις δὲ πολλή καὶ παντοία τῶν σπουδαρχιδῶν καὶ οὐκ ἔτ' ὀδύρηται ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλῳ). Furthermore, he prays that he may be able to 'maintain the law, which he has mandated' to his 'own self' (καὶ ὃν ἐμαυτῷ νόμον ἔθηκα, φυλάξαι δυνηθῶ σὺν ὧρα, καὶ χάριτι, καὶ σεμνότητι βίου καὶ λόγων), evidently referring to both his monastic ethos and specific theological conviction. He also prays for all earth to be governed by good and wise rulers. He uses the extremely rare word εὐαρχία ('righteous ruling') for this, which is an outstanding token of the author's Greek erudition.⁷⁵

⁷² *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, *Canones Decembris*, 17.29.9 (lines 59–61): τὰ τῆς ἀφράστου οἰκονομίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστήρια. *Canones Januarii*, 6.14.8 (lines 26–28): τὴν ἀφραστον τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου δόξης οἰκονομίαν. *Canones Februarii*, 21.25.3.4 (lines 2–4): ἐν τῇ σῇ οἰκονομίᾳ ἡ ἀρετὴ τῆς ἀφράστου σου σοφίας φιλάνθρωπε.

⁷³ I canvass his telling digression dealing with an exegesis on prophet Zachariah presently.

⁷⁴ *DT*, PG.39: 764.10–769.12.

⁷⁵ The adjective εὐαρχος was used by Aristotle, *Oeconomica*, 1344b13–14: Καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἄγαν δειλοὶ οὐχ ὑπομένουσι καὶ οἱ θυμοειδεῖς οὐκ εὐαρχοι. But the noun εὐαρχία is a neologism introduced by sophist Apollonius (first–second cent. AD) who made it up in order to explain Homer's word εὐηγεσία, which is a synonym. Apollonius, *Lexicon Homericum*, p. 78. The very term εὐαρχία was thereafter used only by lexicographer Hesychius of Alexandria, *Lexicon*, (alphabetic letter epsilon, entry 6822) explaining the Homeric term εὐηγεσίῃ (*Odyssey*, XIX.114). So *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 390: Ἐξ εὐηγεσίης. Σημαίνει δὲ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν· ἡγὸν γὰρ τὸν

This prayer by our author is a pithy one indeed. Distressed as he is during that ‘time, which is full of agony’,⁷⁶ he asks for ‘prosperity’ (εὐετηρία)⁷⁷ to come about, and for ‘the sweet and shining light to rise’ (καὶ γλυκὺ φῶς ἀνατεῖλῃ καὶ λαμπρόν) and for the ‘stream of Nile to be full’ (καὶ μεστὸν τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ρεῖθρον), which are both telling metaphors. The expression ‘the stream of the Nile’ (τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ρεῖθρον or Νειλῶν ρεῖθρον) has been used only in a handful of instances in literature, and all are instances bespeaking affliction or anguish. It was into the Nile that Moses was thrown while he was a baby;⁷⁸ it was the waters of the same river that was turned into blood,⁷⁹ again by Moses; it was into the Nile that Pharaoh had ordered that all Jewish males should be thrown.⁸⁰ It was Theodore Studites, the faithful admirer of Cassian and staunch emulator of his language that saw the metaphor and took it up. The ‘flow of the Nile’ is no other than a flow of upright theological pronouncements. This is exactly what Cassian, the author of *DT*, entreats God to grant him during this ordeal of his: ‘the flow of Nile’ are the lips of orthodox theologians standing as staunch defenders of orthodoxy.⁸¹ This is what Cassian prays for.

εὐδαίμονα λέγουσιν Ἴωνες. Δύνатаι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ εὐαρχίας λαμβάνεσθαι, παρὰ τὸ ἡγεῖσθαι. Subsequently, it was only the epithet that enjoyed some scarce use. Whereas εὐαρχία remained a term exclusive to the author of *DT*, it was not used, until Eustathius of Thessaloniki (twelfth cent.) commenting on Homer brought this to light once again. Cf. Lucian of Samosata, *Lexiphanes*, 1, line 26: εἰ εὐαρχός τέ ἐστι καὶ πολλὴν τὴν εὐλογίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος καὶ εὐλεξίς, ἔτι δὲ εὐώνυμος. John Laurentius Lydus, *De Mensibus*, 4.4: τὸ δὲ στρήνα καθ’ Ἑλληνας τὸν εὐαρχισμόν τὸν ἐπὶ ἐντρεχείας στρατιωτικῆς σημαίνει. Anonymi in Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos, *Scholion in Sophisticos Elenchos* (= *commentarium* 2), 182b20–21, lines of scholion 18–20: δύνатаι τὸ “εὐαρχος” καὶ ὡς παράδειγμα τῶν ὁμωνύμων νοεῖσθαι: τὸ γὰρ “εὐαρχος” διττόν· ἢ ὁ εὐ τὴν ἀρχὴν διέπων, ἢ ὁ καλὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων. καὶ ἴσως ἂν ἡρωτάτο ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίδου καλὴν μὲν ἔχοντος ἀρχὴν, οὐ καλῶς δὲ αὐτὴν κυβερνῶντος. ἴσως ἂν καὶ οὕτως ἡρωτάτο: “ἄρ’ εὐαρχος ὅδε;” “ναί.” “τί δέ- ὅδε ὁ τοῦ Πλάτωνος, εἰ τύχοι, διάλογος οὐκ εὐαρχός ἐστιν, ἥτοι εὐπροοιμίαστός ἐστιν; ὁ Ἀπολλωνίδης ἄρα διάλογός ἐστιν.” Anonymi in Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos, *In Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos Paraphrasis*, 132: τὸν τε γὰρ εὐ ἀρχοντα εὐαρχον ἔλεγον. Scholia in Lucianum, *Scholia in Lucianum* (*scholia vetera et recentiora Arethae*), Lucianic work 46.1: εὐαρχος: τὸ μὲν εὐαρχος τὸ καλὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν, εὐλογος δὲ τὴν συνθήκην εὐάρμοστος, εὐλεξίς δὲ καὶ εὐώνυμος τὸ εὐπρεπέστιν ὀνόμασι καὶ λέξεσι κεχρησθαι.

⁷⁶ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.765.8: ὁ ἀγωνίας δεινῆς γέμων χρόνος ἡγγικεν ἤδη.

⁷⁷ An Aristotelian word, too. Aristotle, *Historia Animalium*, 601b27, thereafter scarcely used by only a few Christians, such as Eusebius, Didymus, Gregory of Nazianzus, Theodoret, but entertained by such authors as Demosthenes and Philo.

⁷⁸ Exodus 2:3–4. Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *De Vita Mosis*, 12.17.

⁷⁹ Exodus 7:17–21. Proclus of Constantinople (Bishop, fifth cent.), *Tomus ad Armenios*, v. 4.2 p. 190. Nicephorus I of Constantinople, *Eusebii Caesariensis Confutatio*, 35.

⁸⁰ Exodus 1:22, reminded by Caesarius, *QR*, 218, line 226 (Νειλῶν ρεῖθρον).

⁸¹ Theodore Studites, in a poem exalting the theological aptitude of Athanasius of Alexandria. *Cantica*, Poem 7.1: Τὰ θεόφθογγα τῆς ἐμμελοῦς σου γλώττης ρεῖθρα πλουσιώτερα τοῦ χρυσοῦ- ρόα Νείλου βλύζων, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, Ἀθανάσιε, κατάρδευσας.

Defendant though Cassian was, he felt he was an orthodox as well as a martyr. He had been indicted by means of aspersion before the imperial court, yet he was satisfied that unfailing faithfulness to orthodoxy is far more important than allegiance to mundane authorities. Erudite as he was in Greek literature, he knew that this lesson was as old as the one given by Sophocles in his *Antigone*.⁸² His first priority was allegiance not to the emperor, but to the Trinity herself. He makes an oblique, yet clear, reference to this saying that 'one should stand in sheer truthfulness before the Trinity, even though one happens to sit on the highest thrones of this world and is in possession of supreme power'. The apostles entirely 'disregarded the purple royal robe', since they were in possession of 'the undiminishable treasure of the Holy Spirit'.⁸³

This apostrophe might have been an implicit reference to Emperor Constantius II (337–361), Constantine's son and successor, who supported the Arian party and made Macedonius Patriarch of Constantinople (342–346 and 351–360), by deposing the orthodox Patriarch Paul. Taking up expressions transpiring in the acts of the Council of Ephesus (which is also a characteristic of Cassian's vocabulary), he refers to the 'supporters of Arius' (τοῖς Ἀρείου ὑπασισταῖς),⁸⁴ in order to launch an attack on them, especially Marathonius.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, this probably reflects his dispute with contemporary political authorities, which is why he is prone to identifying 'mundane' mentality (κοσμικοῦ ἔθους) with 'heresy'.⁸⁶

⁸² Sophocles, *Antigone*, lines 450–460: Οὐ γάρ τί μοι Ζεὺς ἦν ὁ κηρύξας τάδε, οὐδ' ἡ ξύνοικος τῶν κάτω θεῶν Δίκη· οὐ τοῦσδ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ὥρισαν νόμους· οὐδὲ σθένειν τοσοῦτον ὥμῳ τὰ σά κηρύγμαθ' ὥστ' ἄγραπτα κάσφαλῃ θεῶν νόμιμα δύνασθαι θνητὸν δυν' ὑπερδραμεῖν. Οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε καὶ καὶ, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ποτε ζῇ ταῦτα, κοῦδεις οἶδεν ἐξ ὅτου ἴφ' ἀνῆλθον. Τούτων ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔμελλον, ἀνδρὸς οὐδενός φρόνημα δέισας, ἐν θεοῖσι τὴν Δίκην δώσειν.

⁸³ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.725.25–32: Οὐκ ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐν αἰδοῖ τις, ἡττων χρημάτων ὑπάρχων, ἢ ἄδικον ἀναπνέων, ἢ σῶφρον μὴ βλέπων, ἢ μὴ διακείμενος περὶ τὴν ὁμοούσιον Τριάδα εἰλικρινῶς, καὶ τυχὸν ἦν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐπιβεβηκώς κοσμικοῖς θρόνοις, καὶ τὰς ἀκρας ἐν χερσὶν ἔχων ἀρχάς. Ὑπερεῶρων δὲ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀλουργίδος, καὶ κρείττονες ἦσαν χρημάτων, τὸν ἀμείωτον θησαυρὸν ἔχοντες τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.

⁸⁴ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.613.39. So ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum anno 431*, 1.13, p. 96; 1.14, p. 29 (both instances ascribed to Cyril of Alexandria); the expression was used by Caesarius, *Catenae* (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Joannem*, p. 370.

⁸⁵ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.613.41–42: ὡς περιτεθεικὸς σοι ὄνομα ἐπισκόπου, διακόνῳ πρὸ τοῦτου τῆς ὀρθοδόξου καὶ ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τυγχάνοντι. This is in fact a reference to Marathonius, formerly a deacon under Macedonius, who made the former Bishop of Nicomedia. Socrates Scholasticus, *HE*, 2.38; 2.45. Sozomenus, *HE*, 4.27.5, says that the followers of Macedonius were also called 'Marathonians'. Furthermore, *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.633.12–15: ἔτι μὴν καὶ τῶν δαιμόνων θεολογούντων βέλτιον Ἀρειανῶν, τῶν χειροτονησάντων τὸν αἰρεσιάρχη τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Μαραθώνων.

⁸⁶ *DT* (lib. 1), 9.43: ἐπεὶ περ οὐ πᾶσα λέξις ῥηθεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ

Cassian's ordeal was his pupils' ordeal, too. During the time of his trial, all his companions had been allowed to do in support of the author was 'to entreat' on his behalf. His pupils had been allowed to do nothing more than just pray for him. This is all the author had asked them to do, since he knew that this was the most his companions would be allowed to do for him.⁸⁷

But pray for what? He did not ask them to entreat political or ecclesiastical authorities (which was quite the same during those times of *caesaropapism*) to favour him in any way. He only asked them to pray for his theological views 'to remain firm' (τήν τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ γνώμην διατηρηθῆναι μοι ἀκίνητον); also, for their prayer to be heard by the Holy Trinity (τήν τε εὐχὴν ἐπ' ἀπειρον κατορθοῦσα ἀγαθωτάτη καὶ αὐτοτελὴς καὶ ἀδιαίρετος τριάς, προσδεχθῆναι); and for them all to become able to venerate the Holy Trinity in heaven.⁸⁸ The author was so desperate by that time, that he envisaged heaven rather than earth as his impending abode.

It is noteworthy that he quotes a vast numbers of passages from Greek literature, but it is more striking that he does not mention the Christian literature that had reached him, even though he tacitly avails himself of it. The sole Christian author mentioned is Basil of Caesarea, which the author does in order to rebuke a specific opinion of his. He refers to the difficult portion of Mark 13:32, notably 'not even the Son knows' the moment of the eschatological end. A series of Christian authors strove to accommodate this statement, the conclusion always being that the Son is not exempt from whatever the Father knows. The author of *DT*, as well as Caesarius, joined the party conveniently. However, *DT* makes an *ad hoc* reference to 'one of the saintly fathers': although he was full of wisdom, he 'thoughtlessly taught' (ἀσυλλογίστως ἐδίδαξεν) that 'if the Father does not

λόγου κοσμικοῦ ἔθους ἀποτελεῖ νόημα. Op. cit. (*lib.* 3), PG.39.957-14: Τῷ ὄντι γὰρ χαλεπὸν τῇ ἀκριβείᾳ τῶν Γραφῶν ἐπιστῆναι τοὺς κοσμικά, ἢ αἰρετικά ἡσκημένους. Op. cit. PG.39.964.36: τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Παρακλήτου, καὶ τὸ ἐντυγχάνειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, οὐ κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν τῇ λέξει καὶ τὴν κοσμικὴν ὁμιλίαν ἐκδέχεσθαι χρή. Op. cit. PG.39.976.40: οἱ μὲν κοσμικοί, τοῦτ' ἔστιν αἰρετικοί. Op. cit. PG.39.977.23: Ταῦτα πάντα, καὶ πρὸ ὅλων τὸ λέγειν τὸν Δεσπότην, "Ἐρωτήσω τὸν Πατέρα," ὅπερ ἀνεπίληπτόν ἐστιν, οὐ κατὰ κοσμικὴν συνήθειαν νοεῖσθαι ὀφείλον.

⁸⁷ *DT*, (*lib.* 2.1-7), 7.8,13: ἰκετεύσατε ἰδικῶς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἐμοῦ καὶ σὺν ἐμοὶ καὶ πάντων (τούτου γὰρ πλέον παρέχειν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐπετράπητε).

⁸⁸ *DT*, (*lib.* 2.1-7), 7.8,3: καὶ καταξιώθῃναι ἡμᾶς παντεκεῖ, πανοικεῖ, παγγενεῖ καὶ παμφιλεῖ (φίλοι δὲ ἡμῖν οἱ ὀρθόδοξοι) σὺν ὑμῖν τε καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀγιοτρισολογῆσαι αὐτὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς εἰς τοὺς ἀπεράντους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων καὶ τῆς ἐπηγγελμένης καὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν πιστευομένης ἀτελευτήτου καὶ ἀδιαίρετου αὐτῆς βασιλείας χάριν αὐτῆς τυχεῖν. ἀμήν, ἀμήν, ἀμήν. Use of a flood of neologisms at this point (παντεκεῖ, παμφιλεῖ, ἀγιοτρισολογῆσαι) only bespeaks the author's anxiety.

know, then neither does the Son know'. From which follows that once the Father knows, it is impossible for the Son not to know'.⁸⁹ The 'father' that had 'thoughtlessly taught' was 'called Basil', and certainly the author refers to Basil of Caesarea. It would be probably a contribution to sketching the author's psychological profile if we explore what the actual point behind this assertion is. Basil of Caesarea had indeed made such a statement (which the author does not quote verbatim, but he is not unfair to its import).⁹⁰ The problem is that Basil had addressed this epistle to his friend (and, perhaps, cousin) Amphilocheus of Iconium, who was uneasy about this portion of Mark. However, the entire spirit of Basil's epistle is that this scriptural statement by no means infringes the Son's full knowledge of what the Father himself knows. How is it that the author of *DT* took this statement entirely out of context (indeed twice: ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν ὁ Υἱὸς ἔγνω, εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατήρ)? To me there is only one explanation: he had only heard of this statement as it stood, being entirely unaware of the rest of Basil's Epistle 236. The author, supposedly quoting Basil, only reproduced hearsay, which he had probably heard from Sabas and Theodosius the Coenobiarch.⁹¹ This seems to have been a shibboleth circulating in monastic circles, a paradoxology piously aiming at exalting the monarchy of the Father, which is what the present author actually did not really concede.

Nevertheless, the author of *DT* had definitely read those works of Basil which serve to the main purpose of *DT*, namely rebutting Arianism. The adverb ἀσυλλογίστως, which the present author uses, reveals a little history that deserves to be told.

The main piece of Basil's anti-Arian polemic was his *Adversus Eunomium*. The title of this work (which is what we currently have) is a vituperative one,

⁸⁹ *DT* (*lib. 3*), PG.39.920.16–26: "Ἡ ἄρα καὶ τοιοῦτον εἶναι δύναται τό, "Οὐδεὶς οἶδεν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκεῖνην, ἢ τὴν ὥραν, οὔτε ὁ Υἱός, εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατήρ," ὥς τις τῶν ἐν ἀγίοις Πατέρων σοφίας γέμων ἀσυλλογίστως ἐδίδαξεν (Βασιλείους ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ)· ἀντι τοῦ, "Εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατήρ οἶδεν, οὐδὲ ὁ Υἱὸς οἶδεν·" ᾧ ἀκολουθεῖ, ὡς τοῦ Πατρὸς εἰδότος, οὐχ οἶόν τε ἐμὲ ἀγνοεῖν· ἀλλ' οὐ λέγω, φησὶν· ποιῶ γὰρ πάντα κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Πατρὸς· τὸ δὲ γνῶναι τοῦτο ὑμᾶς, οὐκ ἔστιν θέλημα τοῦ Πατρὸς.

⁹⁰ Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae*, 236: Τὸ δὲ Μάρκου, ἐπειδὴ φανερώς δοκεῖ καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν ἀπομερίζειν τῆς γνώσεως, οὕτω νοοῦμεν ὅτι οὐδεὶς οἶδεν, οὔτε οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν ὁ Υἱὸς ἔγνω, εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατήρ· τουτέστιν ἡ αἰτία τοῦ εἰδέναι τὸν Υἱὸν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς. Καὶ ἀβίαστός ἐστι τῷ εὐγνωμόνως ἀκούοντι ἡ ἐξηγήσις αὕτη, ἐπειδὴ οὐ πρόσκειται τὸ μόνος, ὡς καὶ παρὰ τῷ Ματθαίῳ. Ἔστιν οὖν ὁ νοὺς ὁ παρὰ Μάρκῳ τοιοῦτος· περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἢ ὥρας οὐδεὶς οἶδεν, οὔτε οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν ὁ Υἱὸς ἔγνω, εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατήρ· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτῷ ὑπῆρχε δεδομένη ἡ γνώσις.

⁹¹ Cf. Cassian the Sabaite allegedly quoting Basil, which maxim though is not attested otherwise, *OctoVit*, p. 37: "You have both lost the senator and not made a monk".

quite evidently written by a later anti-Arian fanatic.⁹² However, we have a document, which informs us about the title that Basil himself had chosen for his own work. This title was befitting Basil's purpose, as well his philosophical background, at least in terms of tactics against his opponent: Κατὰ Εὐνομίου Συλλογιστικὸς Λόγος (Syllogistic Discourse Against Eunomius). Basil used inferential syllogisms and acted as a dialectician, therefore this title was the most proper one. The documents that preserved this authentic title is the acts of the Council of Lateran (649). Pope Martinus I ordered that the minutes of the Fifth Oecumenical Council be read, while proclaiming that the true orthodox doctrine had been based on the following 'holy fathers and teachers of the church: Athanasius, Hilary, Basil, Gregory the Theologian, Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, Augustine, Theophilus, John [Chrysostom] of Constantinople, Cyril, Leo, Proclus'.⁹³ It is from the series of titles of works by these fathers that we learn the foregoing true title of Basil's discourse against Eunomius.⁹⁴

Now it is evident that the author of *DT* had read Basil's polemic work from the ancient manuscripts available to him during the sixth century. Therefore, his remark that 'although this father, whose name was Basil, was full of wisdom, he taught [this point] not reasoning justly',⁹⁵ is in fact a punning with the title of Basil's work against Eunomius. For what the author insinuates is that, although Basil's aim was to rebut Eunomius, he falls into an Eunomian thesis.

This point is important, since it reveals crucial things about the author. To him, Basil was not a younger contemporary, as Basil was to Didymus: he was one of the ancient 'saintly fathers' (τις τῶν ἐν ἁγίοις πατέρων). We can indeed trace some influence by Basil upon the present author. At a certain point, he refers to the Book of Proverbs, in order to point out that what a proverb says is one thing, but what it signifies is quite another. We know that Origen had cared to furnish a definition of what a proverb is,⁹⁶ but the author writes after

⁹² PG.29.497.21: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου, ἀρχιεπισκόπου Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας Ἀνατρεπτικὸς τοῦ Ἀπολογητικοῦ τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς Εὐνομίου.

⁹³ ACO, *Concilium Lateranense a. 649 Celebratum*, Act 5, p. 252.

⁹⁴ Op. cit. Act 5, p. 262.

⁹⁵ *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.920.18–20: ὡς τις τῶν ἐν ἁγίοις Πατέρων σοφίας γέμων ἀσυλλογίστως ἐδίδαξεν (Βασίλειος ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ).

⁹⁶ Origen, *expProv*, PG.17.161.20: Παροιμία ἐστὶ λόγος ἀπόκρυφος δι' ἐτέρου προδήλου σηματονόμενος. Basil of Caesarea produced a definition of his own, *Homilia in Principium Proverbiorum*, PG.31.388.30–34: Παρὰ δὲ ἡμῖν παροιμία ἐστὶ λόγος ὡφέλιμος, μετ' ἐπικρύψεως μετρίως ἐκδεδομένος, πολὺ μὲν τὸ αὐτόθεν χρήσιμον περιέχων, πολλήν δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ βάθει τὴν διάνοιαν συγκαλύπτων. Suda draws on Basil as much as it does on Origen, having both definitions in the same lemma. Suda, *Lexicon*, alphabetic letter pi, entry 733.

Basil, who had pointed out that Solomon, the writer of Proverbs, was a saint, but he was not a prophet.⁹⁷ Cassian makes the same point in the selfsame terms in *DT*.⁹⁸ It is striking that the only other place where the point 'to be a saint, but not a prophet' is made by Cassian in his *Scholia in Apocalypsin*: a saint is superior to a prophet; for although it is necessary for a prophet to be a saint, there are many saints who do not prophesy.⁹⁹

Cassian is the last author to echo this distinction between a saint and a prophet. Basil had not made this point fortuitously: he actually had in mind Eusebius writing against Marcellus of Ancyra and styling him 'reckless' (τὸ εὐχερὲς τοῦ ἀνδρός), since Marcellus styled Solomon 'prophet' and the Book of Proverbs 'prophecy'.¹⁰⁰ Eusebius argued that Solomon is not a prophet, but there is some inconsistency in him,¹⁰¹ which is why Basil felt it necessary to reiterate that Solomon is not a prophet, and so did Cassian, the author of *De Trinitate*.

Precarious Statements

The author appears to have been in the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand, Proclus had taught him that the One *alone* (which is inexpressible and beyond comprehension) surpasses the ontological order of both the Mind and the Soul. He knew however that if he made the Christian Father something like the One, this could only smack of Judaism.¹⁰² Nevertheless, he

⁹⁷ Basil of Caesarea, *Adversus Eunomium (libri 5)*, PG.29.704.29–32: "Ἀλλως τε καὶ οὐδὲ προφήτης ὁ εἰπών, ἀλλὰ Παροιμιαστής. Αἱ δὲ παροιμίαι εἰκόνες ἐτέρων, οὐκ αὐτὰ τὰ λεγόμενα. Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae Super Psalmos*, PG.29.212.1–4: "Ἀλλὰ μὲν οὖν προφήται παιδεύουσι, καὶ ἄλλα ἱστορικοί, καὶ ὁ νόμος ἕτερα, καὶ ἄλλα τὸ εἶδος τῆς παροιμιακῆς παραινέσεως. Maximus Confessor recalls this in *Quaestiones et Dubia*, 108.

⁹⁸ *DT (lib. 3)*, PG.39.813.34–37: ἀλλὰ καὶ Παροιμία ὄνομα τῇ βίβλῳ, ὡς οὐ πάντως αἰεὶ τὸ φαινόμενον, ἀλλ' ὅτι μάλιστα δι' ἐτέρου πράγματος, ἢ προσώπου ἕτερον σημαίνουσα, καὶ ὅτι Σολομών παροιμιαστής, ἀλλ' οὐ προφήτης.

⁹⁹ Cassian the Sabaite, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XXXVII: ἐπιπλείων γὰρ τοῦ προφήτου ὁ ἅγιος· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸν θεοῦ προφήτην καὶ ἅγιον εἶναι· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀντιστρέφει· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἅγιοι ὄντες οὐ προφητεύουσιν.

¹⁰⁰ Eusebius, *Contra Marcellum*, 1.2.25–26. Cf. *De Ecclesiastica Theologia*, 3.3.43; 3.3.60. Marcellus, *Fragmenta*, Fr. 24; 60; 123; 125.

¹⁰¹ Eusebius included Solomon's Proverbs among the texts to draw on in order to detect 'prophecies about Christ'. *Generalis Elementaria Introductio*, p. 93: Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ γ' τόμῳ τῶν περὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ προφητικῶν ἐκλογῶν. Πρῶτον κεφάλαιον· ἀπὸ τῶν παροιμιῶν.

¹⁰² *DT (lib. 3)*, PG.39.924.30–35: 'Ἀλλ' οὕτως εἴρηνται, τοῦτο μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ σύγχυσιν νοῆσαι τῶν θεῶν ὑποστάσεων, ἐκάστην δὲ διευκρινηθῆναι· τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐκβάλλεσθαι Ἑλλήνων μὲν τὴν πολυθεΐαν διὰ τοῦ, "Εἷς Θεὸς ὁ Πατὴρ"· Ἰουδαίων δὲ τὴν περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἀθέτησιν διὰ τοῦ, "Εἷς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός."

could not afford not to profess the Father as the source of divinity, to whom ‘everything owes its existence’ (ὅτι τῷ ἐνί, οὗ Πνευμά ἐστι, καὶ εἰς ὃν πάντα ἀνάγεται).¹⁰³ It is extremely difficult to render in English this Present Tense form ἀνάγεται, although the verb ἀνάγω is very common and means ‘lift’ or ‘bring up’, from which *anagoge* is also derived. He persists in this obscurity which may mean many (Neoplatonic) things, as well as actually nothing. He simply does not explain what he means. Does he suggest the Father as the source of the other Two Persons, which is the prevailing doctrine? But he says that ‘everything’ (ὅλα) owes its existence to this ‘one’ (τὸν ἕνα,¹⁰⁴ or, τῷ ἐνί¹⁰⁵), or ‘to him’ (εἰς ἐκεῖνον).¹⁰⁶ While mentioning the two Hypostases (Son, Spirit), he also mentions what they *do* within the world, and then he makes the wholesale statement that ‘they all’ originate in the Father. The statements are all dim, actually it seems to me that they are deliberately obscure. They may suggest the Father’s monarchy not any less than the author’s doctrine about the entire Trinity permeating the entire world.¹⁰⁷ Or, they may simply suggest anything, depending on the person who reads this portion.

However, the author’s statement is sheer heretical when he comes to quote and render the portion of Rom. 11:36 (‘For of him, and through him, and to him are all things’). This statement received some attention yet diverse exegeses by theologians. Once God is considered to be Triune, the question is whom each clause (‘of him’, ‘through him’, ‘to him’) possibly refers to. Origen replying to Celsus does not elaborate and refers simply to ‘God’, only because his interlocutor had done so. His entire theology however makes it clear that he considers the portion as pointing to the Second Person.¹⁰⁸ His true disciple, Gregory of Nyssa, was aware of this and

¹⁰³ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.613.28.

¹⁰⁴ *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 6.4.9: τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ λόγου καὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἁγίου πνεύματος πάσα ἐνέργεια καὶ ὠρεά, δημιουργικὴ τε, ἀγαθὴ τε καὶ τελεία, καὶ κοινὴ αὐτῶν ὑπάρχει, ἀνάγεται δὲ ὅλα εἰς τὸν ἕνα, ἐξ οὗ καὶ σὺν ᾧ ἀφράστως ἐξεφάνησαν αἱ μακάριαι ὑποστάσεις.

¹⁰⁵ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.613.20–29: Διὸ κἀνταῦθα προεῖπε: “Διαιρέσεις δὲ χαρισμάτων εἰσί, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα” τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ (κατὰ ἔλλειψιν λόγου καὶ συγκοπῆν), τὸ χαριζόμενον Πνεῦμα· καὶ οὕτως ἐπήγαγεν· “Τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα, διαίρουσιν ἰδίᾳ ἐκάστω καθὼς βούλεται” ὥστε ἀποδείξει, ὅτι αὐτό, καὶ χαρίζεται, καὶ διαίρει, ὁμοφρόνως δηλὸν ὅτι τῷ ἐνί, οὗ Πνευμά ἐστι, καὶ εἰς ὃν πάντα ἀνάγεται, ὡς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγράφη· “Ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα.”

¹⁰⁶ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.660.33–37: Κελεύουσι γάρ αἱ μακάριαι ὑποστάσεις αὗται, εἵκει δὲ ἡ ἀγγελία καὶ πάντων φύσις. Ἡγεμονεύουσι γάρ βασιλικῶς, καὶ καταρχοῦσιν αὐτοφῶς, διὰ τὴν ἀπαράλλακτον πρὸς τὸν ἐξ οὗ προήλθον Πατέρα θεότητα, καὶ ἀνάγεται πάντα εἰς ἐκεῖνον.

¹⁰⁷ See *RCR*, pp. 325–329.

¹⁰⁸ See *PHE*, pp. 335–336; 415–418. Origen, *Cels*, VI.65. Cf. *Commentarii in Romanos* (III.5–V.7) (P. Cair. 88748 + cod. Vat. gr. 762), p. 170.

quite clear in confirming this resolution: he accorded this Pauline statement to the Son alone.¹⁰⁹ So does his brother Basil of Caesarea.¹¹⁰ Gregory of Nazianzus believes that Paul made a collated reference (εἰς ἕν συνάγονται πάλιν, and συνάγει τὴν μίαν θεότητα),¹¹¹ thus referring to the Trinity, without making any distinction of hypostases. The resolution was secure enough so as to be conveniently taken up by Chrysostom,¹¹² Theodoret,¹¹³ and John of Damascus,¹¹⁴ who did not actually make anything of it.

This exploration would not have been worthwhile if only a certain anonymous writer had not made this statement of Paul a critical question. The work circulated under the name of Athanasius (only to remind us of the practice of Christian forgery). The anonymous author urges that the statement 'from him' can by no means suggest that the ensuing 'through him' makes the Son an inferior being,¹¹⁵ quite simply because the statement is entirely about the Son.¹¹⁶ This is the sole author in Christian literature to

¹⁰⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Antirrheticus Adversus Apollinarium*, v. 3,1, p. 203: εἰς κύριος Ἰησοῦς, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ Ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα, καὶ περὶ μόνον αὐτὸν ἡ τοιαύτη τῶν θεοπερῶν ὀνομάτων ἀπαρίθμησις. Likewise, *In Canticum Canticorum* (*homiliae* 15), v. 6, p. 306.

¹¹⁰ Basil of Caesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto*, 5.7: Συνήγαγεν ἀμφοτέρας ἐπὶ ἑνὸς καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὑποκειμένου ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος εἰπών· "Ὅτι ἔξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα." Τοῦτο δὲ προδήλως εἰς τὸν Κύριον φέρειν πᾶς τις ἂν εἴποι ὁ καὶ μικρὸν τῷ βουλήματι τῆς λέξεως ἐπιστήσας. Προτάξας γὰρ ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐκ τῆς προφητείας τοῦ Ἡσαίου τό· "Τίς ἔγνω νοῦν Κυρίου; καὶ τίς σύμβουλος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο;" ἐπήγαγεν· "Ὅτι ἔξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα". "Ἀπερ ὅτι περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου τοῦ δημιουργοῦ πάσης κτίσεως εἰρηται τῷ προφήτῃ, ἐκ τῶν κατόπιν ἂν μάθοις. ... Ὅθεν οἰκείως ἐπήγαγεν ὁ ἀπόστολος τό· "Ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα." Ἐξ αὐτοῦ γὰρ τοῖς οὐσιν ἡ αἰτία τοῦ εἶναι κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατὴρ γίνεταί. Δι' αὐτοῦ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἡ διαμονὴ καὶ ἡ σύστασις· τοῦ κτίσαντος τὰ πάντα καὶ τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἐκάστω τῶν γενομένων ἐπιμετροῦντος. Διὸ δὴ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπέστραπται op. cit. 5.8: Εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρίου δώσουσι τὰς τρεῖς εἰρησθαί φωνάς, τὴν τε ἔξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτόν, ἀνάγκη πάσα προσοικεῖν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρί.

¹¹¹ Gregory of Nazianzus, *In Sancta Lumina* (*orat.* 39), PG.36.348.16–20: Καὶ τοῦτο δῆλον, ἔξ ὧν εἰς ἕν συνάγονται πάλιν, εἴ τῷ μὴ παρέργως ἐκεῖνο ἀναγινώσκειται παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ἀποστολῷ, τό, Ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα· αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Likewise, *In Aegyptiorum Adventum* (*orat.* 34), PG.36.256.6–13: καὶ ὅτε μὲν διαίρει τὰς ὑποστάσεις, εἰς Θεός, λέγοντος, ἔξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν· καὶ εἰς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ. Ὅτε δὲ συνάγει τὴν μίαν θεότητα· ὅτι ἔξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα, δηλαδὴ διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ὡς πολλὰ τοῦ δείκνυται τῆς Γραφῆς.

¹¹² John Chrysostom, *Ad Eos Qui Scandalizati Sunt*, 2.10; *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG.55.120.37–38; *In Joannem* (*homiliae* 1–88), PG.59.56.46–48; *In Epistolam ad Romanos* (*homiliae* 1–32), PG.60.593.24 f.

¹¹³ Theodoret, *intPaulXIV*, PG.82.184.22 f.

¹¹⁴ John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei*, 54. Likewise spuria under Damascenus' name: *Commentarii in Epistulas Pauli*, PG.95.537 & 629; *Vita Barlaam et Joasaph*, p. 142.

¹¹⁵ Pseudo-Athanasius, *Testimonia e Scriptura*, PG.28.53.34–36: Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας τό, ἔξ οὗ, καὶ δι' οὗ, διαφέρειν, καὶ διδόντας τὸ μὲν, ἔξ οὗ, τῷ Πατρὶ, τὸ δέ, δι' οὗ, τῷ, ὡς ἔλαττον.

¹¹⁶ Op. cit. PG.28.53.1–3: Περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκ τῆς προφητείας Ἡσαίου Παῦλος εἶπεν· "Ὅτι ἔξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς αὐτόν τὰ πάντα."

have realized that Paul did not make this statement *in vacuum*. Paul had just quoted from Isaiah referring to the Son. The immediately following portion of Rom. 11:34 closely preceding the 11:36 one ('for who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been his counsellor?') is not actually Paul's own words. This is Paul quoting Isaiah 30:13, and the question-mark of the Old Testament portion only makes this a rhetorical question: Isaiah in fact avers that it is the Son who 'hath known the mind of the Lord'. Therefore, so the author urges, the ensuing statement in Rom. 11:36 continues to be a reference to the Son. The thesis he advances is that not only does the clause ἐξ αὐτοῦ refer to the Son, but also that this *cannot* point to the Father either.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, another spurious text (also under Athanasius' name) was written in the form of dialogue between an 'orthodox' and a follower of Macedonius. The 'orthodox' interrogates the 'Macedonian', asking him, 'which is the person' that Rom. 11:36 'refers to?' and the latter quite promptly replies, 'to the Father',¹¹⁸ only to receive a battery of rebutting arguments by the 'orthodox'.

These Patristic pages are of interest only because *DT*'s author is the only one to advance this 'Macedonian' thesis (besides the foregoing spurious work) throughout the entire Christian literature. This does not prevent the author from arguing every now and then that his treatise was composed in order to rebut Arians, Eunomians, and the followers of Macedonius. Hardly could the author be more clear that the statement of Rom. 11:36 refers to the Father, also styled 'the one', which is a clear influence by his Neoplatonist heroes.¹¹⁹

Moving to a different issue, the author was haunted by the meaning of 'beginning' denoting 'cause' of something coming into being. This is an Aristotelian trait in *DT* and in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin* alike. This is what impelled the author to endorse the doctrine that the Father, although peer to the other two Persons, is the source of Godhead, which establishes a certain sense of Monarchy within Christian doctrine. Subsequently, since the Father gives birth to the Son, he is the *cause* of the Son. A long series of texts have it that 'the Father is the cause of the Son' (πατήρ αἷτιος υἱοῦ) (Eusebius, Epiphanius, Gregory of Nazianzus, John of Damascus). Caesarius

¹¹⁷ Op. cit. PG.28.53.2–6: Περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκ τῆς προφητείας Ἡσαίου Παῦλος εἶπεν· "Ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα." Εἰ δὲ ἀντιλέγει ὁ αἰρετικὸς τῷ Πατρὶ τῷ Θεῷ λελέχθαι τὴν, "δι' οὗ," φωνήν, πρέπειν δώσει καὶ τὴν ἴσιν ἀξίαν τῷ Υἱῷ.

¹¹⁸ Pseudo-Athanasius, *De Sancta Trinitate (dialogi 1; 3; 5)*, PG.28.1216.

¹¹⁹ See *supra DT (lib. 2.8–27)*, PG.39.613.20–29 and *DT (lib. 3)*, PG.39.924.30–35 quoted.

has it that the Father is a cause of the Son, yet not a 'preceding' one, which means that Cassian emended his *DT*-assertion in his next tract. For the present author has it that since the Son 'is without beginning' (ἀναρχος), the Father cannot be 'the cause' of his existence (οὐ γὰρ αἷτιος αὐτοῦ).¹²⁰ Fascinated by the Neoplatonic *oneness* (ένάς), which he states again and again, what he sees as Godhead (θεότης) is *one* 'divine nature',¹²¹ or the single divine 'essence' (οὐσία),¹²² while playing down the Father's monarchy. Since both the will and action of the Trinity is one, he cannot see how it would be possible for a specific act to be carried out by one Trinitarian person alone. But this is exactly the ground on which the Monophysites during Cassian's lifetime defended the first-generation anti-Chalcedonian Peter the Fuller, Patriarch of Antioch (471–488). He was the one who had added the words, 'who was crucified for us', into the so-called *Trisagion* (or, Thrice-Holy, Τρισάγιον), namely, the doxology 'Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us'. This addition meant to emphasize that the Second Person of the Trinity had truly been incarnate and truly suffered. However, the implicit Theopaschitism was outrageous to Chalcedonians, and a catch-cry for the Monophysites. Since there is no distinct act by each Trinitarian Person, it followed that it was the entire Trinity that had suffered on the Cross. Certainly the Monophysites aimed at securing the truth of incarnation and suffering of Jesus against Docetism, whereas *DT* cares for securing the Trinitarian character of the Christian Godhead. In effect, however, both end up with agreeing on this formula, notwithstanding their different points of departure. As a matter of fact, the present author is more adamant, or more awkward. Since 'the Holy Trinity is of one divinity and one power', 'there can be no salvation granted by the Father' alone (εἰ μὴ μία θεότης καὶ δύναμις ἐστὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος, οὐδὲ παρὰ τῷ Πατρὶ ἡ σωτηρία).¹²³ There is a strange persistence in emphasizing 'many times' (ὡς εἴρηται πολλάκις)¹²⁴ that salvation should always be understood as being granted

¹²⁰ *DT* (*lib.* 1), 16.16. Οὐδὲ ὡς αἷτιος, οὐ γὰρ αἷτιος αὐτοῦ. ἀναρχος γὰρ καὶ ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς ἐδείχθη· ἐπεὶ ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε καὶ ἡμῶν μείξων, ὅπερ μὴ γένοιτο εἰπεῖν ἢ ἀκοῦσαι.

¹²¹ Which is why he makes so much of 2 Peter 1:4, quoted in *DT* (*lib.* 1), 15.26; 15.64; 16.22; 29.8; *op. cit.* (*lib.* 2.8–27), PG.39.688.15.

¹²² *DT* (*lib.* 2.1–7), 5.26: παρατῇ γάρ, ὅτι περ ὡς ὁ πατήρ, οὕτως καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ Χριστῷ μένει, ἀχώριστον δὲ τῇ θεῇ φύσει· καὶ ὅτι τὰ θεῖα ἔργα ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρρήτου τριάδος ὁμοφρόνως γίνονται· καὶ καθὰ ὁ πατήρ ἐν ἰδίᾳ ὑποστάσει ὧν ἐξεικονίζεται ἐν τῷ μονογενεῖ, διὰ τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον τῆς θεότητος, τοῦτέστιν τῆς οὐσίας· τὸν ἴσον τρόπον καὶ ὁ μονογενὴς ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.

¹²³ *DT*, PG.39.820.10–12.

¹²⁴ *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.980.28–29: Ἐπειδὴ γάρ, ὡς εἴρηται πολλάκις, κοινῇ παρὰ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος πᾶσα ἡμῖν σωτηρία δεδωρηται.

collectively by all of the Trinity (κοινὴν σωτηρίαν).¹²⁵ Orthodox though this is, a Monophysite could advance his own cause out of this statement, too. It is then hardly strange that Cassian, along with the Akoimatoi, was charged with Monophysitism.

Likewise, the Trinity is made immanent in the world. Gone is the Origenist (and orthodox) doctrine that whereas the Trinitarian God is transcendent to the world, the Logos is *both* immanent, acting within it, and transcendent to it at the same time.¹²⁶ According to the present author, it is not only the Logos alone who permeates the world, it is the Trinity herself, from which follows that the Father as well as the Holy Spirit are also permeating all creation.¹²⁷ This is the selfsame tenet which we come upon in Cassian's ascetic texts.¹²⁸ He did not actually realize that when Athanasius wrote in similar terms, he took heed to make clear that he referred to the *action*, not 'the substance' of the Trinity.¹²⁹

By the same token, whereas God speaking to his people throughout Biblical history is taken to be the Logos (that is, the Second Person), the author has it that it was also either the Father or the Holy Spirit speaking. Interpreting the vision of the candlestick by prophet Zachariah (Zach. 3:8–4:14), the author has it that it is 'God the Father' who speaks to Zorobabel; the divine words that were uttered to him 'vividly evince' that 'the divine hypostases never differ, or go away, from each other'.¹³⁰ Likewise, in the vision of

¹²⁵ *DT (lib. 2.8–27)*, PG.39.713.1–5: καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν αὐτῆ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἐφώτιζεν τε πάντοτε πάντας τοὺς κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν Ἰσραηλῖτας, καὶ ἔσωζεν, καὶ ἐδεῖναι τῆς ὁμοουσίου Τριάδος κοινήν εἶναι τὴν παρεχομένην σωτηρίαν.

¹²⁶ See *COT*, pp. 165–172.

¹²⁷ *DT (lib. 2.1–7)*, 6.2.2 (the Holy Spirit is present throughout the world, and he is 'providence' and 'wisdom'): αἰσθητὴν, καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν πάντων ἐστὶν ἄμοιρον τῆς αἰδίου ἐπιστασίας αὐτοῦ· τὸ γὰρ πάντα συνέχειν τοῦτο δηλοῖ. καὶ πάσης, φησὶν, ἐπακούει φωνῆς, ὡς θεὸς ἐν πάσιν πανταχοῦ αἰεὶ τυγχάνων, καὶ πᾶσαν ὕλικὴν ἀναρμοστίαν εἰς τάξιν περιάγων τὴν πρέπουσαν, καὶ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοῦ ποιηθέντων φειδόμενος τε καὶ ἐπιμελούμενος, ἅτε αὐτὸς τὴν φύσιν πρόνοια ὑπάρχων καὶ σοφία, δι' ὧλων διαπεφοιτηκυῖα, ὡς ὁ πατήρ.

¹²⁸ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 86^v: Τοῦτο γὰρ, καθὼς εἴρηται, μόνῃ ἐστὶν τῇ Τριάδι δυνατὸν, ἥτις πάσῃ τῇ νοητῇ φύσει ἐνυπάρχει δι' ὅλης τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτῆς καὶ οὐσίας διήκουσα καὶ ἐρευνώσα τὰ ἀφανῆ αὐτῆς καὶ περιέχουσα καὶ μόνῃ ὑπάρχουσα ἀπλὴ καὶ ἀσώματος οὐσία. I canvass this in *RCR*, pp. 325–328.

¹²⁹ Athanasius, *De Decretis Nicaenae Synodi*, 40.14–15: ἐγὼ δὲ τῆς ὑπερεξόχου καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα διηκούσης δυνάμεως τὸ πληρῶμα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ οὐσίαν μίαν εἶναι γινώσκω. *Op. cit.* 40.27–28: ποῦ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ σὴ παρουσία; ἢ ποῦ τὴν σὴν οὐ πάντες ἐνέργειαν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ πάντα σου διηκόντων νόμων αἰσθάνονται; πάντα γὰρ αὐτὸς περιέχεις, καὶ ἔξω σου οὔτε τόπον οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐπινοεῖσθαι θέμις. οὕτως ἡ σὴ δύναμις μετ' ἐνεργείας ἐστὶν ἄπειρος.

¹³⁰ *DT (lib. 2.8–27)*, PG.39.724.11–15: Ἀμέλει τοι ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ τὴν ἀδιαίρετον, καὶ μόνην βεβαίαν, καὶ ἀήττητον βοήθειαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Λόγου, καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος αὐτοῦ ὑπισχνούμενος τῷ Ζοροβάβελ, καὶ ἀποφαίνων τρανέστατα, ὡς οὐ διαφέρειεν, οὔτ' ἀφεστᾶσιν ἀλλήλων αἱ θεῖαι ὑποστάσεις.

Isaiah 6:3, the prophet 'saw the Father', whereas during the Apocalypse 'John saw the Son'.¹³¹

The author makes reference to the 'Fatherly divinity' (πατρική θεότης). This however does not really suggest that the Father is the source of all the Trinitarian Godhead, as study of context at all relevant points shows. Rather, the Son and Spirit fully and continuously possess this Trinitarian divinity. In other words, the author forms his constructions having in mind Neoplatonism rather than the Christian literature that had preceded him. All he is alert to do is reflect on the Plotinian Trinity while making it a non-ranked one, which means that the 'oneness' of the One is made to pertain to all Three ontologically equal hypostases. Once he distances himself from the Neoplatonic tenet by modifying this slightly, he feels that he can walk safely on orthodox ground, no matter how heavily he draws on Neoplatonic vocabulary. The fact is that he draws too heavily on this nomenclature.

The term *ἐναδικός* ('pertaining to unity') was used at no more than seven instances during the first millennium. References available to us relate to a testimony ascribed to Parmenides asserting that 'in the midst of the four elements there is a fiery cube, which was known to Homer, too',¹³² but this is not relevant to our context. The sole parallel to *DT* making reference to the 'unique Paternal divinity' (τὸ ἐναδικὸν ἢ τοι μοναδικὸν τῆς πατρικῆς θεότητος)¹³³ appears in Proclus, who applied this designation to the One.¹³⁴

The formula is pretty simple: *DT* identifies the Plotinian One with the Father, who possesses full divinity, and then makes the other Two Persons ontologically alike to this One. However, the point is that, although the tenet

¹³¹ *DT* (*lib.* 2.8–27), PG.39.657.12–19: Καὶ τὸν ὀφθέντα δὲ τῷ Ἡσαΐα βασιλέα Κύριον Σαβαώθ κατήμενον ἐπὶ θρόνου ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἐπηρμένον, ἐν οἴκῳ δόξης πεπληρωμένῳ, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν σεραφίμ τῇ τρισαγίῳ φωνῇ καταγεραίρομενον, ὁ μὲν προφήτης τὸν Πατέρα εἶδεν, ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης τὸν Υἱόν· ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσιν, διὰ τὴν ταυτότητα τῆς θεότητος, τὸ πάνσοφον Πνεῦμα εἶναι ἐδήλωσεν.

¹³² Cf. Iamblichus, *Theologoumena Arithmeticae*, p. 6 reporting Parmenides' views. *Testimonia*, Fr. 44: πρὸς τούτοις φασὶ περὶ τὸ μέσον τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων κείσθαι τινα ἐναδικὸν διάπυρον κύβον, οὗ τὴν μεσότητα τῆς θέσεως καὶ Ὁμηρον εἰδέναι. The same view of Parmenides is reported by Anatolius of Laodicea, *Περὶ Δεκάδος καὶ τῶν Ἐντὸς Αὐτῆς Ἀριθμῶν*, p. 6.

¹³³ *DT* (*lib.* 1), 15.60: οὕτω καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα παρὰ Παύλου Κορινθίους καὶ Ἐφεσίους γράψαντος ὕμνηται "ἕν" καὶ "τὸ αὐτό" καὶ μόνον, καὶ μόνον, ἵνα καὶ αὐτῷ τούτῳ τῷ ὡσανεὶ ἀριθμῷ, ἵν' οὕτω λεχθῇ, δείκνυνται φέρουσαι αἱ μακάριαι ὑποστάσεις αὐταὶ τὸ ἐναδικὸν ἢ τοι μοναδικὸν τῆς πατρικῆς θεότητος. Scholia in Maximum Confessorem, *Scholia*, 55 (engaging in a fanciful exploration associating number 'one' with number 'ten' of the Old Testament-commandments): ἐπὶ τὴν κατὰ τὴν θεωρίαν ἐναδικὴν συναγόμενος μονάδα.

¹³⁴ Proclus, *In Platonis Parmenidem*, p. 805: Καὶ οὐ δεῖ θαυμάζειν εἰ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ εἶδη σημαίνεται καὶ θεῶν τάξεις τινές· ἔστι γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ὡς ὅλα καὶ ὡς μέρη, καὶ ἐναδικῶς καὶ εἰδητικῶς. Op. cit. p. 1051: ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἀριθμῶν ὁ πρῶτιστος ἐνοειδὴς καὶ ἐναδικός ἐστι καὶ ὑπερούσιος, ὡς τὸ ἕν.

of the Son being 'born', and the Holy Spirit 'proceeding', from the Father is professed, nowhere does the author avow the Father as the source of divinity, which could be affirmation of the Father's monarchy within the Trinitarian doctrine. All the author was at pains to do was proclaim that 'the paternal divinity' (πατρική θεότης) is in no way ontologically superior to that of either the Son or the Spirit.

The reason why he did so is quite evident: he thought that an assertion avowing the Father's monarchy could place his theology dangerously close to the Neoplatonic milieu. That the Father's monarchy was in fact the orthodox dogma (which was what he sought to comply with), was hardly an incentive to engage in what he was seeing as a perilous venture.¹³⁵ This however had some critical consequences. One of them was making the whole of the Trinity permeate all things within the world, as already said. Which is why he refers to this 'paternal divinity' (πατρικὴν θεότητα) being present 'above all things and pervading all things and being in all things',¹³⁶ even though Paul had reserved a nuanced language: "For of him, and through him, and to him are all things",¹³⁷ reserving the phrase 'in all' (ἐν πᾶσιν) either to God's *action* ('but it is the same God which worketh all in all'),¹³⁸ or to the Logos ('the church, which is his body, the fullness of him that filleth all in all'),¹³⁹ or to God the Father ('that God may be all in all'), once the Son will have been 'subjected' to him.¹⁴⁰ By contrast, the author of *DT* intractably makes all of the Trinity present throughout the entire world, which is also what Cassian in his ascetic writings does.

¹³⁵ *DT* (lib. 1), 16.35: ὁ δὲ θεὸς λόγος ἀπαλλάκτως καὶ ἀπηκριβωμένως εἰς ὅλα τὴν ἀπλὴν καὶ ἀσύνθετον καὶ ἀποίκιον πατρικὴν θεότητα φυσικῶς καὶ ἀνάρχως ἐξεικονίζει. *Op. cit.* 27.46: καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος φύσει πλήρωμά ἐστιν αὐτὸ ἢ πατρικὴ θεότης ὑπάρχων τῇ οὐσίᾳ. *Op. cit.* 27.51–52: "ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος". Καὶ Τιμοθέῳ δὲ γράψας εἰς ἄκρον ἐθεολόγησεν περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν τῶν λέξεων τὸ μὴ εἶναι κατὰ θεότητα παρὰ φύσιν τὴν πατρικὴν ἐδίδαξεν. *Op. cit.* (lib. 3), PG.39.941.29–34: "Ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἁγίων". Τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ παρ' ὀρθοδόξων λεγόμενον, ὅτι διὰ τὸ ταυτὸν τῆς θεότητος καὶ βασιλείας ἐν τῇ πατρικῇ δόξῃ ἐλεύσεται τοῦτ' ἐστὶ, τὴν ἴσην δόξαν ἔχων τῷ γεννήσαντι.

¹³⁶ *DT* (lib. 1), 27.64: Ἰούδας δὲ ὁ εἰς τοὺς δυοκαίδεκα μονοκτήτορα ὥριστο αὐτὸν ὡς τὴν ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν πατρικὴν διακληρωσάμενον θεότητα, οὕτωςί που τοῖς ἀπανταχοῦ γράψας (then the Epistle of Judas, 4 is quoted).

¹³⁷ Rom. 11:36. Origen made a superb analysis about this phrase referring to the Logos. See *PHE*, pp. 335–336; 415–418.

¹³⁸ 1 Cor. 12:6: ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς θεός, ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν.

¹³⁹ Eph. 1:22–23: τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἣτις ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν πληρουμένου.

¹⁴⁰ 1 Cor. 28: ὅταν δὲ ὑποταγῇ αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, τότε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς ὑποταγήσεται τῷ ὑποτάξαντι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, ἵνα ὁ θεός [τὰ] πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν.

The author has hardly any *historical* conception of the Trinitarian doctrine, which is a point that I have canvassed elsewhere.¹⁴¹ All he is content to do is a truffle hunting of scriptural passages, which he deems supportive of his views. Indebted to Origen though he is, he is actually oblivious of the great lesson which the Alexandrian taught all subsequent theologians who aspired to composing a Trinitarian theology. The basis and source in order for this doctrine to be both composed and grasped is not any cluster of authoritative passages: this basis is entirely an *historical* one, which stems from the divine *epiphanies* that originate in God's appearances and his perennial call to any man throughout history. Theology, after all, is not simply the exposition of doctrines, as if they were just another sort of philosophical proposition: it is the entire world considered in its historical course. Doctrine is nothing more than the teaching, which describes the content of faith, as it was, and continues to be, manifest in real life. Despite widespread misimpression, the foundation of Origen's teaching was not theoretical or personal philosophical assertion: it was the entire *experience* of ecclesiastical life participating in the adventures of the people of the Biblical history. What Origen primarily saw as *Christianity* was not philosophical concepts and ideas handed down from Scripture, but the *life* and action of God's people in the world, and this, in relation not only to the past, but also to the future.

The author is as happy to quote from pagan literature as is he loath to do so with Christian theologians that had preceded him. On the one hand, this makes *DT* a treasure of some Greek and Oriental passages which are not attested by any other source. On the other, it makes the exploration onerous to modern scholarship, since he definitely has allegiances to Christian authors, especially Gregory of Nyssa, which I have pointed out wherever possible. The sole instance where he quotes a theologian by name is when he denounces a certain opinion of Basil of Caesarea.¹⁴² And yet, his liabilities to his antecessors are by no means negligible. Actually some of them are so unique that the source can be identified conclusively. A case in point is his reference to Psalm 50:9 ('purge me with hyssop'):¹⁴³ he explains that this kind of ritual cleansing was a Jewish habit, 'which still holds until our day' and which was *typos* of the Christian baptism.¹⁴⁴ What he does not say

¹⁴¹ See an extensive analysis in *PHE*, pp. 357–434.

¹⁴² See pp. 458–461.

¹⁴³ Psalm 51:7 in Masoretic text.

¹⁴⁴ *DT* (*lib.* 2.8–27), PG.39.713.20–25: Δαυὶδ δέ· “Ῥαντιεῖς με ὑσσώπῳ, καὶ καθαρισθήσομαι· πλυνεῖς με, καὶ ὑπὲρ χιόνα λευκανθήσομαι.” Ῥαντισμὸν γὰρ ὑσσώπου, τὸν Ἰουδαϊκὸν καθαρισμόν, τὸν ἕως νῦν εἰωθότα παρ’ αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι· ὑπὲρ χιόνα δέ, φωτισμὸν Χριστιανῶν, τὸ βάπτισμα λέγει.

is that the sole author who had furnished this exegesis was Hesychius, the fifth-century presbyter of Jerusalem,¹⁴⁵ and Cassian no doubt had read this in Palestine.

Likewise, his remark that ‘it is very rare for the Holy Spirit of God to be referred to without the definite article *the* being attached to him’,¹⁴⁶ is a liability to Athanasius.¹⁴⁷

Setting out to consider an alternative Greek rendering of Prov. 8:22 (κύριος ἔκτισέν με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ) by Akylas, he states this alternative (Κύριος ἐκτήσατό με), which transpires only in *DT*,¹⁴⁸ Eusebius¹⁴⁹ and Epiphanius.¹⁵⁰ Subsequently he criticizes Akylas for being inaccurate in his rendering. But it takes only mere reading of Epiphanius’ statement (which is fuller) in order to find out that the author copies the Bishop of Salamis to the word, as indeed Caesarius did in the opening section of his own work.

At the very same point, the author advises the reader that ‘some’ exegetes have rendered this portion (Prov. 8:22: ‘the Lord made me a beginning towards his works’) as one ‘referring to the Church’, which is ‘a felicitous exegesis’.¹⁵¹ What he does not say though is that this exegesis had been furnished by Marcellus of Ancyra (also availed of *infra*), perhaps because the man was considered a heretic.¹⁵²

When God is adumbrated as ‘superior to any quantity’, a peculiar phrase is used (ποσότητος πάσης ἀμείνων),¹⁵³ and the author actually applies a notion

¹⁴⁵ Hesychius of Jerusalem, *Commentarius Brevis*, Psalm 50:9: Προμηνύει ὁ προφήτης τὸ βάπτισμα, ἐπειδὴ ὁ νόμος ὑσώπῳ περιεργαίνετο. Ὑσσωπος δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ ἄνθος τοῦ καλάμου.

¹⁴⁶ *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.953.2–6: Σπανίως γὰρ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ δίχα τοῦ συνάπτεσθαι αὐτῷ τῷ ἁγίῳ, ἢ τῷ, τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἢ τὸ ἄρθρον, ἢ τὴν μετοχὴν αὐτοῦ· ὡς ἡνίκα γράφει· “Πνεῦμα Ἡλία” καί, “Πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε.”

¹⁴⁷ Athanasius, *Epistulae Quattuor ad Serapionem*, PG.26.537 & 548.

¹⁴⁸ *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.825.31–36: πρὸς ἐπιχείρησιν εἰπεῖν δυνήσεται. Ἀκύλας μὲν γάρ, ὁ εἰς τῶν ἐρμηνευτῶν, τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην ἔχουσιν Ἑβραϊστί, Ἀδωναὶ κανόνι, ἐξέδωκεν οὕτως· “Κύριος ἐκτήσατό με,” οὐδὲ αὐτὸς κυριολεκτήσας· ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ κατὰ τὸ ἀκριβές· “Κύριος ἐνόσσευσέ με” τοῦτ’ ἐστίν, ἔτεκεν.

¹⁴⁹ Eusebius, *De Ecclesiastica Theologia*, 3.2.15&20.

¹⁵⁰ Epiphanius of Salamis, *Ancoratus*, 44.1.

¹⁵¹ *DT* (*lib.* 3), 39.828.4–6: Τινὲς δὲ τὸ, “Κύριος ἔκτισέ με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ,” περὶ τῆς Ἑκκλησίας εἰρῆσθαι καλῶς ἐνόησαν.

¹⁵² Marcellus of Ancyra (died c. 374), *De Incarnatione et Contra Arianos*, p. 992: Οὕτως οὖν καὶ ὅτε λέγει, Κύριος ἔκτισέ με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ, περὶ τῆς Ἑκκλησίας λέγει, τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ κτιζομένης.

¹⁵³ *DT* (*lib.* 1), 15.52: ὅτι γὰρ παντὸς χρόνου, ὃν ἂν νοήσῃ τις πολλὰ κυκλεύσας τῇ διανοίᾳ, ἀπεράντως ἀνώτατος καὶ ποσότητος πάσης ἀσυγκρίτως ἀμείνων καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπερινόητος καὶ πάντοθεν ἄποπτος. Cf. Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 2, p. 72: διὸ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον

which had been set forth by the Anomoean Aetius and was quoted by Epiphanius refuting a certain Anomoean proposition.¹⁵⁴ A spurious work quotes the same Anomoean clause in order to refute it, too.¹⁵⁵ There is no other instance of this kind in Greek literature. The present author mentions no source of this singular expression.

By the same token, another idiosyncratic expression about Jesus having assumed 'the form of a servant' (τὴν δουλικὴν μορφὴν) is used. This is absent from Didymus' work, but it recurs at five points of *DT*.¹⁵⁶ Extraordinary as it is, it transpires in only a few authors, and Chalcedon was the sole synod to employ it.¹⁵⁷ The author could have said that this is a plain liability to Gregory of Nyssa,¹⁵⁸ and perhaps to Marcellus of Ancyra,¹⁵⁹ yet he did not. Instances in the Pseudo-Athanasian corpus are interesting and call for exploration as to the authorship of the specific texts.¹⁶⁰ The same goes for the characteristic expression 'solar disc' (ἡλιακὸς δίσκος) about the sun, which appears only in a Pseudo-Athanasian work besides *DT*, and the entire context is identical: both texts entertain the simile of sun and its beams in order to make points relating to Trinitarian theology.¹⁶¹

One more question is called for. Since definitely Cassian drew on Didymus' work in order to compose his *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, should he not have drawn on the Alexandrian in order to compose other works of his,

ὄχημα σφαιρικὸν ἀποτελεῖται καὶ κινεῖται κυκλικῶς, ὅταν διαφερόντως ὁμοιωθῇ πρὸς τὸν νοῦν ἡ ψυχὴ. μιμεῖται γὰρ τὴν νοερὰν ἐνέργειαν ἢ τε τῆς ψυχῆς νόησις καὶ ἡ κυκλοφορία τῶν σωμάτων. See discussion in *RCR*, pp. 275–278.

¹⁵⁴ Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, v. 3, p. 357 (repeated on op. cit. v. 3, p. 392). Εἰ πάσα οὐσία ἐστὶν ἀγέννητος, οἷα ἡ θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος, πῶς ἂν τὴν μὲν παθητὴν ἐρεῖ τις, τὴν δὲ ἀπαθῆ; εἰ δὲ φύσεως ἀποκληρώσει ἀγεννήτου ἡ μὲν διαμένει ποσότητος καὶ ποιότητος καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν πάσης μεταβολῆς ἀμείνων, *apud Tὸ Συνταγμάτιον τοῦ Ἀνομοίου Ἀετίου*, op. cit. p. 351f.

¹⁵⁵ Pseudo-Athanasius (Cassian?), *De Sancta Trinitate (dialogi 2 and 4)*, PG.28.1192.33–35.

¹⁵⁶ *DT* (*lib.* 2.1–7), 7.3.10; PG.39: 852.9; 941.2–3; 948.8; 961.30.

¹⁵⁷ ACO, *Concilium Universale Chalcedonense anno 451*, 2.1.1, p. 14, again quoting Leo of Rome, which shows the present author being aware of the Tome of Leo. There is evidence that Cassian had read the acts of the Council of Chalcedon, especially Leo's letter included therein. See endnote 24 (p. 361) to the Greek text, p. 110^v; also, *infra*, pp. 516–517. *RCR*, p. 185, note 257.

¹⁵⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 3.3.68; 3.4.37; 3.4.38; *Antirrheticus Adversus Apollinarium*, v. 3.1, pp. 159; 161; 170; *De Tridui Inter Mortem et Resurrectionem Domini Nostri Jesu*, v. 9, p. 304.

¹⁵⁹ Marcellus of Ancyra, *De Incarnatione et Contra Arianos*, p. 1021.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Pseudo-Athanasius, *De Sancta Trinitate (dialogi 2 and 4)*, PG.28.1260.36; op. cit. 1; 3; 5, PG.28: 1272.56; 1280.11; *Dialogi Duo Contra Macedonianos*, PG.28: 1321.53&55; 1324.16. Hippolytus's two references are irrelevant.

¹⁶¹ *DT* (*lib.* 1), 16.3. Pseudo-Athanasius, *Quaestiones Aliae*, pp. 776 (lines 35; 46; 50; 52; 59). No other instances during the first millennium.

such as the present one? To which the answer is positive. There are indeed points showing Didymus having influenced Cassian in this work, too. We have also just seen the author drawing on Epiphanius and using the expression 'superior to any quantity' with reference to God.

On the other hand, the discrepancies from Didymus show that there is no way for him to have been the author of this work. Besides the Antiochene character of the author, as well as his staggering Neoplatonic liabilities, there are philological points, which rule Didymus out. For instance, a quotation of Ecclesiastes 7:16, is in fact a paraphrase¹⁶² showing only in Pseudo-Athanasius and a fragment ascribed to Chrysostom.¹⁶³ On the other hand, Didymus quotes the same scriptural portion precisely as it is used in the Septuaginta, not in *DT*.¹⁶⁴

One more striking point is *DT* entertaining the juxtaposition between existential states which are either 'elevated' or 'inferior' compared to others. The author makes the point with reference to the Holy Spirit. He reasons that the baptismal command of Matt. 28:19 considers the Holy Spirit not as one 'given' by either the Father or the Son. This calls for argument urging that the Spirit (even though 'given', or 'bestowed') is not 'inferior' (ὕποβεβηκότως): He is a Hypostasis standing ontologically on a par with the Father and the Son, and the evangelical statement itself *ipso facto* accords the Spirit an elevated ontological status (ἀναβεβηκότως).¹⁶⁵ It should be remarked that the distinction ἀναβεβηκώς/ὕποβεβηκώς is used in the selfsame sense in a Christian text which we have encountered many times during this study: it considers the disjoining of the divine ontological status (ὕπερ ἀναβεβηκε μὲν τὸ θεός) from the human one (ὕποβεβηκε δὲ τὸ ἄνθρωπος).¹⁶⁶ There should be no doubt that the author of *DT* drew on another author, whom he treated with repulsion, styling him the 'cursed Porphyry'.¹⁶⁷ For indeed

¹⁶² *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.620.33: Μὴ πολλὰ σοφίζου, ἵνα μὴ ἐκπλαγῇς.

¹⁶³ Cf. Pseudo-Athanasius, *De Sancta Trinitate* (dialogi 2 and 4), PG.28.1168.20–21. John Chrysostom, *frProv*, PG.64.733.28.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. (LXX) Ecclesiastes 7:16 (μὴ σοφίζου περισσά), quoted by Didymus, *commEccl* (7–8.8), Cod. pp. 215 (bis); 216; 217.

¹⁶⁵ *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 6.6.4: ὥστε μονονοῦχι ὑποβεβηκότως αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐμνήσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναβεβηκότως. Cf. *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 6.4.12: κατὰ γουσι δὲ εὐθὺς ἀφρονέστατα τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα εἰς τὴν κτίσιν, οὐκ ἀνάγουσι πρεπωδέστατα εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ τοὺς ἐν ὁμοίᾳ καὶ ἴσῳ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.

¹⁶⁶ Pseudo-Theodoret, *QetR*, p. 146 (or, Pseudo Justin, *QetR*, p. 490D): Ἐρώτησις. Εἰ ὑπερ ἀναβεβηκε μὲν τὸ θεός, ὑποβεβηκε δὲ τὸ ἄνθρωπος, πῶς οὐκ ἀτάκτως ὁ ἄνθρωπος θεὸς προσηγόρευται; Ἀπόκρισις. Αὐτὴ ἡ ἐρώτησις οὔτε χριστιανῶ ἀρμόζει, οὔτε Ἑλλήνι· καθ' ἑκάτερον δὲ εἰς τοὺς ὑποβεβηκότας μετενήνεκται τοῦ ὑπερ ἀναβεβηκότος ἡ κλήσις κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστου δόξαν.

¹⁶⁷ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.761.1: ὁ ἐπάρατος Πορφύριος. Cf. op. cit. PG.39.760.17–19: Καὶ Πορφύριος δέ, καίτοι τὸ παράπαν οὐ σωφρονῶν περὶ τὸ ὄντως θεῖον, ἀλλ' αὐτοχολωτῶν, ὥς εἰπεῖν.

Porphyry is the sole author ever to have made the distinction between a superior and an inferior ontological order in such terms,¹⁶⁸ only to be followed by a sixth-century commentator of his own work, namely, the Neoplatonist David of Alexandria.¹⁶⁹

Neoplatonism

Damascius makes a statement, which is pithy and revealing knowledge of his Christian environment. Maintaining his Neoplatonic ontological pattern, he sees that the supreme ontological principle, which is beyond words, indeed beyond discursive thought, can be somehow hinted at by the principle that is second to it, which Plotinus would have called 'mind'. Damascius sees this as a 'power', yet not a power *per se*, but as a power *of* the ineffable supreme ontological principle. This is a manifestation of the One, which cannot be said 'to be'. It is on account and by reason of this manifestation, that *existence* proper makes sense. What is interesting about this statement of Damascius is that he styles this 'second' (τὸ δεύτερον) 'power' (δύναμιν), which is 'power of the first' (δύναμιν τοῦ πρώτου τοῦ δεύτερον εἶναι). He somehow attributes this concept to 'theologians' which seem to be contemporary to him: "as certain theologians *now* suggest".¹⁷⁰ It is not simply the tenor of his statement, it is the designation for 'theologians' he uses that is important: he speaks not of θεολόγοι, but of ἱερολόγοι, which literally means 'those who speak of holy things'. The term did not actually exist in Classical antiquity. A cognate of it (ἱερολογία) shows for the first time with Lucian of Samosata,¹⁷¹ but the term itself showed only when Eusebius¹⁷² quoted from Philo of Byblos (or, Herennius Philo, c. 64–141 AD), an antiquarian writer of

¹⁶⁸ Porphyry, *Isagoge sive Quinque Voces*, v. 4,1, p. 4: ἔστιν δὲ γενικώτατον μὲν, ὑπὲρ δ' οὐκ ἂν εἴη ἄλλο ἐπαναβεβηκὸς γένος, εἰδικώτατον δέ, μεθ' ὃ οὐκ ἂν εἴη ἄλλο ὑποβεβηκὸς εἶδος, μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ γενικωτάτου καὶ τοῦ εἰδικωτάτου ἄλλα, ἃ καὶ γένη καὶ εἶδη ἐστί τὰ αὐτά. *Εἰς τὰ Ἀρμονικὰ Πτολεμαίου Ὑπόμνημα*, p. 13: Ἡ μέντοι γ' αἴσθησις διὰ τὰ εἰρημένα κατὰ τὴν ὕλην καὶ τὸ πάσχον ὕλην δὲ ψυχικὴν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πάντα τὰ ὑποβεβηκὸτα προσεχῶς ὕλαι τῶν ἐπαναβεβηκόντων.

¹⁶⁹ David of Alexandria (Neoplatonist, sixth cent.), *In Porphyrii Isagogen Commentarium*, p. 148: καὶ τὴν μὲν οὐσίαν φασὶ γενικώτατον γένος, καθὸ ἐπαναβεβηκὸς τι αὐτῆς οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτερον γένος, εἰδικώτατον δὲ εἶδος φασὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καθὸ ὑποβεβηκὸς αὐτοῦ εἶδος οὐκ ἔστι (τοῦτο γὰρ ἔστι τὸ ἐσχατόν).

¹⁷⁰ Damascius, *De Principiis*, v. 1, p. 78: Καὶ τὸν πρώτιστον λέγω πάντων προσδιορισμῶν καὶ σχεδὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδιορίστου καταπινόμενον, ὥστε δύναμιν τοῦ πρώτου τὸ δεύτερον εἶναι δοκεῖν, δύναμιν τῇ ὑπάρξει συμπεπηγυῖαν, ὥς ἤδη τινὲς ἱερολόγοι τοῦτο αἰνίττονται.

¹⁷¹ Lucian of Samosata, *De Astrologia*, 10.

¹⁷² Eusebius, *PE*, 1.9.26.

grammatical, lexical, and historical works. *DT*¹⁷³ along with a single work which I have suggested that might be Cassian's aside,¹⁷⁴ the term enjoyed no usage among Christian writers. It was Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite that made the term and its cognates a recurrent motif in a specific work of his, and used it twice in another one.¹⁷⁵ There are two interesting points that should be explored with respect to Damascius, therefore. One, how did he come to read this casual and single instance of this term? Second, since his statement reflects on the theological thesis of 1 Cor. 1:24 (Christ is the power and wisdom of God), where did he pick this up from? One thing should be certain: whoever the Christian source was, this must have been the source of both Damascius and the Areopagite with respect to the Christian notion about the Second Person being 'the power' of the First One.

There are only two Christian candidates behind this enigma: Pseudo-Dionysius and the author of *DT*. Both used the very epithet *ιερολόγος* only once. But the author of *DT* appears to be a more likely source, not only because both Damascius and Cassian were Syrian, but also because further discussion in this section will reveal a certain contact, and indeed some exchange of vocabulary (which points to exchange of information, and perhaps of ideas) between them. It should be recalled that the *De Principiis* of Damascius contains no *polemic* against Christianity. My point is that the current opinion that this work contains no *allusion* to Christianity is not accurate. Certainly the stricture of impiety against Damascius by Photius is simply an uninformed nonsense. Besides, it would be an irony if one day scholarship proved that Pseudo-Dionysius is no other person than Damascius himself, who in all probability had become a Christian in the sunset of his life and had settled with the Akoimatoi after his return from Persia in 531.

Byzantine authors, such as Nicephorus I, George Monachus, and Photius (who appears obsessed with using the term) employed this much later. Theodore Studites, the devout student of Cassian's vocabulary, used the

¹⁷³ *ιερολόγος*. So *DT* (*lib.* 2.8–27) styles David (quoting Psalm 33:6), PG.39.681.23.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. *ιερολογείται*, in Pseudo-Athanasius, *Sermo in Annuntiationem Deipare*, PG.28.937.16. The sole author that used the term beyond those mentioned is Synesius of Cyrrhenia, *Aegypti sive De Providentia*, 2.4 (*ιερολογείται*); 2.5 (*ιερολογία*).

¹⁷⁵ Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*, pp. 68 (*ιερολογία*); 68 (*ιερολογιών*); 71 (*ιερολογεί*); 72 (*ιερολογίαις*); 80 (*ιερολογίαν*); 83 (*ιερολογία*); 84, (*ιερολογίας*); 84, (*ιερολογουσιν*); 84 (*ιερολογία*); 85 (*ιερολογίας*); 92 (*ιερολογίαις*); 95 (*ιερολογίας*); 97 (*ιερολογίαις*); 113 (*ιερολογίας*); 114 (*ιερολογιών*); 117 (*ιερολογών*); 117 (*ιερολογούντι*); (*ιερολογούντι*); *De Divinis Nominibus*, pp. 142 (*ιερολογίαις*); 157 (*ιερολόγων*).

term twice in his *Μεγάλη Κατήχησις*.¹⁷⁶ However, in later Byzantine literature the term *ιερολογία* came to have a different import. Instead of suggesting discourse about 'holy things', it meant simply the holy liturgy.¹⁷⁷ The original sense of all of its cognates has been preserved in the *Analecta Hymnica Graeca* (seven instances), which maintain the distinct vocabulary of Cassian and of *DT*, as well as that of the Antiochene tradition.

Since Neoplatonic terms recur in *DT*, especially ones used by Pseudo-Dionysius, it might be urged that it was Cassian who received the epithet from the Areopagite, whom he had probably met. However, heavy usage does not have to imply originality, too. Be that as it may, the fact is that the vocabulary of *DT* definitely tells us that its author was perfectly aware not only of poets such as Homer and Pindar, but also of the Neoplatonic lore. Whereas Didymus influenced Proclus, as I have already suggested, intellectuals such as Proclus and his contemporary John Philoponus influenced the author of *DT* himself. As a matter of fact, the present author entertains Proclus' characteristic vocabulary. A vast part of it, however, transpires as if the intermediary was Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite. Let me then cite some instances of this kind.

1. The term *διαφορότης* ('differentiation') is in fact a Platonic one, even though Plato had probably taken this up from Pythagoras.¹⁷⁸ The (probably fourth-cent. AD) grammarian and sophist Timaeus says that he has not found the term in any *locus* other than Plato's *Theaetetus*.¹⁷⁹ The term is almost unknown to lexicographers. The author of Suda says that he came across it while reading sophist Aelianus.¹⁸⁰ Hence the noun *διαφορότης*

¹⁷⁶ Theodore Studites, *Μεγάλη Κατήχησις*, Catechesis 67, p. 470; Catechesis 100, p. 724 (in both instances, the feminine *ἡ ἱερολογία*).

¹⁷⁷ Suda, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter iota, entry 179: *Ἱερολογία: ἡ θεία λειτουργία*.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Aetius, *De Placitis Reliquiae*, p. 319, *apud* Stobaeum.

¹⁷⁹ Timaeus, *Lexicon Platonicum*, alphabetic letter delta, p. 982b. Cf. Plato, *Theaetetus*, 209a5; 209d1; 210e7; 210a4&9. But also in *Parmenides*, 141c2; *Philebus*, 13a1; 14b1; *Respublica*, 588a1. Subsequent usage was only scarce as well as casual. Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, 18.19. Philo, *De Specialibus Legibus* (*lib. i-iv*), 4.207. Porphyry, *Sententiae ad Intelligibilia Ducentes*, 36; *Eis τὰ Ἀρμονικὰ Πτολεμαίου Ὑπόμνημα*, p. 78; *In Platonis Parmenidem Commentaria* (*fragmenta*), 7. Dio Chrysostom, *Orationes*, 30.27. Galen, *Adversus Lycum Libellus*, 18a, p. 212. Iamblichus, *De Communi Mathematica Scientia*, 14; *De Mysteriis*, 1.4; 4.3. Julian, emperor, *Contra Galilaeos*, p. 185. Stobaeus, *Anthologium*, 1.19; 1.49 (*bis*).

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Claudius Aelianus (sophist, second-third cent.), *De Natura Animalium*, 1.12; 3.32; 7.9; 10.31; *Varia Historia*, 2.21; *Fragmenta*, Fr. 83. Cf. Moeris, *Lexicon Atticum*, p. 194 (not a lemma). Also, used in Alphabetic letter alpha, entry 4174 (but not a lemma) and Alphabetic letter kappa, entry 2098 (not a lemma either). Pseudo-Zonaras, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter delta, p. 516.

makes a real mark in philosophy only with the sixth-century Neoplatonic mindset.¹⁸¹ There are only a few Christian authors who made something of it by using it once.¹⁸²

However, of them all, only *DT* follows Proclus in both terminology and context. The author accuses the heretics (Arians, Eunomians, Macedonians) of following ‘the Greeks’. He argues that since the Trinity comprises many persons, there should be some differentiation between them with respect to the substance of each one of them.¹⁸³ This is actually the philosophy of Proclus, who speaks about such a ‘differentiation’ by means of a terminology which is uniquely characteristic of him (viz. by means of the terms διαφορότης and ὑφεις).¹⁸⁴ Proclus is in fact the sole author to reason by means of the selfsame terminology (ἐναντιότης, ἀναρμοστία),¹⁸⁵ while at that very point he also uses the rare term ἀναρμοστία (‘inappropriateness’, or ‘impropriety’), which was also taken up by the author of *DT*, who shows himself to be no other than Cassian.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸¹ Proclus (51 instances), *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 1, pp. 55; 96; 119; *et passim*; *Hypotyposis Astronomicarum Positionum*, 4-53; 7-3; *Theologia Platonica* (lib. 1-6), v. 1, p. 95; *et passim*. Damascius, *Vita Isidori* (apud Sudam; Hesychium; Photium *et e cod. Vat.* 1950), Fr. 183; *In Phaedonem* (versio 1), 480. John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Libros de Generatione et Corruptione Commentaria*, v. 14,2, p. 120; *De Aeternitate Mundi*, pp. 115; 479. Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, v. 8, p. 70. v. 8, pp. 83; 145; 249; 272; 276; 354; *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 9, p. 787. Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Divinis Nominibus*, p. 129.

¹⁸² These are Clement of Alexandria (*Stromateis*, 2.3.11.1), Methodius of Olympus (*Symposium sive Convivium Decem Virginum*, Oration 10.2), Pseudo-Macarius (*Sermones* 64 [collectio B], Homily 49.2.10), *DT* (lib. 3, PG.39.781.9: διαφορότητας). Later, Maximus Confessor, *Expositio Orationis Dominicae*, line 378. Later still, Arethas, *Scripta Minora*, Opus 7, p. 78; Opus 24, p. 222. Photius used the vocabulary of *DT* once again (*Bibliotheca*, Codex 237, p. 312b), whereas Theodore Studites follows unfailingly Cassian’s language (*Epistulae*, 427; 528; 546; 551; 552 [bis]).

¹⁸³ *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.781.8-13: ἀλλ’ Ἑλλῆσι τρόπον τινὰ συμφερόμενοι, διαφορότητας καὶ ὑφεις οὐσίῶν καὶ δόξης, κατὰ νόας ἰδίου, τῶν θείων καὶ ὁμοουσίων τριῶν ὑποστάσεων ὑφιστάσιν καὶ διανοοῦνται περὶ τε τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος τοῦ Θεοῦ.

¹⁸⁴ Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 3, p. 246: ἔστωσαν μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτὰι διαφορότητες, ἀλλὰ προηγείται τούτων πασῶν ἡ κατ’ οὐσίαν ἐξαλλαγή καὶ ἡ δημιουργικαὶ διαίρεσις· ἐχώρισε γὰρ αὐτάς τῳ χρόνῳ τῇ αἰτίᾳ τῇ προόδῳ τῳ τρόπῳ τῆς ὑποστάσεως τῇ τῶν γενῶν ὑφέσει.

¹⁸⁵ Proclus, *De Malorum Subsistentia*, 50: ἀσυμμετρία γάρ καὶ ἀναρμοστία καὶ ἐναντιότης ἐν τῳ πλήθει, ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἡ τε ἀσθένεια καὶ τὸ ἐνδεές.—καὶ τὸ πλήθος ... καὶ ἡ τῶν δυνάμεων διαφορότης, ἄλλων πρὸς ἄλλα τὴν ὅλην ποιούμενων—ὅπου δὲ τὸ πλήθος καὶ ἡ ἑτερότης ἐξέλαμψε διὰ τὴν τῆς ἐνώσεως ὑφεις, ἐνταῦθα ἡ τε ἐνδεια τῆς δυνάμεως—πάσα γὰρ δύναμις τῳ ἐνὶ καὶ ἐξ ἐνός ἐστίν ὁ ἐστί-καὶ ἡ ἀναρμοστία καὶ ἡ στάσις ἄλλου πρὸς ἄλλο φερομένου ταῖς ὁρέξεσι.

¹⁸⁶ *DT* (lib. 2.1-7), 6.2.2: καὶ πάσης, φησὶν, ἐπακοῦει φωνῆς, ὡς θεὸς ἐν πάσιν πανταχοῦ αἰετυχάνων, καὶ πᾶσαν ὕλικὴν ἀναρμοστίαν εἰς τάξιν περιάγων τὴν πρέπουσαν, καὶ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοῦ ποιηθέντων φειδόμενός τε καὶ ἐπιμελούμενος, ἅτε αὐτὸς τὴν φύσιν πρόνοια ὑπάρχων καὶ σοφία, δι’ ὧν διαπεφοιτηχεῖα, ὡς ὁ πατήρ. The author in effect tells us that he is Cassian, who wrote

At that very same point of *DT*, the author writes on Christian doctrine while entertaining the vocabulary he had read in Neoplatonist authors. He then goes on thus: "The points which relate to theological considerations have already been duly elaborated, and there is plenty of evidence (μυριολέκτων ἀποδείξεων) about them. But the present author (ὁ γράφων) does not mention the arguments that have been already composed by other theologians, so that neither should those who study this work get wearied, nor should the author himself appear to be long-winded and loquacious".¹⁸⁷

This epithet μυριολέκτων for 'abundance of evidence' is a telling one indeed. For this is extremely rare, and it had been used during later Greek antiquity, following a casual use by Xenophon.¹⁸⁸ Once again, Proclus put it to serious function, to be followed by Pseudo-Dionysius and Damascius.¹⁸⁹

Likewise, we come upon the (not very common) adjective θεοπαράδοτος ('given by God')¹⁹⁰ referring to the teaching of John the Evangelist. The term is a neologism by Proclus so styling words of wisdom of divine origin,¹⁹¹ which was taken up by Damascius,¹⁹² though not by Simplicius. Pseudo-Dionysius applied the term as well as the specific expression abundantly¹⁹³

the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*. Cf. the foregoing expression about 'Wisdom, which is present throughout the world' (σοφία, δι' ὅλων διαπεφοιτηκυῖα), with Scholion XV: ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ, καθ' οὓς ἐπιπορεύεται τῷ παντὶ διαφοιτήσας.

¹⁸⁷ *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.781.23–28: Οἱ μὲν οὖν λόγοι, οἱ τὰς θεολογίας περιέχοντες, ἀποχρώντως ἀπειργάσθησαν, ἥδη οὐσῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων μυριολέκτων ἀποδείξεων, μὴ μνημονευθεῖσῶν δέ, ὅπως μὴτε ὀκνοῖεν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες, μὴτε μακροπερίοδος καὶ πολυλογῶν φαίνεται ὁ γράφων.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 5.2.18 (μυριολεκτόν). Longinus, *Ars Rhetorica*, p. 562 (μυριόλεκτον). Julius Pollux, *Onomasticon*, 6.206 (μυριόλεκτον). Syrianus, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, p. 165 (μυριόλεκτον).

¹⁸⁹ Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 2, p. 226 (μυριόλεκτα); p. 285 (μυριόλεκτα); p. 339 (μυριόλεκτα); *Theologia Platonica* (*lib.* 1–6), v. 1, p. 47 (μυριόλεκτον). Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Divinis Nominibus*, p. 221, line 18 (μυριόλεκτα); *Epistulae*, 8.4 (μυριόλεκτον). Damascius, *In Parmenidem*, p. 300 (μυριόλεκτον). Along with most of the terminology of *DT* that recurs in the *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, see μυριόλεκτος in *Canones Maii*, 25.28.6.

¹⁹⁰ *DT* (*lib.* 1), 15.11 (θεοπαράδοτος).

¹⁹¹ Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 1, p. 111 (θεοπαράδοτος); v. 2, p. 217 (θεοπαράδοτου); *In Platonis Cratylum Commentaria*, 109 (θεοπαράδοτοι); *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, p. 318 (θεοπαράδοτου); p. 408 (θεοπαράδοτος).

¹⁹² Damascius, *In Parmenidem*, pp. 150 (θεοπαράδοτον); p. 177 (θεοπαράδοτον).

¹⁹³ Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*, p. 67 (θεοπαράδοτων); loc. cit. (θεοπαράδοτα λόγια); p. 68 (θεοπαράδοτως); p. 69 (θεοπαράδοτων); p. 72 (θεοπαράδοτοις); p. 76 (θεοπαράδοτοις); p. 79 (θεοπαράδοτω); p. 83 (θεοπαράδοτους); p. 92 (θεοπαράδοτως); p. 103 (θεοπαράδοτως); p. 110 (θεοπαράδοτα λόγια); p. 113 (θεοπαράδοτα λόγια); p. 114 (θεοπαράδοτον); loc. cit. (θεοπαράδοτα λόγια); p. 117 (θεοπαράδοτα λόγια); p. 119 (θεοπαράδοτοις); p. 127 (θεοπαράδοτων λογίων); *Epistulae*, 8.1 (θεοπαράδοτον).

to be emulated by later Byzantine authors,¹⁹⁴ who also employed the same expression *θεοπαράδοτα λόγια* ('wise sayings given by God').¹⁹⁵

Proclus is also the source for our author employing the extremely rare, and somewhat bizarre, superlative of the adjective *ἄρρητος* ('ineffable'), which is *ἄρρητότατος*.¹⁹⁶ What is the point of using the superlative form for something that is *inexpressible* anyway? And yet Proclus took this up in order to denote the holiness and utter ineffability of the supreme ontological principle. The term had been introduced by Porphyry in a poetic rather than philosophical expression with regard to oracles that should be surrounded by silence.¹⁹⁷ *DT* made much of it in order to style not only the Trinity, but also such hallowed and revered Christian doctrines, as Baptism, or the Incarnation.¹⁹⁸ Pseudo-Dionysius used this accordingly, as a designation for sacred doctrines, such as that of the creation and the illumination by the Holy Spirit.¹⁹⁹ Fascinating as the expression is, this could not escape the attention of the author of *DT*: he championed its use, but these are all the instances of the term occurring during the first Christian millennium.

The epithet *φρουρητικὸς* ('fit for watching' or 'guarding') was coined by Iamblichus speaking of a 'guardian power' (*φρουρητική δύναμις*).²⁰⁰ He used this only casually and just once, though it was acknowledged by Proclus,

¹⁹⁴ Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 8 (θεοπαράδοτα λόγια); 11 (θεοπαράδοτα λόγια); 489 (θεοπαράδοτος); 516 (θεοπαράδοτων); *Μεγάλη Κατήχησις*, Catechesis 20, p. 145 (θεοπαράδοτον ἐντολήν). Nicephorus I of Constantinople, *Eusebii Caesariensis Confutatio*, 61 (θεοπαράδοτα λόγια). George Monachus, *Chronicon* (lib. 1-4), p. 129 (θεοπαράδοτον); p. 703 (θεοπαράδοτα); *Chronicon Breve* (lib. 1-6) (*redactio recentior*), PG.110: 177.39 (θεοπαράδοτον); 869.49 (θεοπαράδοτα). John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, PG.96.508.8 (θεοπαράδοτα). Pseudo-John of Damascus, *Epistula ad Theophilum Imperatorem de Sanctis et Venerandis Imaginibus*, PG.95.348.48 (θεοπαράδοτων). Arethas, *Scripta Minora*, Opus 60, p. 21.

¹⁹⁵ Proclus, *De Providentia et Fato et Eo Quod in Nobis ad Theodorum Mechanicum*, 21 (θεοπαράδοτα λόγια).

¹⁹⁶ Proclus, *De Providentia et Fato et Eo Quod in Nobis ad Theodorum Mechanicum*, 31: τὸ ἔν, ᾧ ἡ ψυχὴ συναφθεῖσα ἡρεμεί, μύσασα ταῖς καταγνώσεσι, ἀφθεγκτος γενομένη καὶ σιγήσασα τὴν ἔνδον σιγὴν. καὶ πῶς γὰρ ἂν συναφθῇ τῷ ἄρρητοτάτῳ (πάντων ἄλλως) ἢ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ κοιμήσασα φθέγματα;

¹⁹⁷ Porphyry, *De Philosophia ex Oraculis*, p. 110: Ταῦτά μοι ὡς ἄρρητων ἄρρητότατα κρύπτειν.

¹⁹⁸ *DT* (lib. 1), 16.1: τὰ περὶ τῆς ἄρρητοτάτης θεότητος. 26.61: τῆς ἄρρητοτάτης καὶ γαληνοτάτης τριάδος. *DT* (lib. 2.8-27), PG.39.700.28: τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς βαπτιστικοῖς ὕδασιν ἄρρητότατον πλοῦτον καὶ ἰλασμόν. *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39: 780.17-18: τὰ περὶ τῆς ἄρρητοτάτης καὶ ἀτρεπτοτάτης φιλανθρώπου ἐνανθρωπήσεως. 924.44: εἰς τὸν ἕνα ἀναπέμπει ἄρρητότατον Θεόν.

¹⁹⁹ Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*, p. 69: ἄρρητοτάτη δημιουργία. p. 78: Τὴν δὲ νοητῶς εὐωδοποιὸν καὶ τελεσιουργὸν ἐπιφοίτησιν ἄρρητοτάτην οὐσαν ἐπιγινῶναι νοερώς παρήμι.

²⁰⁰ Iamblichus, *De Mysteriorum*, 3.10.

who rewarded him by styling his source 'the divine Iamblichus'.²⁰¹ Proclus, for his part, entertained the term in no less than ninety-three instances,²⁰² which remained of course unmatched by any other author. The epithet is interesting, since it is one of the small handful of terms which transpire in both Didymus using Iamblichus' expression itself (φρουρητική δύναμις, once)²⁰³ and the author of *DT* (twice).²⁰⁴ Hardly did Christian authors make anything of it. To them, 'guardian power' remained an exotic designation²⁰⁵ originating in a Neoplatonist *théosophie*. Besides, Proclus' younger contemporary Syrianus,²⁰⁶ his pupil Hermias of Alexandria,²⁰⁷ and the sixth-century Neoplatonic masters, were all modest in their use of it: they applied only the epithet φρουρητικός, not Porphyry's expression 'guardian power' (φρουρητική δύναμις)²⁰⁸ itself.²⁰⁹ Once again, Proclus' most faithful emulator was a Christian, namely Pseudo-Dionysius, who entertained all versions of Porphyry's as well as Proclus' locution.²¹⁰ Therefore, the author of *DT* must have employed the term from Pseudo-Dionysius, although his knowledge of Iamblichus' *oeuvre* can hardly be disputed, once the abundance of his Greek maxims quoted in this work are considered.

²⁰¹ Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 3, p. 139.

²⁰² Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 1, pp. 11; 216; 218; *et passim*; *Theologia Platonica* (lib. 1–6), v. 1, pp. 78; 123; v. 4, pp. 52; 53; 122; *et passim*; also *passim* in *Institutio Theologica*, *In Platonis Alcibiadem i*, *In Platonis Parmenidem*, *In Platonis Cratylum Commentaria*, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*.

²⁰³ Didymus, *commJob* (1–4), Cod. p. 22 (φρουρητικήν δύναμιν); the same in *commJob* (*in catenis*), PG.39.1121.52.

²⁰⁴ *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 1.10 (φρουρητικὸν φῶς); 6.3,7 (φρουρητικὸν Holy Spirit).

²⁰⁵ Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses ad Illuminandos* 1–18, Catechesis 6.8. Cyril of Alexandria, *expPs*, PG.69: 816.52: 1121.43. So Iamblichus' expression φρουρητική δύναμις was taken up only by Didymus, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Cyril of Alexandria. Pseudo-Cyril of Alexandria (φρουρητικός qualifying not 'power', but 'virtue' or 'grace'), *Collectio Dictorum Veteris Testamenti*, PG.77:1265.41; 1276.14. Later still, the designation was used by Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 11; 15; 49; 50; *Capita de Caritate*, 3.25; *Mystagogia*, 5. Andreas of Caesarea, *Commentarii in Apocalypsin*, Logos 23.67.21,12. Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 91; 332; 413. Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 1, line 673. Arethas, *Scripta Minora*, Opus 4, p. 40.

²⁰⁶ Syrianus, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, pp. 45; 59; 142; 144.

²⁰⁷ Hermias of Alexandria, *In Platonis Phaedrum Scholia*, pp. 136; 137; 150.

²⁰⁸ Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis*, 3.10.

²⁰⁹ Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Quattuor Libros De Caelo Commentaria*, v. 7, p. 513. Damascius, *De Principiis*, v. 1, pp. 242; *In Parmenidem*, pp. 122; 125; 126; 163. Olympiodorus, the philosopher of Alexandria, *In Platonis Alcibiadem Commentarii*, 189; 194. Elias of Alexandria, *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, p. 111. So did the sixth-century historian John Laurentius Lydus, *De Mensibus*, 4.67.

²¹⁰ Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Caelesti Hierarchia*, pp. 51; 53; 54; 55; 57; *De Divinis Nominibus*, pp. 152; 207; *Epistulae*, 9.4.

Let me now come to considering two designations applied to the Holy Spirit. Of them, *ὑπερπάμφαες* ('supremely radiant') is a neologism that has remained exclusive to the author of *DT*. The other one is *ἀπλήθυντον* ('without plurality': the Holy Spirit is one, and his oneness is uncontested; so is divine nature proper).²¹¹ This is one more term originating in Porphyry, who develops the selfsame argument about the One.²¹² Once again, however, it was Proclus who put this term into a full-scale Neoplatonic development and no doubt it was he that Cassian had in mind while writing both *DT* and some significant parts of his *Scholia in Apocalypsin*,²¹³ although other Neoplatonist contemporaries of Proclus entertained the idea ascribing it to Plato, yet using Porphyry's vocabulary.²¹⁴ For all the abundance of Proclus' accounts, Pseudo-Dionysius employed the notion and locution only once.²¹⁵

²¹¹ *DT* (*lib.* 2.1–7), 4.8 τὸ δὲ ὑπερπάμφαες ἅγιον πνεῦμα συμφυῶς καὶ ἐνοειδῶς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρρήτου καὶ ὑπερουσίου καὶ προουσίου καὶ καθολικῆς καὶ ἀμόρφου προήλθεν ἀχρόνως πατρικῆς ὑποστάσεως, καὶ προσηγόρευται θεῖον· ἐν τέ ἐστιν ἀπλήθυντον, ἀγαθόν, ἄφθονον, ἀπρόσιτον, ἀπερίγραφον πάσαις νοήσεσιν, ἀπειροδύναμον, ἀνέκλεκτον, μόνως ὑπάρχον. 5.10: τὸ γὰρ ἐνιαῖον τῆς θείας καὶ ἀπληθύντου φύσεως ἴδιον.

²¹² Porphyry, *Sententiae ad Intelligibilia Ducentes*, *Sententia* 33, lines: 26 (ἀπληθύντως); line 33 (ἀπλήθυντον); 35 (ἀπληθύντω); 36 (ἀπλήθυντον); 38 (ἀπληθύντως); *Sententia* 36, line 4 (ἀπληθύντω).

²¹³ Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (*lib.* 1–6), v. 2, p. 11: καὶ αὐτὸ μόνον εἶναι τὸ ἐν, τὸ ἀπλήθυντον. *Op. cit.* pp. 13; *op. cit.* v. 3, p. 68 (ref. to Parmenides): τὸ ἀπλήθυντον τοῦ ἐνὸς ὄντος κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἐξήρηται. p. 69; p. 71: Οὐκ ἄρα τὰ ὄντα πάντα ἐν ἐστὶν ἀδιάκριτον καὶ ἀπλήθυντον. *Institutio Theologica*, 62: τὸ δὲ ἐν πάντων ἦν ὑποστατικὸν ἀπληθύντως. *In Platonis Parmenidem*, pp. 696; 697: ἀνάγκη ἄρα μίαν ἀπλήθυντον εἶναι τὴν πάντων ἀρχήν. pp. 973; 1008; 1046; 1075: τὸ ἐν ἀπλήθυντον ὃν πᾶν τὸ πλήθος ὑπέστησε. p. 1089: εἶναι γὰρ δὴ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν ἀπλήθυντον, τὸν δὲ νοῦν ἐν πολλῷ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἐν καὶ πολλῷ. p. 1095: οὕτως ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπλήθυντον τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐννοίαν ἀναδράμωμεν. pp. 1095; 1103; 1104; 1148; 1150: τὸ δὲ ἐν ἀδιαίρετόν ἐστι πάντη καὶ ἀπλήθυντον· οὐ γὰρ ἠνωμένον ἐστὶ πλήθος οὔτε διακεκριμένον. p. 1169: Καί μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ὁ δαιμόνιος Ἀριστοτέλης διὰ ταῦτα τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ πρῶτον ἀπλήθυντον φυλάττων τελικὸν αἷτιον τῶν πάντων ποιεῖν μόνον. p. 1180: ἐξήρηται γὰρ ἀπάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ὄντων καὶ ἄλλο ἐστὶ τὸ μεθεκτὸν ἐν, τὸ δὲ πρῶτως ἐν καὶ τὸ ἐφετὸν πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν ἀμέθεκτον προὑπάρχει τῶν ὄλων, ἵνα μένῃ ἐν ἀπλήθυντον· τὸ γὰρ μετεχόμενον οὐ παντάπασιν ἐστὶν ἐν. p. 1203. *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, p. 267; 295; 322; 437; v. 2, pp. 126; 133; 204; v. 3, pp. 11; 22; 210; 101: ἐκείνην μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν νόησιν ὅρασιν προσείρηκεν ὁ λόγος, ὡς ἀπλήθυντον καὶ ὡς τῷ νοητῷ φωτὶ καταλαμπομένην. This is the vocabulary, as well as the idea, of Scholion XVIII.

²¹⁴ Cf. Hermias of Alexandria, *In Platonis Phaedrum Scholia*, p. 46: Τὸ δὲ αὐτοσχεδιάζων ἀντὶ τοῦ· ἀχρόνως ἐνεργῶν καὶ ἀπληθύντως καὶ ἀμερώς. Syrianus, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, p. 5: τὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς ὑπερουσίον καὶ ἀπλήθυντον ἀγαθότητα. p. 114: ὅτι πᾶν αἷλον εἶδος καὶ θεῖον ἐν ἀπληθύντῳ καὶ μονοειδεῖ καὶ ἀπλousστάτῃ οὐσίᾳ πολυδυναμώτατόν ἐστι καὶ μετέχεται οὐ κατὰ πάσας ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεις ὑπὸ τῶν τῆδε. p. 118 (ref. to Aristotle): τὸ γὰρ ἐν καὶ ἀπλήθυντον καὶ ὑπερουσίον ἀρνείται. So later (sixth cent.), Olympiodorus, the philosopher of Alexandria, *In Platonis Phaedonem Commentaria*, 4.3 (ref. to Plato): ἀνάγει τὸ ἐν τὸ ἐν τῷ νοητῷ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐν τὸ ἐν τῷ θεῷ· τοῦτο γὰρ κυρίως ἐν ἀπλήθυντόν ἐστιν, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο ἐστὶ θεὸς ἢ μονὰς ἀπλήθυντος.

²¹⁵ Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Divinis Nominibus*, p. 136: ἐστὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἦττον ὁ ἀρχίθεος

Damascius made more of it, since it is with him that the idea of Proclus about the One and oneness reaches the climax of sublimity and maturity.²¹⁶

Therefore, as late as the sixth century, like the foregoing term διαφορότης, of Christians it was only Pseudo-Dionysius and *DT* that drew on this Neoplatonic language, duly adapting it to Christian God. After the eighth century, a single instance appears in Nicephorus I of Constantinople,²¹⁷ and usage during Christian millennium ends up with the *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, at eight points of the collection. Once again, there is good reason to dispute attribution of this part to Photius. Such epistles are far too unlike Photius' language and sometimes far too close to Cassian's one, which makes those points open to serious challenge and need for a meticulous redaction.

Cassian had met Pseudo-Dionysius at the monastery of the Akoimatoi, as sustained in the previous Appendix about Caesarius. However, the erudition gathered from *DT* leaves no room for doubt that he had studied the great masters of Neoplatonism first-hand. Besides, the points which Cassian makes in Neoplatonic terms are ones made by Proclus rather than Pseudo-Dionysius. This means that the affinities with the latter are philological, whereas the ones with Proclus are in fact philosophical. A case in point is the following. The author of *DT* set out 'to rush towards attaining an insightful perception' (ὁρμήσωμεν τὴν θήραν τῆς ἐνθεαστικῆς νοήσεως),²¹⁸ concerning divine dispensation. The adjective ἐνθεαστική ('inspired') is extremely

καὶ ὑπέρθεος ὑπερουσίως εἰς θεός, ἀμέριστος ἐν τοῖς μεριστοῖς, ἡνωμένος ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀμύγῃ καὶ ἀπλήθυντος. His reference on p. 125 is irrelevant (τὰ ἐκεῖ κείμενα φρουρεῖν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἀπλήθυντα).

²¹⁶ Damascius, *De Principiis*, v. 1, p. 234: οὐκ ἄρα ἐπ' ἄπειρον ἤξομεν ζητοῦντες αἰὲ πρὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ ἐνός τὸ ἀπλήθυντον ἐν. v. 1, p. 282: ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἐν καὶ αὐτὸ πολλοποιόν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ λέγει τις τοῦ ἐνός εἶναι τὰ πολλὰ, ὡς τοῦ στοιχειωτοῦ τὰ στοιχεῖα, οὐδὲ οὕτω κατὰ τὰ πολλὰ γεννήσει τὸ ἐν· ἀδιόριστον γὰρ ἐκάτερον καὶ ἀπλήθυντον, εἴσω μὲν τε καὶ ἔξω ἀπρόοδον, ὡς φάναι ὁμοειδῆ πρόοδον καὶ οἰκείου πλήθους. Cf. v. 1, pp. 64–65: αὐτὴ γὰρ ἀσύντακτος, ἐκείνη δὲ ἀπλήθυντος. v. 1, p. 228: κατὰ μίαν ἀπλήθυντον φύσιν. In *Parmenidem*, p. 72: Πηγὴ ἄρα τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἡ ἑτερότης. Αὐτὸ λέγω τὸ ἐν τῆς ἑτερότητος, ὡς ἀπλοῦν ἰδίωμα καὶ θεωρούμενον, καὶ ὡς ἐν ἀπλήθυντον, οὔτε τὸ ὄν, οὔτε τὸ ἐν προσεννοούτων ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἑτερότητα μόνην. pp. 79–80: Ὅγδοον ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ ἐν διαφέρει τῆς μονάδος, πρῶτον μὲν ἢ τὰ πολλὰ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ διαφέρει· ἡ μὲν γὰρ μονὰς ἀριθμοῦ καὶ πρὸς ἀριθμόν, τὸ δὲ ἐν πρὸς τὰ πολλὰ ἀντίκειται. Δεύτερον δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀπλοῦν τι δηλοῖ καὶ ἀπλήθυντον, ἡ δὲ μονὰς τὸ μεμονωμένον καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸ διωρισμένον. Τρίτον δὲ ἡ μὲν μονὰς ἀντιδιήρηται πρὸς τὸν ἀριθμόν, τὸ δὲ ἐν καὶ ἐπὶ μονάδος λέγεται καὶ ἐπὶ ἀριθμοῦ· καὶ γὰρ ἕκαστος τῶν ἀριθμῶν εἰς ἔστι, μονὰς δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἢ ἀριθμός. In *Phaedonem* (versio 1), 340: Ὅτι ἀσύνθετόν ἐστιν οὐ τὸ ἀπλήθυντον πάντως, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἐν ἐπικρατεῖ τῶν πολλῶν, ὥστε τοῦ ἐνός εἶναι τὸ πλήθος. In *Phaedonem* (versio 2), 30: τὸ δὲ μονοειδὲς τὸ ἀδιαίρετον καὶ ἀπλήθυντον καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ πάντῳ τὸ πλήθος περιειληφός.

²¹⁷ Nicephorus I of Constantinople, *Eusebii Caesariensis Confutatio*, 28.

²¹⁸ *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.909.4–5.

rare and has been ascribed to Plato, of which we should not be so sure.²¹⁹ I myself actually prefer to trust Proclus quoting Plato on this point, where the term is absent.²²⁰ The term shows in fifth-century philosophers, but only just about so.²²¹ The exception is Proclus once again, where the term and its cognates is used at no less than forty-one points.²²² During the sixth century, Pseudo-Dionysius followed Proclus once again,²²³ and so did Olympiodorus, the philosopher of Alexandria.²²⁴ Likewise, the Sabaite monk John of Damascus followed Cassian in using the term.²²⁵ Certainly Theodore Studites is present once again reproducing Cassian's vocabulary.²²⁶ The collection of hymns *Analecta Hymnica Graeca* is over and again a witness to this phraseology, as if the same persons were both the authors of theological tracts and religious hymns.²²⁷ Cassian was an offspring of Antioch, which is the place where ecclesiastical chanting made use of the antiphonal reciting of the Psalms. The *antiphon* is an innovation introduced into the church by Diodore of Tarsus and his close friend Flavian of Antioch.²²⁸ All of this tradition was solemnly cherished and practiced by the Akoimetoi. It is evident that many of the hymns of the foregoing collection were composed within the premises of this monastery, in a distinctly Antiochene spirit.

²¹⁹ Plato, *Leges*, 682a3. The text of the Zurich edition by J.G. Baiter, J.C. von Orelli and A. Winckelman (1839) has it ποιητικόν, whereas ἐνθεαστικόν has been placed in brackets by A. Boeckh and M. Schanz.

²²⁰ Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 1, p. 156 (quoting Plato, *Leges*, 682a3): θεῖον γὰρ οὖν δὴ καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν ὃν γένος ὑμνωδοῦν.

²²¹ Hermias of Alexandria, *In Platonis Phaedrum Scholia*, p. 88. Syrianus, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, pp. 42; 161.

²²² Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 1, pp. 58; 76; 79; 81; 84; 102; 133; 166; 174; 179; 183; 185; 194; *Theologia Platonica* (lib. 1–6), v. 1, pp. 17; 18; 20; 29; 60; v. 4, pp. 3; 69; *In Platonis Parmenidem*, pp. 691; 925; 950; 951; 10071; 1072; 1080; 1082; 1090; 1094; *In Platonis Cratylum Commentaria*, 183; *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, pp. 156; 355; 316; v. 3, p. 160; *De Providentia et Fato et Eo Quod In Nobis ad Theodorum Mechanicum*, 38; *Eclogae De Philosophia Chaldaica*, Fr. 4.

²²³ Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Divinis Nominibus*, pp. 137; 141.

²²⁴ Olympiodorus, the philosopher of Alexandria, *In Platonis Alcibiadem Commentarii*, 229; 230.

²²⁵ John of Damascus, *Epistula de Hymno Trisagio*, 11; *Oratio Prima in Dormitionem Sanctae Dei Genitricis Mariae*, 9 & 18.

²²⁶ Theodore Studites, *Homilia in Nativitatem Mariae*, PG.96.685.23; *Laudatio Theophanis Confessoris*, 4; *Parva Catechesis*, Catechesis 18.

²²⁷ *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, *Canones Novembris*, 9.22.2; 30.45.6; *Canones Julii*, 20.30.4.

²²⁸ Theodoret, *HE*, p. 154: Ἡ δὲ ἀγίαστος ξυνωρίς Φλαβιανὸς καὶ Διόδωρος, ἱερατικῆς μὲν λειτουργίας οὐδέπω τετυχηκότες, τῷ δὲ λαῷ συντεταγμένοι, νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας ζῆλον διήγειρον ἅπαντας. οὗτοι πρῶτοι διχῇ διελόντες τοὺς τῶν ψαλλόντων χοροὺς ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἄδειν τὴν Δαυιτικὴν ἐδίδαξαν μελωδίαν· καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πρῶτον ἀρξάμενον πάντοσε διέδραμε καὶ κατέλαβε τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ τέρματα.

Once again, a study of context is called for, out of which it turns out that the author of *DT* wrote his passage after Proclus. For although the epithet ἐνθεαστικός enjoyed some currency, as cited above, the expression ἐνθεαστική νόησις is exclusive to two instances only, notably, the present portion in *DT* and three points in Proclus.²²⁹ Therefore, ἐνθεαστική νόησις is an expression quite characteristic of Proclus. The author of *DT* was the sole one to take this up, only once. No other parallel actually exists, nor did any other author apply the epithet ἐνθεαστικός to 'comprehension' proper.

When the author of *DT* refers to the Trinity as a 'unit' or 'oneness' (ἐνός), he just makes use of a notion of Proclus, which received further elaboration by Damascius. The difference is all too evident. Since the notion of 'triad' is acceptable to Neoplatonism, this Christian author seeks to secure that there is no classification of rank between the three Trinitarian Persons. He knew that while the Neoplatonist 'triad' allows for no persons, it does entertain the idea of classification of the higher ontological realities.²³⁰ Therefore, the author saw his task as quite a simple one: he employed the Neoplatonic vocabulary along with its problematique, while taking heed of two points. One, to secure the oneness of essence of the three Trinitarian Persons; two, to urge that they ontologically stand on a par.²³¹ This enterprise can hardly claim inspiration or originality, since the vast and insightful

²²⁹ Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 1, p. 79: καὶ ὡς τὸ ἀπόρρητον αὐτῆς καὶ κρύφιον ἀγαθὸν μυστικῆς τιнос δέεται καὶ ἐνθεαστικῆς νοήσεως. *In Platonis Parmenidem*, p. 1072: 'Ὁ μὲν οὖν τρόπος τῶν λόγων τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν ἔστω, λογικός, νοερός, ἐνθεαστικός. *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 3, p. 160: τὸ τὸν θεῖον νόμον διορίσαι τὰς θείας τάξεις, ὃν ἐκφαίνουσιν αἱ ἐνθεαστικάι τῶν παλαιῶν νοήσεις, καθ' ὃν καὶ ψυχαὶ ἐνεργοῦσαι καὶ μὴ ἐνθουσιάζουσαι πείθονται ταῖς ἐνθουσιάζουσιν.

²³⁰ Cf. Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (*lib. 1-6*), v. 4, p. 16: Οὐκοῦν ἡ πρώτη τριάς, ἵνα καθ' ἐκάστην εἰπωμεν, ἐκεῖ μὲν ἦν πέρας, ἄπειρον, οὐσία (τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ πρῶτως μικτόν), ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐσία, ζωὴ, νοῦς, μετὰ τῶν οἰκειῶν ἐνάδων· ἡ γὰρ οὐσία θεότητος ἐξήρηται πρωτίστης, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ δευτέρας, καὶ ὁ νοῦς τρίτης, καὶ τρεῖς αὗται μονάδες ὑπερούσιοι τὰς τῆς πρώτης τριάδος ἐκφαίνουσι.

²³¹ *DT* (*lib. 2.1-7*), 5.3: τὸ γὰρ ἐν οὐ δύο, οὔτε ἀλλότριόν ἐστι τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς οὐσίας πατρός, οὔτε διώρισται τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἐν ἐνώσεως· οὔτε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὕφεισιν ἔχει ἢ ἄλλον ἑαυτοῦ μᾶλλον συμφυέστερον ἢ ἀγχίθεον· οὐτ' ἀνέχεται ἢ ἀριθμὸς προσαγορεύεσθαι τῆς ἐνάδος οὐσίας δν. *Op. cit.* (*lib. 2.1-7*), 5.28: "σπουδάζοντες τηρεῖν τὴν ἐνότητα τοῦ πνεύματος" τοῦτέστιν· πολλὴν ποιείσθαι φυλακὴν τοῦ μὴ χωρίζειν αὐτὸ τῆς ἀνωτάτω ἐνάδος καὶ αὐτοτελοῦς οὐσίας. *Op. cit.* PG.39.620.26-28: τὸ δὲ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐν καὶ μόνον τῆς ἐνάδος, ἥτοι μονάδος, οὐσίας ἐστίν. *Op. cit.* (*lib. 3*), PG.39.789.47-49: "὘ν γὰρ εἶπεν εἶναι τῇ θεότητι τὰς ὑποστάσεις, καὶ ἐν ἐνάδι οὐσίας διέσταλκε δῖχα τὰ πρόσωπα. *Op. cit.* PG.39.804.29-30 (ref. to the Holy Spirit): ἀναμφήριστον, ὡς τῆς ἐνάδος θείας καὶ ὑπερουσίου ἐστὶν οὐσίας. *Op. cit.* PG.39.877.20-24 (ref. to the Son): "Ἦν γὰρ λέγει ἔχειν ζῶν ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱόν, ἡ ἐνάς καὶ ὑπερούσιος οὐσία ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐχ ἕτερον τι ἐν ἐτέρῳ τυγχάνον· ὅθεν εἶπεν· "Εγὼ εἰμι ἡ ζωή·" ὡς καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἀναφαίνεσθαι.

analyses by Proclus,²³² followed by those by Damascius²³³ and Simplicius,²³⁴ were available to him. All the author of *DT* had to do was pick out from those works, which resulted in a faint echo of the analyses by the Neoplatonist masters. Likewise, Pseudo-Dionysius, though more informed he was, did not advance any really original Christian thesis by availing himself of Proclus' analyses.²³⁵

Both cardinal notions and expressions such as ὑπερούσιος οὐσία ('essence beyond essence') and ἐνὰς οὐσίας²³⁶ ('oneness of essence')²³⁷ were introduced

²³² Cf. Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (*lib.* 1–6), v. 4, p. 99: Οὐτε γὰρ θεός ἐστιν ἐν τούτοις ἀμέθεκτος, διότι οὐδὲ ἐνὰς τοῦ ὄντος χωρὶς, οὔτε οὐσία θεότητος ἄμοιρος, διόπερ οὐδὲ τὸ ὄν ἐστιν ἐνὸς ἀπηρημαμένον. *Op. cit.* v. 1, pp. 106; 114; v. 2, p. 73; v. 3, pp. 17; 40; 75; 95; v. 4, pp. 7; 75; 107; *Institutio Theologica*, 115: Πᾶς θεός ὑπερούσιός ἐστι καὶ ὑπέρζωος καὶ ὑπέρνους. εἰ γὰρ ἐνὰς ἐστιν ἕκαστος αὐτοτελής, ἕκαστον δὲ τούτων οὐχὶ ἐνὰς ἀλλ' ἡνωμένον, δηλον δὴ ὅτι πάντων ἐστὶν ἐπέκεινα τῶν εἰρημένων ἅπας θεός, οὐσίας καὶ ζωῆς καὶ νοῦ. *In Platonis Parmenidem*, p. 1066: Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πᾶς θεός, καθὼς θεός, ἐνὰς ἐστι (τούτο γὰρ ἐστι τὸ πάσης οὐσίας ἐκθεωτικόν, τὸ ἐν): διὰ δὴ τούτο συνάπτειν ἀξιοῦσι τῇ περὶ θεοῦ τοῦ πρώτου θεωρίᾳ τὴν περὶ θεῶν ἀπάντων ὑφήγησιν· πάντες γὰρ εἰσιν ἐνάδες ὑπερούσιοι, καὶ τοῦ πληθους τῶν ὄντων ὑπερανέχουσαι, καὶ ἀκρότητες τῶν οὐσιῶν. *Op. cit.* pp. 644; 737; 763; 1049; 1068; 1071; 1101. Likewise, *Institutio Theologica*, 129; *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 3, pp. 24; 105; *Excerpta e Platonica Procli Theologia*, pp. 1245; 1249.

²³³ Damascius, *De Principiis*, v. 1, pp. 25; 213; 218–220; 247–248; 258; 270 279–288; 294; *In Parmenidem*, pp. 6; 7; 16 *et passim*.

²³⁴ Cf. Simplicius expounding how Porphyry understood Aristotle. *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 9, pp. 101–102: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡ μὲν οὐσία καθ' ἑαυτὴν ὑφεστάναι πεφυκυῖα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑποκειμένη μένει ὅπερ ἐστί, καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ· τὰ δὲ συμβεβηκότα ἢ τὰ μέρη περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὸ ὅλον ὑφεστηκότα κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος παρέχεται, οὐ τοῦ ἐνὸς πληθυνομένου, (οὐ γὰρ προστίθησιν ἐκείνῳ τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι ταῦτα καθ' ἑαυτὰ ὑποστήναι), ἀλλ' ὅσον ὑφειμένη τις τοῦ ὄντος ὑπόστασις ἐστὶν ἡ πεπληθυσμένη· οὐ γὰρ πεπληθύνεται ἐκ τοιοῦτων ἐνάδων ἡ οὐσία. Once such accounts were available to the author, then remarks such as those in *DT* (*lib.* 2.1–7), 4.8 & 5.10 are mere adaptation which could claim no philosophical originality.

²³⁵ Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Divinis Nominibus*, p. 109: Καὶ πάσαις διανοίαις ἀδιανόητόν ἐστι τὸ ὑπὲρ διάνοιαν ἔν, ἁρρήτὸν τε λόγῳ παντὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ λόγον ἀγαθόν, ἐνὰς ἐνοποιὸς ἀπάσης ἐνάδος καὶ ὑπερούσιος οὐσία καὶ νοῦς ἀνόητος καὶ λόγος ἁρρήτος, ἀλογία καὶ ἀνοησία καὶ ἀνωδυμία κατὰ μὴδὲν τῶν ὄντων οὐσα καὶ αἴτιον μὲν τοῦ εἶναι πᾶσιν, αὐτὸ δὲ μὴ ὄν ὡς πάσης οὐσίας ἐπέκεινα. Dionysius' methodology was not too different, but he was better informed. He received Proclus' idea and phraseology about each of the 'gods' posited as a certain 'oneness' (ἐνάδες) and simply made them 'angels'. *Op. cit.* p. 202: καὶ τὰς ἀθανάτους τῶν ἀγγελικῶν ἐνάδων ζωὰς ἀλωβήτους διαφυλάττει καὶ τὰς οὐρανίας καὶ φωστηρικὰς καὶ ἀστρώφους οὐσίας καὶ τάξεις ἀναλλοιώτους καὶ τὸν αἰῶνα δύνασθαι εἶναι ποιεῖ.

²³⁶ Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, p. 600: καὶ εἴη ἂν λέγων ὅτι τὸ κυρίως ὄν καὶ ἡ ἀπλὴ ὑπερούσιος οὐσία καὶ ἀκινήτως κινουσα, ὁ πολυτιμῆτος θεός, οὐ γίνεται οὐδὲ φθίρεται. *Op. cit.* p. 634: εἰ γὰρ ταῖς μερικαῖς ταῦταις καὶ αἰσθηταῖς οὐσίαις οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἐναντίον, ταῖς νοηταῖς καὶ αἰθίοις, εἰπεῖν δὲ καὶ ὑπερουσίους τί ἂν εἴη ἐναντίον; *DT* (*lib.* 2.1–7), 5.3: τῆς ἐνάδος οὐσίας. *Op. cit.* (*lib.* 2.1–7), 5.28: τῆς ἀνωτάτω ἐνάδος καὶ αὐτοτελοῦς οὐσίας. *Op. cit.* (*lib.* 2.8–27), PG.39.620.26–28: τὸ δὲ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἔν καὶ μόνον τῆς ἐνάδος, ἥτοι μονάδος, οὐσίας ἐστίν. *Op. cit.* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.789.47–49: Ἐν γὰρ εἶπεν εἶναι τῇ θεότητι τὰς ὑποστάσεις, καὶ ἐν ἐνάδι οὐσίας διέσταλκε δῖχα τὰ πρόσωπα. *Op. cit.* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.804.29–30: τῆς ἐνάδος θείας καὶ ὑπερουσίῳ ἐστὶν οὐσίας. *Op. cit.* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.877.21–22: ἡ ἐνάς καὶ ὑπερούσιος οὐσία.

²³⁷ Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, p. 124: ὁμοίως δὲ

by Alexander of Aphrodisias. But it was Neoplatonism that made them a heavily loaded theme and offered elaborate analyses of their import. During the centuries that followed, Christian theologians drew on this nomenclature. The authors in whom *DT*'s and Cassian's vocabulary regularly recurs are the same that took up the fascinating expression 'essence beyond essence'. These are Maximus Confessor, John of Damascus, Caesarius, and Theodore Studites.²³⁸ However, the peculiar (and rather eccentric) expression ἐνὰς οὐσίας ('oneness of essence') transpires in three authors only, namely, Proclus, Pseudo-Dionysius, and *DT*, which I believe is quite telling a point.

It was Plotinus who had said that 'everything in me seeks after the Good, but each of them attains it in proportion to its own power; for the entire heaven depends on it, and so does the whole of my soul, and the gods in my parts, and all animals and plants and whatever there is in me (if anything) which is thought to be without life'.²³⁹ Proclus endorsed this statement, granting that 'all beings seek after the Good'.²⁴⁰ Pseudo-Dionysius once again followed by subscribing to Proclus' statement in the selfsame terms: 'all beings seek after the Good, and whatever they do, they do it only because they believe it is good'. Which is the argument why 'evil' cannot be counted as a true 'being'.²⁴¹ John Philoponus insisted on everything seeking to sustain itself in existence rather than seeking 'the Good'. He therefore laid stress on the natural impulse of life seeking to sustain itself and to evade corruption.²⁴² Philoponus, therefore, moves along a different line even

πάλιν καὶ τὰ ζῶα λαμβάνοντες καὶ φυτὰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σώματα, ἐνὸς εὐρίσκοντες μετουσίᾳ ταῦτα οὐσίας ὄντα, ἰδέαν τινὰ καὶ ἐνάδα οὐσίας λαμβάνοντες τὴν αὐτοουσίαν, ὑπὸ μίαν ταύτην πάλιν ἀνήγαγον πάσας τὰς οὐσίας.

²³⁸ Photius appears to have used such a vocabulary only in the *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, which makes this attribution doubtful once again.

²³⁹ Plotinus, *Enneades*, III.2.3: Πάντα δὲ τὰ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐφίεται μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, τυγχάνει δὲ κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἕκαστα· ἐξήρηται γὰρ πᾶς μὲν οὐρανὸς ἐκείνου, πᾶσα δὲ ἐμὴ ψυχὴ καὶ οἱ ἐν μέρεσιν ἐμοῖς θεοὶ, καὶ τὰ ζῶα δὲ πάντα καὶ φυτὰ καὶ εἴ τι ἄψυχον δοκεῖ εἶναι ἐν ἐμοί.

²⁴⁰ Proclus, *In Platonis Alcibiadem* I, 329: πάντα γὰρ τὰ ὄντα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἐφίεται. *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 1, pp. 276; 287; *Institutio Theologica*, 8; 10; 12; 31; 134; *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, p. 415.

²⁴¹ Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Divinis Nominibus*, pp. 155: καὶ πάντα τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἐφιέμενα. 163: τὰ ὄντα τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἐφίεται καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ποιεῖ, διὰ τὸ δοκοῦν ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖ καὶ πᾶς ὁ τῶν ὄντων σκοπὸς ἀρχὴν ἔχει καὶ τέλος τάγαθόν, οὐδὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν τοῦ κακοῦ φύσιν ἀποβλέπον ποιεῖ, ἀ ποιεῖ, πῶς ἔσται τὸ κακὸν ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἢ ὅλως ὄν τῆς τοιαύτης ἀγαθῆς ὀρέξεως παρηρημένον; Cf. pp. 172; 179; 182. So Damascius, *In Phaedonem* (versio 1), 202. Simplicius, *Commentarius in Epicteti Enchiridion*, pp. 5; 10; 68; 74; 75; 92; 100. Hermias of Alexandria, *In Platonis Phaedrum Scholia*, pp. 52; 158.

²⁴² John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Libros de Generatione et Corruptione Commentaria*, v. 14.2, p. 99: καὶ τὸ φθειρόμενον πάλιν ἐτέρωθεν ἔχει τῆς φθορᾶς τὴν αἰτίαν· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτὸ ἐαυτοῦ

though he draws on Plotinus' vocabulary. This is natural, since Aristotle had urged a different approach: certainly any good action, or even any art, are what they are and do what they do, by reason of pursuing a certain good goal (such as medicine pursuing health, economics pursuing wealth, and so on).²⁴³ However, Aristotle rejects the theorem that *all* action seeks a universal 'good', arguing that there is a *specific* good pursued through each activity.²⁴⁴ In contrast to the Platonic thesis which postulates a universal 'good' pursued by moral action, Aristotle urges that 'the ultimate end' of each action is different, which of course invites the question which 'end' is the supreme one.²⁴⁵

This technical phraseology, as entertained within Christian mindset, only reinforces conclusions that I have reached thus far, namely, that Cassian authored books ascribed to great names of Christian antiquity. The texts available to us are all spurious and they are all more or less like Cassian. The author sustains the Neoplatonic thesis of all beings seeking the Good, which now is the Trinity. The *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaiam*,²⁴⁶ the work *De Vita et Miraculis Sanctae Theclae* spuriously ascribed to Basil of Seleucia, which we have come across at many points so far,²⁴⁷ only show that the selfsame hand has authored them. By the same token, what Pseudo-Justin criticizes at a certain point is in fact Aristotle's refusal to allow Plato's universalism,

φθαρτικόν ἐστὶ· πάντα γὰρ φυσικῶς τοῦ εἶναι ἐφίεται. ... τὸ γὰρ αἰτίον τινος, ὡς πολλάκις εἴρηται, ἐνεργεῖα δεῖ εἶναι, τὸ δὲ μήπω ὃν οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐνεργεῖα. ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ φθορὰς οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἑαυτῷ φυσικῶς αἰτίον, εἴρηται· πάντα γὰρ φυσικῶς τοῦ εἶναι ἐφίεται. *In Aristotelis Libros de Anima Commentaria*, v. 15, p. 15: ἔτι οὐδὲν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σπουδάζει φθεῖραι ὑποκείμενον· πάντα γὰρ τοῦ εἶναι ἐφίεται. *Op. cit.* v. 15, pp. 162: πάντα γὰρ τοῦ εἶναι ἐφίεται. p. 272: οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτε αὐτὸ αὐτῷ οὔτε τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ὑποκειμένῳ φθορὰς ἐστὶν αἰτίον.

²⁴³ Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, 1094a. Cf. 1162b; 1172b–1173a.

²⁴⁴ *Ethica Eudemia*, 1218a31: τὸ τε φάναι πάντα τὰ ὄντα ἐφίεσθαι ἐνός τινος ἀγαθοῦ οὐκ ἀληθές. ἕκαστον γὰρ ἰδίου ἀγαθοῦ ὁρέγεται, ὁφθαλμὸς ὄψεως, σῶμα υἱείας, οὕτως ἄλλο ἄλλου. Cf. *Magna Moralia*, 2.7.20.

²⁴⁵ Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, 1094a–1095a.

²⁴⁶ Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaiam*, 1.25: Θεῷ δὲ πρέπουσα φωνὴ τὸ Πλήρης εἰμί. Οὐδενὸς οὐν ἐφίεμαι, ἀλλ' ἑμαυτοῦ τὰ πάντα. Τὸ ἀγαθὸν γὰρ ἐστὶ, οὐ πάντα ἐφίεται. Ἀγαθὸς δὲ ἀληθινῶς ὁ Θεός. Πηγὴ εἰμι πληρότητος. Οὐχὶ γὰρ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐγὼ πληρῶ; λέγει Κύριος. So *Asceticon Magnum*, PG.31.912.9–10, which is one more indication of this work being not Basil's.

²⁴⁷ Pseudo-Basil of Seleucia, *De Vita et Miraculis Sanctae Theclae libri ii*, 1.7: Πατὴρ καὶ Υἱὸς καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἡ ἅγια καὶ προσκυνητὴ Τριάς, ἡ ἄκτιστος καὶ ὁμοούσιος θεότης, ἡ αἰδιος καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος, ἡ ἀχώριστος καὶ ἀπερίγραφος, ἡ ὑπέρχρονος καὶ ὑπερκόσμιος, ἡ ὁμότιμος καὶ ὁμόθεος καὶ ὁμόδοξος, ἡ ἀναφής, ἡ ἀπερίληπτος, ἥς πάντα τε ἡρῆται καὶ πάντα ἐφίεται, καὶ τὸ κεχωρισμένον αὐτῆς ἐστὶν οὐδέν.

namely, that all beings seek after *the one* Good, which of course the author takes to be the Trinity.²⁴⁸

An interesting point should be made by the way. The author of *DT* insists on styling the Trinity *ὁμότιμος*, meaning that the three Trinitarian Persons are of the same ontological rank.²⁴⁹ Although there are oblique references by earlier authors,²⁵⁰ none of these references can actually be taken as introducing anything novel in the Trinitarian vocabulary. A plain reference was made at the Council of Ephesus,²⁵¹ only to be reproduced by the Sixth Council of Constantinople (680–681). There was therefore no real tradition impelling use of such an expression about the Trinity, save perhaps a statement made by Emperor Justinian during the erratic times in which Cassian himself lived.²⁵² The author of *DT* is the sole one to do so more than once, actually he does so in four instances. Besides, to me it hardly comes as a surprise that Pseudo-Justin is one of the extremely few to reproduce the term,²⁵³ since it is highly likely that Cassian is the writer of this text, as indeed it

²⁴⁸ Pseudo-Justin, *Confutatio Dogmatum Quorundam Aristotelicorum*, p. 121B: "Ὁντος γάρ τινος θείου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἐφετοῦ, τὸ μὲν ἐναντίον αὐτῷ φαμεν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ πεφυκέναι ἐφέεσθαι καὶ ὀρέγεσθαι αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ. Τοῖς δὲ συμβαίνει τὸ ἐναντίον ὀρέγεσθαι τῆς αὐτοῦ φθορᾶς. Καίτοι οὔτε αὐτοῦ οἷόν τε ἐφέεσθαι τὸ εἶδος διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἐνδεές, οὔτε τὸ ἐναντίον. Op. cit. p. 122B–C: Εἰ τὸ ἐναντίον τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ οὐκ ἐφέεται τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ (φθορᾶς γὰρ τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως ἐφέεται, εἰ ἐφέεται τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ) καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἑαυτοῦ οὐκ ἐφέεται (ἀνευδεές γὰρ τὸ εἶδος), ἔστι δὲ τὸ θεῖον ἐφετόν τε καὶ ὀρεκτόν, τίνι δὲ ἐφετόν τε καὶ ὀρεκτόν εἰ μὴ τῇ ὕλῃ; Ἐμφύχως ἄρα ἡ ὕλη· ἐμφύχου γὰρ ἔστι τὸ ἐφέεσθαι καὶ ὀρέγεσθαι. Εἰ δὲ ἔμφυχως ἡ ὕλη, πῶς οὐκ ἔστι ψευδές τὸ οὐκ ὄν εἶναι κατὰ συμβεβηκός τὴν ὕλην; Ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ ὄν ἐστι, καὶ τὸ ψυχὴν ἔχον ὄν ἐστίν.

²⁴⁹ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.604.21–22: τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῆς ἰσοδυνάμου, καὶ ὁμοτίμου, καὶ ὁμοουσίου διδάσκει Τριάδος. Op. cit. (lib. 3), PG.39.744.40–745.1: τὴν ἀγίαν ὁμοτίμως δεξιωσάμενος καὶ προσκυνήσας Τριάδα. Op. cit. PG.39.781.6–7: καὶ ταῦτα ἐκφαίνοντα καὶ προφαίνοντα τὸ ὁμότιμον καὶ ἰσοσθενές τῆς ἀγίας Τριάδος. Op. cit. PG.39.928.47: ὁμοτίμως μνημονεύει τῆς Τριάδος.

²⁵⁰ Gregory of Nazianzus, *De Spiritu Sancto* (orat. 31), 12: οὐ γὰρ ὁμοδούλου δημιουργός, ἀλλ' ὁμοτίμῳ συνδοξαζόμενος. μηδὲν μετὰ σεαυτοῦ θῆς τῆς τριάδος, μὴ τῆς τριάδος ἐκπέσης. John Chrysostom, *De Sancta Pentecoste* (homiliae 1–2), PG.50.465.43–44: Εἶδες ὁμότιμον τὴν ἀξίαν; εἶδες συμφωνίαν ἀπηκριβωμένην; εἶδες τῆς Τριάδος τὸ ἀδιαίρετον; Theodoret, *Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium*, PG.83.456.45: ἀλλὰ τὸ ὁμότιμον τῆς Τριάδος ἐπιδεικνύς. Theodoret was actually at pains to emphasise that the Father and the Spirit are ontologically equal. Theodoret, *intPaulXIV*, PG.82.397.7–18: "Ὁ δὲ Κύριος τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστιν." Ἐδείξε τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τὸ ὁμότιμον. ... οὐκ ἄρα κτίσμα τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον, ἀλλ' ἰσοδύναμον καὶ ὁμότιμον. Gelasius of Cyzicus, *HE*, II.19.21. Later, Maximus Confessor, *Epistula Secunda ad Thomam*, 1. Pseudo-Anastasius of Sinai, *Disputatio Adversus Iudaeos*, p. 1277 (bis).

²⁵¹ ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum anno 431*, I.1,7, p. 51: τὸ τῆς τριάδος ὁμοούσιον καὶ ὁμότιμον καὶ ὁμοδύναμον.

²⁵² Justinian, *Contra Monophysitas*, 2: τριάς οὖν ὡς ἀληθὴς ἡ τριάς, τριάς δὲ οὐ πραγμάτων ἀνίσων ἀπαριθμησίς, ἀλλ' ἴσων καὶ ὁμοτίμων σύλληψις, ἐνούσης τῆς προσγορίας τὰ ἡνωμένα ἐκ φύσεως καὶ οὐκ ἐώσης σχεδασθῆναι ἀριθμῷ λελυμένῳ καὶ μὴ λυόμενα.

²⁵³ Pseudo-Justin, *QetR*, p. 417B: τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ ὁμότιμον τριάδα.

is no surprise that this term transpires in the *Analecta Hymnica Graeca* in no less than fifteen hymns.

The author urges that angels are not visible by means of the natural human eye, since they are beyond the ordinary categories of colour, shape, or Euclidean dimensions. Yet, even if they do not fall into the perception of physical eyes, they are still corporeal. Although Scripture styles them 'spirits', this is only because they are incorporeal with respect to us. They can be seen however by means of the 'mind', which is 'the eye of the soul'. This eye can afford 'scientific contemplation' (θεωρίας ἐπιστημονικῆς) and make angels visible. For however superior to humans, still creatures angels are.²⁵⁴ Whether the author was aware of it or not, this is sheer Origenism.²⁵⁵

The important notion adduced by the author is the one of 'scientific contemplation'. Philo reasoned that unless action is determined by 'scientific contemplation' no act can be a righteous one.²⁵⁶ Heron of Alexandria saw this true knowledge as the ultimate goal of Arithmetics.²⁵⁷ Iamblichus praised Pythagoras for his meticulous scientific method of pondering into problems,²⁵⁸ whereas he also paid his respects to 'scientific contemplation' attained by means of Mathematics.²⁵⁹

Christians did not make much of ἐπιστημονικῆ θεωρία ('scientific contemplation'), with only two shining exceptions²⁶⁰ besides the author of *DT* and Pseudo-Dionysius. The rest of the Alexandrians, Antiochenes and Cappadocians eschewed the notion. Proclus is the author who practiced the idea

²⁵⁴ *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.873.11–25: Πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἀόρατον, εἰσὶ μὲν καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι, ἀόρατοι μὲν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν, ἐν τῷ εἶναι ἐκτὸς τῶν ὁρατῶν ἰδιωμάτων (φημὶ χρώματος, σχήματος, μεγέθους), ὁρατοὶ δὲ τῷ νῷ, ὃ ἐστὶν ὄμμα τῆς ψυχῆς· ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἀνέφικτοι, ἅτε κτιστοὶ τὴν ὑπαρξίν εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἡμῖν νόησις περὶ αὐτῶν. Ὡστε, εἰ καὶ κατὰ προσβολὴν αἰσθήσεως ὀφθαλμοῦ ὄμματος ἀόρατοι, ἀλλ' οὖν κατὰ ἀντίληψιν θεωρίας ἐπιστημονικῆς ὁρατοὶ εἰσιν. Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς ὑπὲρ τὸ ἀόρατον, καὶ ἀφανέστατον, καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντα νοῦν ὑπάρχων, οὐ μόνον ὕψει, καὶ συνόλως αἰσθήσει, μὴ ὑποπίπτειν, ἀλλὰ μήτε νῷ αὐτῶν ἀγγέλων ἐνορᾶσθαι, διὰ τὸ ἀκατάληπτον καὶ ἀπρόσιτον, πέφυκεν.

²⁵⁵ *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 4.3: πνεύματα δέ, καθὼς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀσώματα. Cf. Caesarius, *supra*, p. 397, note 124. See RCR, pp. 322; 325. Origen's theory is canvassed in *COT*, pp. 113–116.

²⁵⁶ Philo, *De Praemiis et Poenis* & *De Exsecrationibus*, 51: χωρὶς γὰρ θεωρίας ἐπιστημονικῆς οὐδὲν τῶν πραττομένων καλόν. John of Damascus was impressed enough by this so as to reproduce it in his *Sacra Parallela*, without mentioning Philo's name. PG.95.1293.28.

²⁵⁷ Heron of Alexandria (possibly first cent. AD), *Definitiones*, 138.10: Ὅτι τέλος μὲν ἔχει ἀκόλουθον ἀριθμητικὴ κυρίως μὲν τὴν ἐπιστημονικὴν θεωρίαν.

²⁵⁸ Iamblichus, *De Vita Pythagorica*, 17.79. Cf. *Protrepticus*, p. 118: ἀποδείξει ἐπιστημονικῇ βεβαιωθέντα διὰ μαθημάτων καὶ θεωρίας.

²⁵⁹ Iamblichus, *De Comuni Mathematica Scientia*, 18.

²⁶⁰ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, 7.11.61.1; 7.16.102.2; 8.1.2.1. Didymus, *commEccl* (7–8.8), Cod. p. 240; *commZacch*, 1.17; 1.91; 3.66; 3.179; 5.202; *comPs* 20–21, Cod. p. 51; *comPs* 22–26.10, Cod. p. 105; *frPs(al)*, Fr. 132.

more than anyone else,²⁶¹ to be matched only by Simplicius. For it is not simply a question of entertaining a certain technical locution, however scarcely this transpires in Greek literature. More important is to explore what an author means to make of it. Once the question is explored in this way, it turns out that it was Proclus that the author of *DT* emulated and actually had in mind while making this point. What they both urge is that true 'scientific contemplation' is not mere conception of empirical realities; rather, it is apprehension of 'intelligible realities' (τῶν νοητῶν ἀντίληψιν). The real parallel is unique and lies in Proclus' account. He mentions Parmenides praising Socrates for having associated 'visible things' (ἐν τοῖς ὁρωμένοις) with 'illusion' (πλάνην).²⁶² Delighted at this as he was, Proclus commented that no one should be surprised at Socrates styling (what became later the) Aristotelian scientific account (τὴν ἐπιστημονικὴν θεωρίαν) 'illusion'. Since Aristotle cared for empirical material objects and used dialectics to study them, it was as if he had actually engaged in perusal of things that are 'untrue' (τὰ ψευδῆ),²⁶³ which is why his ἐπιστημονικὴ θεωρία is a false one. For the real and genuine 'scientific contemplation' stands too far from development of dialectical argument (ἡ δὲ διὰ τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων μέθοδος πόρρω διώκισται τῆς ἐπιστημονικῆς θεωρίας).²⁶⁴ It could be urged that both Clement of Alexandria and Didymus also understood 'scientific contemplation' as knowledge of divine realities, which is true. However, study of *DT* evinces that its author made almost nothing of those authors, and this accidental coincidence of *DT* with Didymus' writings is only one of a small handful of similar instances.

Pseudo-Dionysius did not actually follow Proclus on this. In his sole reference to ἐπιστημονικὴ θεωρία (made in one of his epistles), it is not contemplation of invisible realities that he regards as 'scientific contemplation'. His

²⁶¹ Proclus, *In Platonis Alcibiadem* i, 7–8: ἡ γὰρ ἐπιστημονικὴ θεωρία τὸ κοινὸν ὄρᾳ καὶ τὸ διατεῖναι ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὁμοίαν ἔξιν. In *Primum Euclidis Elementorum Librum Commentarii*, pp. 68–69 (praising Euclides for his scientific analyses): πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου μαθηματικὰ συγγράμματα θαυμαστῆς ἀκριβείας καὶ ἐπιστημονικῆς θεωρίας μεστά. Likewise, op. cit. p. 70.

²⁶² Plato, *Parmenides*, 135E.

²⁶³ Proclus, *In Platonis Parmenidem*, p. 995: Καὶ μὴ θαυμάσης εἰ τὴν ἐπιστημονικὴν θεωρίαν πλάνην προσηγόρευσεν αὐτός· ὥς γὰρ πρὸς τὴν νόησιν τὴν καθαρὰν πλάνην αὐτὴν προσεῖπε καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπλὴν τῶν νοητῶν ἀντίληψιν· πλάνη γὰρ τὸ μὴ μόνον ἀλήθειᾳ σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἀποδεκτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ψευδῆ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν μεθόδων ἐκπεριτρέχειν ἐλέγχοντα.

²⁶⁴ Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (lib. 1–6), v. 1, p. 36. A text ascribed to Simplicius dignifies Aristotle's method and scientific concerns with the expression ἐπιστημονικὴ θεωρία. Cf. Op. cit. pp. 88; 122; 304. In *Aristotelis Libros de Anima Commentaria*, v. 11, pp. 6; 203.

expression is only an exegetical classification rendering differently homonymous terms, such as ‘fire’, which points to either material or immaterial realities (such as God being styled ‘fire’).²⁶⁵

The epithet ἀπειροδύναμος (‘infinitely powerful’) is used twice in *DT*,²⁶⁶ which is one more instance of this term occurring scarcely, and almost exclusively, in spurious Christian texts.²⁶⁷ Nevertheless, it also appears in a Greek translation of Ephraem Syrus,²⁶⁸ in John of Damascus,²⁶⁹ the *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*,²⁷⁰ and in anonymous texts ‘against the Jews’.²⁷¹ All of them conspire to suggest that we are upon a Neoplatonic term, which entered Christian literature through an Antiochene, probably Sabaite or Akoimetan, pen. To this an instance in the *Doctrina Patrum* (where Cassian is mentioned by name)²⁷² should be added.²⁷³ Finally, the term appears in Photius, and the *Epistulae et Amphilochia*.²⁷⁴ In the review by Photius, the term is not actually his own usage: it was a monk called Iobius that had used this, and Photius simply reviews his work. Iobius was a sixth-century figure, since Photius says that he had affronted Severus of Antioch.²⁷⁵ In other words, we have Christian usage of the term, which is Antiochene, for one thing, and a sixth-century one, for another.

Once the term is explored, it is quite evident that we are upon a Christian loan from Late-Antiquity Greek literature. Some casual instances by Alexan-

²⁶⁵ Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *Epistulae*, 9.2: Καὶ ἄλλως χρῆ τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ πυρὸς εἰκόνα κατὰ τοῦ ὑπὲρ νόησιν θεοῦ λεγομένην ἐκλαβεῖν, ἄλλως δὲ κατὰ τῶν νοητῶν αὐτοῦ προνοιῶν ἢ λόγων καὶ ἄλλως ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, καὶ τὴν μὲν κατ’ αἰτίαν, τὴν δὲ καθ’ ὑπαρξιν, τὴν δὲ κατὰ μέθεξιν καὶ ἄλλα ἄλλως, ὥς ἡ κατ’ αὐτὰ θεωρία καὶ ἐπιστημονικὴ διάταξις ὁροθετεῖ.

²⁶⁶ *DT* (*lib. 1*), 27.59; *op. cit.* (*lib. 2.1–7*), 4.8.

²⁶⁷ Pseudo-Cyril of Alexandria, *De Sancta Trinitate*, PG.77: 1132.3; 1140.22. Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa, *De Creatione Hominis Sermo Alter (recensio C)*, p. 72a. Pseudo-Hippolytus, *Contra Beronem et Heliconem*, p. 321 (bis); *In Canticum Cantorum (paraphrasis)*, 1.13.

²⁶⁸ Ephraem Syrus, *Precationes e Sacris Scripturis Collectae*, Prayer 7, p. 343.

²⁶⁹ John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei*, 8 (lines 4 & 178); 14; *Orationes De Imaginibus Tres*, 3.29; *De Duabus In Christo Voluntatibus*, 11; *Oratio Secunda in Dormitionem Sanctae Dei Genitricis Mariae*, 7 & 18; *Oratio Tertia in Dormitionem Sanctae Dei Genitricis Mariae*, 1.

²⁷⁰ *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, *Canones Septembris*, 20.26.5; *Canones Novembris*, 14.34.5; *Canones Junii*, 14.5.8; 30.20.1; *Canones Augusti*, 17.16.8.

²⁷¹ Scripta Anonyma Adversus Iudaeos, *Dissertatio Contra Iudaeos*, 1, line 101; 2, lines 40 & 95. Reference to this text, which was produced by the Akoimatoi, is made in Appendix I, pp. 408 (note 197); 418 (note 273); 428 (note 317); and *infra*, p. 600 (note 799).

²⁷² *Doctrina Patrum*, p. 242.

²⁷³ *Op. cit.* p. 321 (bis).

²⁷⁴ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 222, p. 190a21; *Commentarii in Joannem (in catenis)*, Fr. 53; *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 78; 118; 157.

²⁷⁵ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 222, p. 181b5.

der of Aphrodisias and Porphyry²⁷⁶ aside, the term came to be a really philosophical one only with Proclus (who entertained it at no less than twenty-six instances),²⁷⁷ and a couple of philosophers of his generation.²⁷⁸ Subsequently, it was rather natural to come upon this term in Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite.²⁷⁹ It was not Christian literature, however, that identified this with the sixth-century. It was the Greek usage of ἀπειροδύναμος, with both, Aristotelian commentators of the stature of John Philoponus²⁸⁰ and Neoplatonist masters, who flourished during that period, namely, Damascius,²⁸¹ Elias of Alexandria,²⁸² Olympiodorus the philosopher of Alexandria,²⁸³ Asclepius of Tralleis,²⁸⁴ and above all, Simplicius, who made the most of it.²⁸⁵

We have seen thus far that the terminology employed by the author of *DT* is heavily employed by Proclus as well as by the sixth-century Neoplatonists, along with Pseudo-Dionysius having taken them up. In the last example, Pseudo-Dionysius was present in terminology, yet the ideas surrounding *DT*'s points run parallel to Neoplatonism, not to Pseudo-Dionysius himself. Aware of the latter though the author of *DT* was, he was in the main also aware of the Neoplatonic corpus. Hence his liabilities are to Proclus, not to Pseudo-Dionysius, who anyway will be entirely absent from the instances which I am now going to explore next.

²⁷⁶ Alexander of Aphrodisias (second–third cent.), *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, p. 700 (bis). Porphyry (third–fourth cent.), *Sententiae ad Intelligibilia Ducentes*, 37.

²⁷⁷ Proclus, *Institutio Theologica*, 84; 86; 89 (bis); 92 (bis); *Institutio Physica*, 2.21; *In Platonis Parmenidem*, pp. 827; 1010; 1012; 1016; 1118; 1119; 1120; *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, pp. 263; 295; v. 2, pp. 63; 131; 262; v. 3, pp. 21; 40; *In Primum Euclidis Elementorum Librum Commentarii*, pp. 37; 187; *De Decem Dubitationibus Circa Providentiam*, 11; 12.

²⁷⁸ Ammonius of Alexandria (the son of Hermias, fifth cent. AD), *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarius*, p. 6. Syrianus (fifth cent.), *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, pp. 5; 10; 36 (bis); 112; 117; 120; 132; 147; 158; 162.

²⁷⁹ Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Divinis Nominibus*, pp. 141; 201 (bis).

²⁸⁰ John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, v. 13.1, pp. 50; 51; *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 16, pp. 53; 56; v. 17, pp. 768; 797; *De Aeternitate Mundi*, pp. 2 (bis); 3; 5; 312; *De Opificio Mundi*, p. 157.

²⁸¹ Damascius, *De Principiis*, v. 1, p. 302; *In Parmenidem*, pp. 19; 55.

²⁸² Elias of Alexandria (sixth cent.), *In Porphyrii Isagogen*, p. 93.

²⁸³ Olympiodorus, the philosopher of Alexandria (sixth cent.), *Prolegomena*, p. 9; *In Aristotelis Meteora Commentaria*, pp. 143; 150; *In Platonis Phaedonem Commentaria*, 11.4.

²⁸⁴ Asclepius of Tralleis (sixth cent.), *In Aristotelis Metaphysicorum Libros A–Z Commentaria*, pp. 48 & 121.

²⁸⁵ Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Quattuor Libros De Caelo Commentaria*, v. 7, pp. 44; 79; 240 (bis); 312; *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 9, p. 608; v. 10, pp. 942; 1327; 1328; 1329 (three points); 1331 (three points); 1333 (four points); 1335 (seven points); 1336; 1338; 1339; 1340; 1358.

Proclus, but not Dionysius

The notion of 'primary source of goodness' (πρωτουργὸν ἀγαθόν) is one which par excellence demonstrates independent knowledge of Proclus. *DT* accords this designation to the Trinity, the Christian Godhead.²⁸⁶ Proclus had spoken of the 'primary causes of good things' (πρωτουργοὺς αἰτίας τῶν ἀγαθῶν).²⁸⁷ In his commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*, he remarks that the 'primary causes of all beings originate in the Good, and they are united with this in ineffable union' (τὰ πρωτουργὰ αἷτια τῶν ὄντων, ἃ καὶ προῆλθεν ἐκ τἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἡνωται πρὸς αὐτὸ κατὰ μίαν ἄρρητον ἕνωσιν).²⁸⁸ Further, he adds that the Good is 'the source' of all 'primary causes' (εἰ οὖν ἐθέλεις τὰ πρωτουργὰ διστάνειν αἷτια καὶ τὰ ἀπ' αὐτῶν, τἀγαθὸν μὲν ἐρεῖς πάντων αἷτιον ὃν εἶναι).²⁸⁹ On that account, Proclus gradually arrives at the conclusion that 'goodness' exists among the 'gods' par excellence.²⁹⁰ Finally, 'the goodness of gods' is the 'primary source of everything'. This 'goodness' is what made the 'unique power of this divine 'being' to assume the ontological form of a 'triad'.²⁹¹ Hardly could a Christian student of Proclus find a more attractive, indeed seductive, expression to apply into his own exposition, thus producing the notion of 'primary source of goodness' (πρωτουργὸν ἀγαθόν), which is treated as a synonym to the Trinity. No author ever took this up,²⁹² which makes it possible for us to see that there was a direct influence by Proclus upon the author of *DT*, without any real or imagined (and sometimes baffling) influence by Dionysius the Areopagite. For indeed, in *DT* we also come upon the similar expression πρωτουργὸς φύσις ('primary nature'),²⁹³

²⁸⁶ *DT* (lib. 1), 18.37: Μηδὲν παραιροῦ τοῦ πρωτουργοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς θεόν με ἐπίγνωθι, μὴ ἄλλον τῇ θεότητι τοῦ πατρὸς, ἀλλὰ τῇ ὑποστάσει. *DT* (lib. 2.1-7), 6.8.1: τῷ δημιουργῷ ἐνὶ καὶ πρωτουργῷ ἀγαθῷ.

²⁸⁷ Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 1, p. 98. Cf. op. cit. v. 1: p. 140 (τῶν πρωτουργῶν αἰτίων); p. 276 (πρωτουργὸν αἷτιον); *Theologia Platonica* (lib. 1-6), v. 1, p. 71 (τὴν πρωτουργὸν αἰτίαν). In *Platonis Alcibiadem i*, 318 (τὰς πρωτουργοὺς αἰτίας).

²⁸⁸ Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, p. 213.

²⁸⁹ Proclus, op. cit. v. 1, p. 387.

²⁹⁰ Proclus, *Institutio Theologica*, 153: ὡς γὰρ ἄλλαι τῶν ὄντων εἰσὶν ὑποστάσεις, ἄλλαι τῶν ὑπερουσίων, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τελειότητες ἄλλαι μὲν αἱ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ὑπαρξιν, ἄλλαι δὲ αἱ τῶν ὄντων δεύτεραι μετ' ἐκείνας· καὶ αἱ μὲν αὐτοτελεῖς καὶ πρωτουργοί, διότι καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐν ἐκείνοις πρώτως.

²⁹¹ Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (lib. 1-6), v. 1, p. 104: πάντων ἄρα πρωτουργὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀρχηγικωτάτη πηγὴ καὶ ἐστία τῶν ὁπωσοῦν ὑφeschηκόντων ἢ τῶν θεῶν ἀγαθότης, ἐν τριάδι τοιαύτῃ πηξαμένη τὸ ἐνιαῖον κράτος τῆς οἰκείας ὑποστάσεως.

²⁹² A somewhat attenuated parallel is an expression by Damascius, *In Phaenomenon* (versio 2), 30: τὸ μὲν θεῖον ἦτοί τὸ ἀγαθοειδὲς καὶ ἡνωμένον, ἢ μάλλον τὸ πρωτουργόν.

²⁹³ *DT* (liber 1), 15.39.

once again referring to divine nature. Proclus applies the expression, yet not the selfsame notion, since he refers to the 'primary nature' of the Forms.²⁹⁴ Again, it is Proclus alone who makes reference to 'the nature of primary hypostases'.²⁹⁵ Simplicius, for his part, refers to the 'primary nature' of space proper, in a text where affinity is only a philological one, since he refers to an expression by Hesiod positing the nature of space proper as 'cardinal'.²⁹⁶

At the very same point, when the author refers to the 'eros for God',²⁹⁷ he actually goes ahead with reproducing Proclus, as well as the subsequent tradition of Neoplatonism.

Likewise, when the author refers to the one 'affluent will' (ἄφθονον βούλησιν)²⁹⁸ of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, he only emulates Proclus, who is the only author that entertained this notion.²⁹⁹ As a matter of fact, the author of *DT* is the sole one to have emulated Proclus. It took only a little adaptation, and not that much of inspiration, to draw on Proclus. Whereas he had applied 'affluent will' (ἄφθονον βούλησιν) either to 'gods' or to the Demiurge of *Timaeus*, our author applied this to the Trinity.

²⁹⁴ Proclus, *In Platonis Parmenidem*, p. 777: Ἡ δὲ σύγκρασις τῶν εἰδῶν ἐμφαίνει τὴν κοινωनीαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀδιάζευκτον καὶ τὴν ἔνωσιν τὴν αὐτὸν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ τὴν πηγαίαν αὐτῶν καὶ πρωτουργὸν ἐνδείκνυνται φύσιν.

²⁹⁵ Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (lib. 1–6), v. 1, p. 11: τὴν τῶν χωριστῶν καὶ πρωτουργῶν ὑποστάσεων φύσιν. As a matter of fact, the notion of 'primordial hypostases' is exclusive to Proclus. Cf. *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 1, p. 172. *Institutio Theologica*, 162.

²⁹⁶ Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 9, p. 527: εἰ δὲ ἔστιν ἀληθὲς τὸ δοξαζόμενον ὑπὸ Ἡσιόδου τὸ πρῶτην χώραν γενέσθαι ἥτοι τόπον, θαυμαστή τις ἂν εἴη ἡ τοῦ τόπου φύσις πρωτουργός τις οὖσα καὶ ἀρχηγική. The fifteenth-century theologian and Patriarch of Constantinople Gennadius Scholarius reproduced this text, which is in fact a quotation from Hesiod. It is remarkable that he has ἀρχική ('primary', meaning pre-existent) for ἀρχηγική ('principal'). Gennadius Scholarius, *Divisio Summaria Quinque Primorum Librorum Aristotelis Physicae*, p. 54.

²⁹⁷ *DT* (lib. 1), 18.40: καὶ ἔστιν ὑπαρξίς τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀγαθοῦ τὸ μετέχειν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ, προσκολλωμένην αὐτῷ τῇ ὑπακοῇ καὶ τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔρωτι.

²⁹⁸ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.601. 39, p. 601.3–4: Ὅτι οὐ διακονικῶς, ἀλλ' αὐθεντικῶς, πάντα ποιεῖ καὶ παρέχει, καθὼς βούλεται, τὰ χαρίσματα, ὁ Υἱός· πληροῦν τὴν ἀφθονον τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ ἑαυτοῦ μίαν βούλησιν.

²⁹⁹ Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (lib. 1–6) (ref. to gods), v. 1, p. 74: καὶ τὸ γνῶσιν εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀρίστην καὶ δύναμιν ἀχραντον καὶ βούλησιν ἀφθονον. Op. cit. v. 1, p. 75: καὶ βούλονται μὲν ὅσα τῷ εἶναι δύνανται, τῷ δὲ εἶναι πάντα καὶ δυνάμενοι καὶ ποιοῦντες ἀφθόνῳ βουλῇσι τὴν τῆς ποιήσεως αἰτίαν συνέχουσιν. Op. cit. v. 1, p. 103: καὶ τὴν ἀφθονον τῶν θεῶν βούλησιν. Op. cit. v. 5, p. 72 (ref. to the Demiurge of *Timaeus*): δημιουργός δὲ τῶν ὄλων κατὰ τὴν ἀγαθότητα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀφθονον βούλησιν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν πάντα κατακοσμεῖν, καὶ τὰ ἄτακτα, δυναμένην. *In Platonis Alcibiadem* I, 125 (ref. to *Timaeus*, 30a2): ταῦτα δὴ οὖν καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἀπομιμούμενος βούλησιν τε ἀφθονον προσεστήσατο τῆς τελειώσεως τῶν χειρόνων καὶ δύναμιν.

The expression ὁ πάντων ὑποστάτης accorded either to the Son³⁰⁰ or to the Holy Spirit,³⁰¹ means 'he who gave existence to everything', in other words, 'the creator'. This is precisely how both Pythagoreans and Plato adumbrated the idea of a Demiurge and exalted him, according to a report by Proclus.³⁰² This is also how Porphyry had seen the 'creative logos' who is able to 'produce anything' (ὁ δημιουργικός λόγος τὰ πάντα παράγει δυνατόν),³⁰³ and this is the recurrent motif to which Proclus returns over and over.³⁰⁴ Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite uses the term ὑποστάτης, yet the context is quite irrelevant,³⁰⁵ and certainly nowhere does he style so the creative cause of the entire world. Dionysius' references actually reproduce Proclus' thesis that the supreme ontological principle is the cause of its own being. Damascius explained the idea in a far more refined manner: God so described is not a 'maker', but the 'self-imposer' of the triadic division.³⁰⁶ Furthermore, 'the creative Monad', Proclus says, has in

³⁰⁰ *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.816.19: ὁ πάντων ὑποστάτης καὶ Σωτήρ.

³⁰¹ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.705.17–18: καὶ ὡς τῶν ὅλων ὑποστάτης ἐστὶ, καὶ τὰς ζωὰς ἀρρήτων φωταγωγίᾳ περιλάμπει τὸ θεῖον Πνεῦμα, σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, μετὰ ἀφράστου ἐνώσεως καὶ συμπονοίας.

³⁰² Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, p. 267: Πλάτων δὲ καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι τὸν δημιουργὸν ὕμνησαν τοῦ παντός ὡς χωριστὸν καὶ ἐξηρημένον καὶ πάντων ὑποστάτην καὶ πρόνοιαν τῶν ὅλων, καὶ μάλιστα γε εἰκότως.

³⁰³ Porphyry, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria (fragmenta)*, Book 2, Fr. 51: ὁ δὲ τῶν πάντων ὑποστάτης.

³⁰⁴ Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (lib. 1–6), v. 3, p. 78: Νοῦς μὲν οὖν τὴν νοερὰν μόνην οὐσίαν ὑφίστησιν ἢ νοῦς (ἐπεὶ καθ' ὅσον καὶ οὗτός ἐστι ζωὴ καὶ ὄν, τῶν πάντων ὑποστάτης). *Op. cit.* v. 5, p. 53: Εἰ δὲ αὖ τὰ ὄντα διαιροῖμεν εἰς τὰ ὅλα καὶ τὰ μερικά, πάλιν ἡμῖν ὁ μὲν πατήρ τῶν ὅλων ὑποστάτης ἀναφανήσεται, τῶν δὲ μερικῶν ὁ ποιητής. v. 5, p. 61: διὰ δὲ τῆς προνοίας ὁ νοῦς τέλειός ἐστι καὶ τῶν πάντων ὑποστάτης. p. 66: Ὁ μὲν γάρ τῶν ὅλων ἐστὶ τοῦ κόσμου πληρωμάτων ὑποστάτης, οἱ δὲ ἐκείνον μιμούμενοι τὰ μερικά πάντα συνδημιουργοῦσι τοῖς ὅλοις· καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν αἰθίων τὴν οὐσίαν παρήγαγεν, οἱ δὲ τὰ θνητὰ πλάττοντες καθ' ἑνα γενεσιουργὸν κύκλον καὶ ταῦτα μεταβάλλουσι. p. 108: Κατὰ γὰρ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐκότερός ἐστιν ὑποστάτης, ὁ μὲν τοῦ παντός, ὁ δὲ τῆς γενετῆς φύσεως. *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, p. 58: ἄλλος γὰρ ἦν ὁ πάντων ὑποστάτης. v. 1, p. 361: ποιητῆς δὲ νοῦς ὁ νοερός, ὁ τῶν ὅλων ὑποστάτης. p. 396: ὁ δὲ τῶν πάντων ὑποστάτης. p. 399: ἔστω γὰρ καθὼ μὲν ἀγαθὸς καὶ καθὼ θεὸς πάντων ὁ αὐτὸς ὑποστάτης. Cf. Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 10, p. 1327: πάντων τῶν ὄντων θεὸς καὶ πατήρ καὶ ὑποστάτης. Cf. Syrianus (reporting the views of Xenocrates), *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, p. 141 (rejecting the idea of 'cognitive number' being 'the creator of everything' [ὑποστάτην τῶν ὅλων]). Cf. *op. cit.* discussing the doctrine about 'the mind' being 'the creator of everything' (ἐπεὶ νοῦν τις δημιουργικὸν ὑποστάτην καὶ αἴτιον τῶν ὅλων ἐνθυμηθεῖς).

³⁰⁵ Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Divinis Nominibus*, pp. 208; 212; 214; 221; 223.

³⁰⁶ Damascius, *De Principiis*, v. 1, p. 254: καὶ μήποτε διὰ τοῦτο τριγλῶχis ἀνυμνεῖται ὁ θεός, οὐχ ὅτι τριάδων ὑποστάτης, μάλλον δὲ αὐτεπιτακτικὸς τῆς τριαδικῆς διαιρέσεως, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ποιητικὸς. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἔχει τὸ ἀληθὺς ἡνωμένον.

itself both 'creativity and fatherhood', which is why 'the creator of all' is the maker of gods, too.³⁰⁷

The author of *DT*, therefore, received the specific technical vocabulary from Proclus echoed by Damascius and Simplicius, not from Pseudo-Dionysius. Certainly, he cared for employing the terminology and eschewing the Neoplatonic doctrine, which was not too difficult for him to do: this work is heavily dotted with scriptural quotations, whereas the analyses are too short and scarcely sophisticated. He did not actually offer any elaborate account with regard either to this liability or to any other. Hence, his statements are 'orthodox' by virtue of absence of precarious discussion rather than of actual refined doctrinal analyses. A heavy battery of scriptural portions accompanied with short comments endorsing the existing orthodoxy is his methodology by and large.

Sometimes mistakes and misreading reveal the real trajectories of influence. A short story at this point is telling indeed. In his treatise about time and eternity, Plotinus employs a tautology (or, pleonasm) by using two verbs of the same meaning in juxtaposition. The verbs are ἐμφαίνειν and προφαίνειν. Since two different verbs are there, one would translate correspondingly 'proclaim' and 'evince', but it could barely be a mistake if their order was reversed, namely, 'evince' and 'proclaim'. Now, Plotinus uses both verbs at two points. One, he speaks about 'eternity' which 'would well be described as god proclaiming and evincing himself'.³⁰⁸ Two, he refers to the heavenly circuit, which indicates time, arguing that time 'can be manifested to us by something set in order, and evinced to our minds, so that we form a concept of it'. Once again, we have the same verbs used in apposition, namely, ἐμφαίνεσθαι καὶ προφαίνεσθαι.³⁰⁹ Nevertheless, Proclus read Plotinus' verb ἐμφαίνεσθαι as ἐκφαίνεσθαι. They are virtually synonymous, simply the latter adumbrates the notion of 'displaying' in somewhat stronger terms. When therefore Proclus refers to Plotinus and renders his point about 'eternity' being 'infinite life', he uses the participles προφαίνουσιν καὶ ἐκφαίνουσιν

³⁰⁷ Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (lib. 1–6), v. 5, p. 55: 'Ἀνάπαλιν δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ ποιητικὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πατρικὸν ἐν τῇ δημιουργικῇ μονάδι τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔλαχε. Διὸ δὴ καὶ θεῶν ἐστὶν ὑποστάτης ὁ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργός. Damascius, *In Parmenidem*, pp. 185–186; 201. Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 10, p. 1327. God is the creator of the soul, *Commentarius in Epicteti Enchiridion*, p. 104: ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς ὑποστάτης θεός.

³⁰⁸ Plotinus, *Enneades*, III.7.5: Καὶ καλῶς ἂν λέγοιτο ὁ αἰὼν θεὸς ἐμφαίνων καὶ προφαίνων ἐαυτὸν οἷος ἔστι.

³⁰⁹ Op. cit. III.7.13: Χρόνον οὖν ἢ περιφορὰ δηλοῖ, ἐν ᾧ αὐτῇ. Δεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον μηκέτι τὸ ἐν ᾧ ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον αὐτὸν εἶναι δὲ ἐστίν, ἐν ᾧ τὰ ἄλλα κινεῖται καὶ ἐστηκεν ὁμαλῶς καὶ τεταγμένως, καὶ παρὰ μὲν τινος τεταγμένου ἐμφαίνεσθαι καὶ προφαίνεσθαι εἰς ἔννοιαν, οὐ μέντοι γίνεσθαι, εἴτε ἐστῶτος εἴτε κινουμένου, μᾶλλον μέντοι κινουμένου.

making the point where Plotinus has it ἐμφαίνων καὶ προφαίνων.³¹⁰ There is of course no difference between them whatsoever and Proclus' paraphrase is faithful to Plotinus' text. It is evidently a mere question of predilection rather than precision, which is why Proclus uses the two verbs in apposition at another point, too, also referring to gods who 'manifest' and 'evinced' themselves.³¹¹

My point is that no author, except for the author of *DT*, ever cared to practice the apposition of these two verbs. He reproduces Proclus' options, not those of Plotinus, even though the founder of Neoplatonism is the real source of this phraseology. The author reasons that 'styling the Son God and Lord' are designations which 'manifest and evince' that the Trinity comprises persons which are equal and ὁμοούσια.³¹² Once again Proclus' unique influence on our author is 'manifested and evinced'.

A very telling influence by Proclus upon *DT* is application of the epithet πανδύναμος ('almighty'), applied to the divine nature, instead of the hackneyed παντοδύναμος. Canvassing the question about the Intellect, the Forms, and Being, Plotinus used the designation, specifically at the point where he sought to explore the question, which in his own words is, 'what are the things in the one Intellect, which we divide through our reflection?'.³¹³ He develops his thesis that this universe is a living being: this is ontologically dependent on a higher reality (viz. the Soul), which is in turn traced back to the Intellect, which is an 'intelligible universe' (κόσμον νοητόν). It was about this world that Plato said that it exists as 'the absolute living being'.³¹⁴ Plotinus then infers that, since there exists the rational forming principle of a living creature, as well as the matter which receives the seminal forming principle (τὸν λόγον τὸν σπερματικὸν δεξαμένης), the living creature must necessarily come into being in the same way, once an intelligent and all-powerful nature (φύσεως νοεράς καὶ πανδυνάμου) exists and nothing hinders it.³¹⁵ In other words, Plotinus accords the designation

³¹⁰ Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (lib. 1–6), v. 3, p. 60 (referring to *Enneades*, III.7.5): Καὶ ὁ γε Πλωτίνος ἐνθεαστικώτατα τὴν (τοῦ) αἰῶνος ιδιότητα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Πλάτωνος θεολογίαν ἐμφανίζων ζωὴν ἄπειρον ἀφορίζεται τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ὁμοῦ πάσαν προφαίνουσιν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐκφαίνουσιν καὶ τὸ δὴν τὸ αὐτῆς.

³¹¹ Proclus, *In Platonis Cratylum Commentaria*, 71: τοιοῦτοι δ' ἄρα εἰσὶν οἱ τοῦ φωτὸς χαρακτῆρες δι' ὧν οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐκφαίνονται γεννήμασιν, ἐνιαίως μὲν ὄντες ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς θεοῖς, προφαίνοντες δ' αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς κρείττοσιν ἡμῶν γένεσιν.

³¹² *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.781: καὶ ταῦτα ἐκφαίνοντα καὶ προφαίνοντα τὸ ὁμότιμον καὶ ἰσοσθενὲς τῆς ἀγίας Τριάδος.

³¹³ Plotinus, *Enneades*, V.9.9: Τίνα οὖν ἐστὶ τὰ ἐν ἐνὶ νῷ, ἃ νοοῦντες μερίζομεν ἡμεῖς;

³¹⁴ Op. cit. V.9.9, paraphrasing Plato's *Timaeus*, 92c.

³¹⁵ Loc. cit.

πανδύναμος φύσις ('almighty nature') to the Intellect (νοῦς), the second ontological principle.

Proclus took up both Plotinus' idea and terminology with enthusiasm, in order to render Plato's theology, even though Plato himself never used the term πανδύναμος for the almighty nature of the Demiurge. This was convenient for him to do, for a specific reason: since the Demiurge is not the supreme ontological principle, designating this as 'infinite' (ἄπειρον) would appear problematic to his audience. Proclus therefore explains that it is the *result* of the supreme ontological principle³¹⁶ which he styles 'omnipotent' (πανδύναμον), since the designation 'infinite' (which he had used anyway)³¹⁷ would be 'embarrassing to the *hoi polloi*'.³¹⁸ In other words, the Mind's effluence generates the Soul of the world resulting in a 'multitude' (πλήθος) of beings. This multitude is virtually 'infinite' in number, which is why this 'number' is styled 'almight number' (πανδύναμος ἀριθμός).³¹⁹

Nevertheless, beyond this nuanced use of the term πανδύναμος made in the treatment of Platonic theology as a whole, Proclus (commenting on *Timaeus*) makes the remark that 'divinity is all-powerful and all too perfect'.³²⁰

This is actually the point, which suited the author of *DT*, and this is indeed what he actually took up from Proclus. To him the designation πανδύναμος is suitable for Christ, the immediate maker of the world. He therefore employed this remark applied by Proclus to divine nature in general. He further urged that inanimate idols 'made of gold or silver or copper or wood or stone' (which are 'substances created by God')³²¹ are unable to create what God alone (the 'almighty divine nature') in his sovereign power made,

³¹⁶ Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (lib. 1–6), v. 4, p. 79: Τῷ τοίνυν πανδυνάμῳ καὶ παντελεῖ τὸ τέλειον ἀνάλογον, νοερὰν ἔχον τελειότητα καὶ δευτέραν τῆς πρωτουργοῦ καὶ νοητῆς τελειότητος.

³¹⁷ Op. cit. v. 4, p. 79: Πανδύναμον γὰρ ἦν ἐκεῖ τὸ ἄπειρον καὶ παντελές.

³¹⁸ Op. cit. v. 3, p. 96: Τὸ αὐτὸ τοίνυν καὶ ζῶον ἔστι παντελές καὶ πλήθος νοητὸν πανδύναμον. Τῆς γὰρ πρώτης ἀπειρίας δυνάμεως οὐσης, τὸ πᾶν τὸ νοητὸν κατ' αὐτὴν ὑφειστάμενον καὶ τὴν εἰς τὰ μέρη διαίρεσιν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὑποδεξάμενον πανδύναμον ἀξιώ προσονομάζειν, τῆς τοῦ ἀπείρου προσηγορίας ὡς πολλοὺς ταρραττοῦσης ἀπαλλαγεί.

³¹⁹ Op. cit. v. 4, p. 94: Ὅσαν μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ μονάδι δυνάμεις, ἀλλὰ νοητῶς, καὶ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ πρόοδοι καὶ ἀπογεννήσεις, ἀλλὰ νοητῶς καὶ νοερῶς· ἐν δὲ τῇ τρίτῃ πανδύναμος ὁ ἀριθμός, ὅλον ἑαυτὸν ἐκφήνας, ὃ δὴ καὶ ὁ Παρμενίδης ἄπειρον προσείρηκεν. Cf. op. cit. v. 3, p. 99: Εἰκότως ἄρα πανδύναμόν ἔστι τὸ νοητὸν πλήθος καὶ παντελές τὸ νοητὸν ζῶον ὡς ὁμοῦ πάντων αἴτιον καὶ μέχρι τῶν τελευταίων. Op. cit. v. 4, p. 15: ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς πανδύναμον ἦν τὸ πλήθος καὶ παντέλειον. v. 4, p. 100: Τὸ γὰρ παντελές καὶ τὸ πανδύναμον αὐτῶν ἐξήρηται τῆς τῶν μεριστῶν καταλήψεως.

³²⁰ Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, p. 36: μεριστὴ γὰρ ἡμῶν ἢ φύσις· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν θεῶν πῶς ἀληθές τοῦτο; πανδύναμον γὰρ καὶ παντέλειον τὸ θεῖον.

³²¹ This point is made in *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XXXV.

namely 'animate and rational beings'.³²² However, following the Neoplatonic notion, he subsequently applied the designation πανδύναμος to the immediate creative agent of the world, which in Christian terms is the Son.³²³

The epithet πανδύναμος did not enjoy any considerable currency, which allows for tracing the clear Neoplatonic impress upon the author of *DT*. Beyond a casual use by Diadochus of Photike,³²⁴ no Christian author was ever attracted by this. Therefore, following the isolated introduction of the term by Plotinus, regular and consistent application of this transpires only in Proclus and *DT*.

This influence is all the more evident once the notion of 'nature which is perfect in itself' (αὐτοτελής φύσις, also applied to God) is explored.³²⁵ The author employs the designation at the very same point where the foregoing πανδύναμος is used.³²⁶ By doing so, he actually keeps up his abiding by the vocabulary of Proclus, who associated 'evil' with want of moderation,³²⁷ which Cassian also did at a characteristic point of his work.³²⁸

The notion of divine nature, which is 'self-contained and perfect in itself' (αὐτοτελής φύσις) is coupled with that of 'substance' which is 'self-sufficient' and 'complete' (αὐτοτελής οὐσία): both are treated as synonymous designations for 'the supreme oneness' (τῆς ἀνωτάτω ἐνάδος). The notion of 'self-sufficient' and 'complete' substance transpires in the *Corpus Hermeticum*.³²⁹

³²² *DT* (*lib. 1*), 15.15: αὐτὸ δέ, οὐσίαν μὴ οὖσαν προοῖσαι ἢ ἔμψυχον καὶ λογικὴν ἀναδειξαι μόνης τῆς πανδυνάμου καὶ αὐτοτελοῦς μιᾶς θεϊκῆς φύσεως ἴδιον καὶ ἐξάριeton τυγχάνει ὄν.

³²³ *DT* (*lib. 1*), 32.27: τὸ παγκρατορικόν καὶ πανδύναμον τοῦ μονογενοῦς. Op. cit. (*lib. 2.1-7*), 6.12.1: ἡ κτίσις ἐνδυναμοῦται ὑπὸ τῆς παναλκοῦς καὶ πανδυνάμου θεϊκῆς ἰσχύος, οὐκ ἐνδυναμοί δὲ αὐτῇ. Op. cit. 6.17: ὑπὸ τῆς πανδυνάμου χάριτος τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. Op. cit. 7.7.1: ὁ παντεξούσιος καὶ πανδύναμος Χριστός.

³²⁴ Diadochus of Photike (fifth cent.), *Visio*, p. 175. He refers to the Second Person, namely, 'God the Logos', and employs the epithet in order to refer to the 'all too powerful glory' of his (ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ πανδυνάμῳ δόξῃ).

³²⁵ The epithet αὐτοτελής actually means more than that: it denotes a nature which is ontologically self-sufficient and independent.

³²⁶ *DT* (*lib. 1*), 15.15: the Divine Nature which is 'perfect in itself' (τῆς πανδυνάμου καὶ αὐτοτελοῦς μιᾶς θεϊκῆς φύσεως). Furthermore, op. cit. (*lib. 2.1-7*), 6.6.4, referring to the Holy Spirit being of the selfsame nature as the other Two Hypostases which are 'perfect in themselves': διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖνο εἶναι τῇ φύσει, ὅ εἰσιν αἱ αὐτοτελεῖς ὑποστάσεις, ἃς ἐσήμανεν τὸ ἐν ὄνομα, ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα συμπροσηγορεύθη.

³²⁷ Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 3, p. 314: καὶ πῶς οὐ πολλῷ μᾶλλον παρ' οἷς ἡ δύναμις, παρ' οἷς ἡ αὐτοτελής φύσις, παρ' οἷς ἡ σύμπασα ἀγαθότης, οἷς ἐναντίον ἐστὶ τὸ κακόν; ἀδύναμον γὰρ καὶ ἀτελες καὶ ἀμέτρητόν ἐστι κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν.

³²⁸ Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 90^f, note 29, p. 304.

³²⁹ *Corpus Hermeticum* (definition of the soul), *Fragmenta*, Fr. 17.1, *apud* Stobaeus, *Anthologium*, 1.49.4: Ψυχὴ τοῖνον ἐστίν, ᾧ Ἄμμων, οὐσία αὐτοτελής. Cf. Stobaeus, op. cit. 1.49.32 (reporting Porphyry treating the same question). κατ' ἴδιαν ὑφেষτηκέναι αὐτοτελῶς, χωρίζει δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων γενῶν ὄλων, ἴδιον δὲ αὐτῇ τῆς οὐσίας ὄρον ἀπονέμει.

The fourth-century Bishop Nemesis of Emesa, who was more of a philosopher rather than a prelate, took this up.³³⁰ Both however used this in relation to human soul, unlike *DT* that does so with respect to the Godhead.³³¹ The vocabulary of the author, as well as its context, occurs in only three Neoplatonists, namely Proclus,³³² Damascius, and Simplicius,³³³ whereas no other Christian author ever cared to reproduce this language at all.³³⁴

It is not usual in Christian literature to style the Trinity 'indivisible' (ἀμέριστον),³³⁵ even though the unity of the Trinitarian God was a notion granted and defended universally. This Neoplatonic term had been abundantly entertained by Plotinus and was taken up by Proclus,³³⁶ who used it in nearly four hundred instances. However, the author of *DT* felt it necessary to do so only because he had in mind the impressively sublime analyses by Damascius according a trinitarian character accorded to the supreme ontological

³³⁰ Nemesis of Emesa, *De Natura Hominis*, 2: οὐ δύναται τοῖνυν ἡ ψυχὴ κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον ἐντελέχεια τοῦ σώματος εἶναι· ἀλλ' οὐσία αὐτοτελής, ἀσώματος.

³³¹ *DT* (*lib.* 2.1–7), 5.28: πολλὴν ποιείσθαι φυλακὴν τοῦ μὴ χωρίζειν αὐτὸ τῆς ἀνωτάτω ἐνάδος καὶ αὐτοτελοῦς οὐσίας. Cf. *DT* (*lib.* 1), 15.15: τῆς πανδυνάμου καὶ αὐτοτελοῦς μιᾶς θεϊκῆς φύσεως.

³³² Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (*lib.* 1–6), v. 4, p. 75: αἱ δὲ τῶν θεῶν ἐνάδες αὐτοτελεῖς πρὸ τῶν οὐσιῶν ὕφεσθήκασι, γεννώσιν τὰ πλήθη καὶ οὐ συναπογεννώμενα τοῖς πλήθεσιν. Op. cit. (ref. to the mind), v. 4, p. 110: Διὰ τί δὲ τέλειός ἐστι καὶ πλήρης τῶν νοερῶν ἀγαθῶν ἢ ὅτι μετέχει τῶν τῆς τελειότητος ἡγεμόνων πρῶτος καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους ὑπέστη, τὴν οὐσίαν ἔχων αὐτοτελὴ καὶ τὴν νόησιν; *Institutio Theologica*, 64: ἐκ δὴ τούτων φανερόν ὅτι καὶ ἐνάδες αἱ μὲν αὐτοτελεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνὸς προήλθον, αἱ δὲ ἐλλάμψις ἐνώσεων· καὶ νόες οἱ μὲν οὐσίαι αὐτοτελεῖς, οἱ δὲ νοεραὶ τινες τελειότητες. *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, p. 371: κατὰ δὴ τὴν ἄρρητον ταύτην καὶ ἡνωμένην τῆς τριάδος ὑπαρξιν καὶ τὸ νοητὸν διήρηται τριχῇ, τῇ τε οὐσίᾳ καὶ τῇ δυνάμει καὶ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ, τῆς μὲν οὐσίας ἐν εὐατη μονίμῳς ἡδρασμένης καὶ αὐτοτελοῦς οὐσῆς.

³³³ Damascius, *De Principiis*, v. 1, p. 243: οἱ δὲ ἀριθμοὶ καὶ οἱ νόες εἰς αὐτοτελεῖς διακρίνεται περιγραφάς. Op. cit. v. 1, p. 249 (ref. to the multiplicity of substances, which have proceeded from the supreme substance: οὐσαὶ αὐτοτελεῖς). Likewise, op. cit. v. 1, p. 258; op. cit. (ref. to the human soul) v. 1, p. 258; op. cit. *In Parmenidem*, p. 69: ἐτι δὲ πᾶσα ιδιότης ἐκφαινόμενη μετὰ οὐσίας αὐτοτελοῦς καὶ εἶδος ἕκαστον ὁμοίως· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἴη πεπόνθησις ἐν ἄλλῳ ἢ πρῶτῃ ιδιότης. Op. cit. p. 106: Ἐπεὶ οὕτω γε δεῖξειεν ἂν τις καὶ τὸν δαιμόνιον νοῦν ἐνάδος αὐτοτελοῦς ἐξηρητημένον. Cf. op. cit. pp. 107; 111–112. Damascius, *De Principiis*, v. 1, p. 258: οἷον εἰ ἡ χεῖρων φύσει ψυχὴ αὐτοτελὴς οὐσία ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐκ ἔλλαμψις οὐδετέρα, πάντως ὅτι καὶ ἡ φύσει κρείττων εἴη ἀνθρωπίνη καὶ ἡ θεία πολὺ μᾶλλον· ὥστε, εἰ ἡ ψυχὴ, καὶ ὁ νοῦς κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον· καὶ εἰ ὁ νοῦς, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ὡσάυτως· εἰ δὲ ἡ ζωὴ, καὶ ἡ οὐσία· εἰ δὲ ἡ οὐσία, καὶ τὸ ἐν· τὸ γὰρ αὐτοτελὲς καὶ αὐταρκες καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἰδρυμένον ἐν τοῖς ὑπερτέροις ἂν εἴη μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τοῖς ὑποδεεστέροις. Simplicius, *Commentarius in Epicteti Enchiridion* (ref. to one of the 'eight heavens'), p. 100. *In Aristotelis Libros de Anima Commentaria* (ref. to the soul), v. 11, p. 13. Cf. p. 125.

³³⁴ Casual usage of this phraseology appears in Eustratius of Nicaea and Gregory Palamas, that is, only during the second millennium.

³³⁵ *DT* (*lib.* 1), 16.7: γραφῆς μὲν οὕτε διορίζουσιν τῇ φύσει τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ ἀναρχον μίαν καὶ ἀμέριστον τριάδα. 18.67: διὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀμέριστον.

³³⁶ Cf. Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 2, p. 205: εἰ δὲ βούλει, διότι μέσην ἔλαχεν ὑπόστασιν τῶν τε ἀμερίστων καὶ τῶν μεριστῶν, ἐκεῖνα μὲν μιμεῖται διὰ τῆς τριάδος τῶν ὄρων, ταῦτα δὲ προεἰλήφε διὰ τῆς τετράδος.

principle. Damascius cared to explain the notion of 'indivisibility of the trinity' (τὸ ἀμέριστον ἐν τῆς τριάδος), which requires non-discursive thought in order to be apprehended.³³⁷ Christians were of course always at pains to adumbrate Godhead as both one and threefold. The theme of ἀμέριστος τριάς, however, is an all too rare one. An unknown writer uses the same vocabulary, in order to adumbrate the Trinity as the Father-sun with the Son-beam and the light-Holy Spirit, who is 'light from light'. Although the Persons are spoken of as three, they actually make up one nature.³³⁸ Maximus Confessor and Germanus of Constantinople made only a casual reference.³³⁹ Once again, in the *Analecta Hymnica Graeca* the notion is entertained profusely, thus bespeaking a certain affinity existing between the Akoimetoι, Antioch, Cassian, and these hymns.³⁴⁰

Furthermore, coming upon expressions such as the one used to indicate that no creature is left out of the eternal superintendence by the Holy

³³⁷ Damascius, *De Principiis*, v. 1, pp. 303–304: Περὶ δὲ τάξεως τῶν τριῶν τριάδων, εἴ τις τὴν εἰρημένην ταύτην τριάδα στήσας κατὰ τὸ ἐν τῆς νοητῆς ὡς ἂν γένοιτο τριάδος, ἴδοι καὶ τὸ ἐν τούτῳ παντελὲς ὄν, καὶ πάντη ἑαυτοῦ τριαδικὸν ὑφεστώς, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῃ τῶν τριῶν μονάδων ἐνόντος τοῦ τριαδικοῦ. ... Εἴ τις, ὅπερ ἔφην, καὶ τῆς παμμεγέθους ἐκείνης τριάδος τοιαύτας ὑπολάβοι τὰς μονάδας, ὡς εἶναι καὶ ταύτας οὐχ ἀπλῶς μονάδας, ἀλλὰ τριάδος μονάδας ἰδιοτρόπους, τάχα ἂν ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ τῷ τῆς τριάδος ἐκείνης περιλάβοι καὶ τὴν ὅλην τοῦ νοητοῦ πρόοδον εἰς τριάδας τρεῖς, οὐδὲ οὕτως ἀφισταμένην τῆς οἰκείας ἐνώσεως. Καίτοι οὕτω γε οὔτε τὸ ἡνωμένον ἔσται πρὸ τοῦ ἐνός τοῦ δευτέρου τὸ πρότερον, ὥσπερ ἐδόκει ἀπορεῖν ὁ λόγος· ἔξει γὰρ ἐκάστη μονὰς ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῆς τάξει τὸ τριαδικόν, ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς οὕσα· φανέεται γὰρ τὸ ἐν πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τριαδικόν, ... Οὐκ ἄρα θαυμαστόν οὐδὲ χαλεπὸν ἐννοῆσαι τὸ ἐν οὕτω γε τριαδιζόμενον, οὐχ ὅτι ἀριθμεῖται οὐδὲ διορίζεται, ἀλλ' ὅτι προεῖληφεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν τοῦ ἡνωμένου τριπλόνην, καὶ ὅτι ἐν ἑστίν ἐν τῇ τριάδι τῇ ὅλῃ τριαδικῇ, ἣ ὅπερ ἂν τις ἔχοι τοιοῦτον ἐννοεῖν, ἐννοεῖτω μᾶλλον ἢ διακρίσιν τοῦ ἐνός, εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ ὑπόβασιν τινα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ συμμετρώτερον ὑποθέσθαι, ὡς εἶναι καὶ ἕνα πατέρα καὶ τρεῖς, τὸν αὐτὸν ἕνα καὶ τρίμορφον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἕνα μὲν, ὑποφαίνοντα δὲ τι καὶ τριαδικόν, λέγω δὲ οὐ τὸ τριχῇ μεριζόμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀμέριστον ἐν τῆς τριάδος. 'Αλλ' εἰ τριαδικὸν τὸ ἐν, πῶς ἀπλῶς ἐν;

³³⁸ Pseudo-Athanasius, *Quaestiones Aliae*, p. 777: εἰς τύπον τοῦ ἡλίου χαρακτηρίζομεν τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα, λέγοντες εἶναι τὸν μὲν Πατέρα δίσκον, τὸν δὲ Υἱὸν ἀκτίνα, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον φῶς ἐκ φωτός. Καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ δίσκος, καὶ ἡ ἀκτίς, καὶ τὸ φῶς ἐν εἰσι καὶ τρία, ἀμερίστως μεριζόμενα, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἡ Τριάς, ὁ Πατήρ, καὶ ὁ Υἱός, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἐν ἐστί καὶ τρία, μεριζόμενα μὲν τοῖς προσώποις κατὰ τὸν ἥλιον, ἀμέριστα δὲ τῇ φύσει διαμένοντα.

³³⁹ Maximus Confessor, *Mystagogia*, 23: καὶ μονάδα καὶ τριάδα ἀσύγχυτον τε καὶ ἀσυγχύτως τὴν ἑνωσιν ἔχουσιν καὶ τὴν διάκρισιν ἀδιαίρετον τε καὶ ἀμέριστον· μονάδα μὲν κατὰ τὸν τῆς οὐσίας, ἦτοι τὸν τοῦ εἶναι λόγον, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ σύνθεσιν ἢ συναίρεσιν ἢ τὴν οἰανοῦν σύγχυσιν, τριάδα δὲ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ πῶς ὑπάρχειν καὶ ὑφεστάναι λόγον, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ διαίρεσιν ἢ ἀλλοτρίωσιν ἢ τὸν οἰονοῦν μερισμόν. Germanus I, Patriarch of Constantinople (seventh–eighth cent.), *Epistulae Dogmaticae*, 4, line 729: Τριάδα ἄκτιστον, ἀμέριστον.

³⁴⁰ *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, *Canones Septembris*, 1.1.1.2; 1.1.2.8; 8.12.2; 14.23.2; *Canones Decembris*, 20.39.1.7; 23.48.1.1; 25.50.3; *Canones Januarii*, 5.12.4; 6.14.8; 11.22.8; 18.28.1.7; 18.28.2.7; 25.30.1.3; 25.30.1.9; 27.33.1.2; 27.33.1.4; 27.33.2.6; *Canones Februarii*, 8.9.9; 19.23.6; 24.28.1.6; 25.30.3; *Canones Aprilis*, 23.26.3; *Canones Maii*, 25.27.4; 25.27.6; *Canones Junii*, 9.3.7; 18.26.9.

Spirit,³⁴¹ we find out that the expression ἄμοιρον ἐπιστασίας ('one who has not a share in the superintendence secured by a higher power') transpires in only two authors besides *DT*, and Proclus is here once again.³⁴² The second instance is afforded by Photius reviewing a work *On Providence* by the fifth-century Neoplatonist Hierocles, a student of the Neoplatonist Plutarch. The expression appears to have been used by Hierocles considering the impossibility of life 'having no share in the superintendence by any superior power'.³⁴³

When the author exalts the gifts granted by the Holy Spirit, which eventually 'elevate' us 'to the primordial beauty' of existence (εἰς τὸ πρεσβύτερον ἀνάγει κάλλος),³⁴⁴ we are bound to recollect the Christian eschatology expounded by Origen.³⁴⁵ To this author, however, it was Proclus' work that was at hand, as a unique parallel to this terminology makes clear.³⁴⁶ As a matter of fact, the Christian tradition for the author of *DT* to draw on was abundance of references to ἀρχαῖον κάλλος,³⁴⁷ which is simply a synonym to πρεσβύτερον κάλλος. However, the author opted for employing a unique expression from Proclus, which was never coupled by anyone else.

Likewise, terms such as ὑπεραιώνιος³⁴⁸ (a superlative for the adjective 'eternal', literally meaning 'super-eternal') calls for some remarks. Although it appears once in Didymus, that usage is merely a philological ornament, indeed a pleonasm. Didymus refers to 'eternal salvation' and although he could have used αἰώνιος, he put it ὑπεραιώνιος, which adds nothing

³⁴¹ *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 6.2,2 (ref. to the Holy Spirit): καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν πάντων ἐστὶν ἄμοιρον τῆς αἰδίου ἐπιστασίας αὐτοῦ.

³⁴² Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (lib. 1–6), v. 1, p. 72 (referring to the 'minds' which perform the office of caring for the world-order): Καὶ πότερον ἀδυνατοῦσιν ἀπάντων ὁμοῦ προνοεῖν ἢ καὶ τῶν μερῶν ἕκαστον [οὐκ] ἄμοιρον ἀφείσαν τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐπιστασίας;

³⁴³ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 251, p. 462b: Εἰ γὰρ ἀόριστα ταῦτα, καὶ ὁ βίος ἄπας ἀόριστος καὶ τῆς κρείττονος ἐπιστασίας ἄμοιρος.

³⁴⁴ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.668.24.

³⁴⁵ *PHE*, p. 290.

³⁴⁶ Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (lib. 1–6), v. 1, p. 106: Τὸ δὴ καλὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις σκεψώμεθα, τί ποτέ ἐστι καὶ ὅπως ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς πρῶτως ὑφέστηκε. Λέγεται μὲν οὖν ἀγαθοειδὲς εἶναι κάλλος, καὶ νοητὸν κάλλος, καὶ πρεσβύτερον τῆς νοερᾶς καλλονῆς, καὶ αὐτοκαλλονή, καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων αἰτία καλλοποιός.

³⁴⁷ Pseudo-Clement of Rome, *Pseudo-Clementina* (epitome altera auctore Symeone Metaphrasta), 141. Gregory of Nyssa, *Epistulae*, 17.5; 17.18; *De Vita Mosis*, 2.217. Ephraem Syrus, *Precationes ad Dei Matrem*, Prayer 10, p. 407. Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Joannem*, v. 1, pp. 133; 269; *De Sancta Trinitate Dialogi I–VII*, p. 494, et passim. John of Damascus, *Homilia in Transfigurationem Salvatoris Nostri Jesu Christ*, 11. *Analecta Hymnica Graeca, Canones Octobris*, 23.30.5; *Canones Decembris*, 23.47.8.

³⁴⁸ *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 6.3,7 (ref. to the Holy Spirit): ἀτελεύτητον καὶ ὑπεραιώνιον ἐστιν. Op. cit. 6.4,1 (ref. to God as Creator): τοῦ μόνως καὶ ὑπεραιώνιως ὄντος αὐτομάτου θεοῦ.

substantial to the statement.³⁴⁹ On the other hand, Proclus had good reason for devising this neologism: the One is eternal, and so is the Soul. However, the eternity of the One is, as it were, an eternity which is superior to that of the Soul. Since the One generates eternal realities, the 'cause' of existence of those eternal realities lies within the One itself. Therefore, since the eternal One generates the eternal Soul, it needs be that the eternity of the One is an eternity of a higher and more fundamental ontological class. This is why Proclus had to invent the epithet *ὑπεραιώνιος* accorded to the One: it was necessary for him to adumbrate a 'higher' eternity, as it were. For it is one thing to be eternal and to possess eternity as a fundamental ontological attribute, but it is quite another to be eternal by 'participation' (*κατὰ μετοχήν*) to the eternity of the One, which grants eternity to lower ontological realities.³⁵⁰ Moving along this line, Proclus ascribes the epithet to 'the divine being' (*τὸ ὑπεραιώνιον τῆς θείας ὑπάρξεως*)³⁵¹ in general, even allowing himself to indulge in a less strict usage of the term, yet being fully conscious of the sense in which he applied it.³⁵²

Damascius (though not Simplicius) paid some attention to the term: he tentatively allows for this to be accorded also to the second ontological level, namely, the Mind.³⁵³

Therefore, even though I have urged that Proclus has liabilities to Didymus' theological vocabulary, the term *ὑπεραιώνιος* is too meaningful for the former and too casual for the latter, hence this should be ascribed to Proclus' inventive genius alone. The present author wrote *DT* in anxiety while experiencing a personal ordeal, since he had been accused of heresy. He chose not simply to compose a defense of his orthodoxy, but also to write

³⁴⁹ Didymus, *commZacch*, 2.370: ἐπιγινώσκει τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὑπεραιωνίου σωτηρίας.

³⁵⁰ Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, p. 234: καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τῶν αἰώνιων ἔσται, καὶ τὸ ἐν ὧν αἰεὶ ὧν ῥηθήσεται, καθ' ὅσον ἔχει τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν αἰώνιων ἀπάντων ἐνιαίως ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ κρυφίως, ὥσπερ φασίν. ἔχει γὰρ οὕτως· τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ὑπεραιώνιον, τὸ δὲ αἰών, τὸ δὲ αἰώνιον ἀπλῶς, τὸ δὲ πῇ αἰώνιον. ἕκαστον δὲ τούτων αἰεὶ ὧν, τὸ μὲν ὡς τοῦ αἰεὶ δύναμις καὶ πηγῇ, τὸ δὲ ὡς πρῶτως ὧν τὸ αἰεὶ καὶ αὐτοαἰεὶ καὶ οὐ κατὰ μετοχήν, τὸ δὲ ὡς τοῦ αἰεὶ μετέχον καὶ πρῶτως ὅλον αἰώνιον.

³⁵¹ Op. cit. v. 1, p. 362. Cf. op. cit. v. 1, p. 398: ἡ γὰρ ὑπὲρ νοῦν ἀπλότης καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς θεότητος ἰδίωμα τῷ ᾧ οἰκειότερόν ἐστιν, ὡς ὑπεραιώνιον καὶ κρείττον ἀπάσης νοήσεως. *De Providentia et Fato et Eo Quod In Nobis Ad Theodorum Mechanicum*, 32: περὶ τοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμερίστως πάντα καὶ ὑπεραιωνίως γινώσκοντος.

³⁵² Op. cit. v. 1, p. 362: τὸ μὲν γὰρ "ἔστι" τῶν αἰώνιων ἐστὶ πραγμαμάτων σημαντικόν, τὸ δὲ "ᾧ" τῶν ὑπεραιωνίων ἐνάδων, τὸ δὲ "ἔσται" τῶν ἐν χρόνῳ συνεστώτων.

³⁵³ Damascius, *De Principiis*, v. 1, p. 262: Δεῖ ἄρα πρὸ τοῦ αὐτοκινήτου τὸ ἀκίνητον, ὃ πάλιν τριττὸν ἀν εἶη τὴν φύσιν· δύναται γὰρ ἀκίνητον εἶναι παντελῶς ὁ νοῦς, ἡ ζωὴ, ἡ οὐσία· αὕτη μὲν ὡς ὑπεραιώνιος, ὃ δὲ νοῦς ὡς αἰώνιος, ἡ δὲ ζωὴ ὡς αἰών αὐτός. Op. cit. pp. 265–266: ἀλλ' ὅπερ ὄντως αἰώνιον ἢ καὶ ὑπεραιώνιον· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν τὸ ἀληθὺς καὶ πρῶτως ἀκίνητον, ἐπεὶ τὸ γενητόν, κἀν ἢ ἀμετάβλητον, ἢ ἑτεροκίνητόν ἐστι (τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἑτεροκινήτῳ φαινόμενον ἀκίνητον), ἢ αὐτοκίνητον, καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτοκινήτῳ φαινόμενον ἀκίνητον.

a text exhibiting outstanding erudition. He was definitely aware of Proclus' works, yet he opted for drawing not on Neoplatonic doctrines, but only on the phraseology and sublimity of those works. The specific epithet, however, remained inert, at least during the first Christian millennium.³⁵⁴ Greeks did not care to employ Proclus' designation, and Christians were not moved by υπεραϊώνιος transpiring in *DT*.

Whenever we come across an uncommon term making some impress in *DT*, we also descry this in Proclus. There is more to it, however. Once we find it in Proclus, the selfsame sense is entertained in *DT* where the author applies to the Trinitarian persons (or, to Christian Godhead in general) the terminology that Proclus or Damascius accord to different ontological levels of the Plotinian ontological pattern. A case in point is quite instructive. The verb ἀπολαμπρύνειν is an extremely extraordinary one, and the author uses this at some points.

Scarce though it is (and has always remained) it had been used by some authors, as early as historian Herodotus. However, none of those authors did entertain it in the sense introduced by Proclus, which is 'to make bright' (or, 'become so', in Middle voice). They all, including Porphyry and grammarian Julius Pollux (amply present in the vocabulary of the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*) used this in the only sense it made before Proclus, namely 'to make one famous' or 'to become so'.³⁵⁵ Proclus³⁵⁶ along with the author of *DT*³⁵⁷ are those who used it more than once in the sense that was peculiar to them only. In addition, *DT* applies this in a context making the liability to Proclus all too evident.³⁵⁸ This author wrote *DT* while Proclus' commentary on

³⁵⁴ Only Photius made a reference to the 'super-eternal' birth of the Son from the Father. Photius, *Homiliae*, Homily 5, p. 58: υπεραϊώνιος γέννησις. During the eleventh century and later, some Byzantine scholars (such as Michael Psellus) fancied the epithet.

³⁵⁵ Herodotus, *Historiae*, 1.41; 6.70. Libanius, *Orationes* 1–64, Oration 14.21. Julius Pollux, *Onomasticon*, 4.31; 7.124. Porphyry, *Quaestionum Homericarum ad Iliadem Pertinentium Reliquiae*, Iliad book 16, 83sq.

³⁵⁶ Proclus (ref. to 'the second cause stemming from the Good', viz. the universal Soul, which decorates and makes bright all material reality), *Theologia Platonica* (lib. 1–6), v. 2, p. 45: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ αἰσθητὸν ἀπολαμπρύνει. Likewise, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 3, p. 82: ἀπολαμπρύνει μὲν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον καὶ θεῖον ποιεῖ τὸ σωματοειδὲς καὶ ὅλον δι' ὅλου ζωῆς πεπληρωμένον. Op. cit. (ref. to the sun), v. 3, p. 83: οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ὁ ἥλιος τὸ ὀρατὸν πᾶν ἀπολαμπρύνει διὰ τοῦ ἀχράντου τούτου φωτός, καὶ αἰεὶ τὸ προσλάμπον ἐν ὑπερτέρῳ τάξει τῶν προσλαμπομένων ἐστίν.

³⁵⁷ *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 7.12 (ref. to the Holy Spirit, who makes 'the eyes of our souls bright'): τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν ἀπολαμπρύνον τὰ ὄμματα. *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.661.19–22 (ref. to the Holy Spirit who makes 'our life bright'): ὅτι θεϊκὴν φύσιν καὶ μέθεξιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀγιασμόν, καὶ δημιουργικὴν δύναμιν, καθάιρουσαν ἡμῶν, καὶ οἶον ἀπολαμπρύνουσαν τὴν ζωὴν.

³⁵⁸ *DT* (lib. 1), 28.1 (ref. to the Son, being 'the sun of righteousness'): καὶ ἥλιος νοητός, τῷ

Plato's *Timaeus* was wide open on his desk. This does not make him a Neoplatonist, of course. All he sought in Neoplatonism was a sublime vocabulary and a telling set of ideas and designations. He subsequently applied this apparatus to the Trinitarian Persons of the Son and the Holy Spirit (or, to Christian Godhead as a whole), being simply alert to the fact that any Neoplatonic ontological classification of those persons should be eschewed by all means. The author was considerably learned (especially with respect to Greek literature), as a remarkable library was available to him and he was evidently an industrious student of that lore. But he cared more about grandiloquence and it would hardly be sustained that he comes up as an inspired theologian.

When he employs the participle *καταλάμπων* in order to make reference to the Holy Spirit, who makes 'the eyes of our souls bright', he draws on Proclus' expression *ἔνυλος φύσις* ('material nature') once again.³⁵⁹ Aristotelian commentators and Neoplatonists alike made use of this,³⁶⁰ whereas Christians remained indifferent to it. That it transpires in epistles allegedly written by Basil of Caesarea only suggests that those epistles are open to serious and extensive redaction.³⁶¹ Only Cassian's contemporary John Grammaticus is a Christian appearing to have an inkling of the notion.³⁶²

The expression *ἄφραστος ἔνωσις* ('ineffable union')³⁶³ is one that was introduced to Christological dispute and enjoyed currency both during

ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀλήκτω φωτὶ ἀπολαμπρύνων τὰ ὅμματα τῶν ἀπλανῶν καὶ δεκτικῶν ψυχῶν καὶ εἴσω τῆς νοητῆς ἁγῶν περιωπῆς καὶ ποιῶν ὁρᾶν, ἃ μὴ πρότερον δι' ἁμαρτίας ὁρᾶν καθ' αὐτὰ ἐπεφύκει. Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria* (ref. to perception through the logos), v. 1, p. 255; ὅτι φῶς ἐστὶ τοῦ λόγου ἡ νόσις, τελεσιουργὸς οὐσα καὶ ἀναγωγὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπολαμπρύνουσα τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ γνωστικὴν δύναμιν.

³⁵⁹ *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 7.12: ἡ ἔνυλος ἡμῶν φύσις.

³⁶⁰ Iamblichus, *Protrepticus*, p. 112: τῆς τε ἐνύλου φύσεως; *De Mysteriorum*, 1.18: τὰ ἐν τῇ γενέσει φυσικὰ καὶ ἔνυλα τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν. Op. cit. 5.12: καὶ περιάγει τὴν ἔνυλον ἡμῶν φύσιν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐλον. Op. cit. 7.2: ἔνυλον εἶδος τῆς φύσεως. Ammonius of Alexandria, *In Porphyrii Isagogen sive Quinque Voces*, p. 11. Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 1, p. 93: τὴν ἔνυλον φύσιν. Cf. op. cit. v. 2, p. 159. *In Platonis Alcibiadem I*, 154; 224; *In Platonis Parmenidem*, pp. 766; 793; 835; 886; *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, pp. 6; 10; 152; 165; 300; v. 2, p. 25; v. 3, pp. 275; 284; 297; 302; *In Primum Euclidis Elementorum Librum Commentarii*, p. 168. Damascius, *De Principiis*, v. 1, p. 238 *In Parmenidem*, p. 151; *In Phaedonem* (versio 1), 274; *In Philebum*, 141. Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, v. 8, pp. 56; 146; 235; 271; 272; 288; *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 9, pp. 1; 194; 294; 306; 308; 317; 404; 521; 620; 623; v. 10, p. 1142.

³⁶¹ Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae*, 8.2: Ὁ τοίνυν ἀριθμὸν ἢ κτίσμα ὁμολογῶν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἢ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον λαμβάνει ἔνυλον καὶ περιγραπτὴν φύσιν εἰσάγων.

³⁶² John Grammaticus (a contemporary with Cassian), *Adversus Manichaeos* (homilia 2), line 186: τὰ ἔνυλα εἶδη τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως παραγόμενα.

³⁶³ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.705.19–20: περιλάμπει τὸ θεϊκὸν Πνεῦμα, σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, μετὰ ἀφράστου ἐνώσεως καὶ συμπνοίας.

and following the sixth century.³⁶⁴ No Christian other than the present author of *DT* ever used this in order to adumbrate the 'ineffable union' between the three Trinitarian Persons. However, once again the author writes following Proclus and Neoplatonism in general. For one thing, he uses the expression ἀφράστου ένώσεως at the very same point where he entertains the idea of God being the one 'who gave existence to everything' (ὁ πάντων ύποστάτης),³⁶⁵ which is a plain liability to Proclus, as already canvassed. For another, it was Neoplatonist philosophers, not Christian authors, who entertained the notion of 'ineffable union' with respect to the supreme ontological reality and germane context. There is no doubt left that the author of *DT* writes under the influence by the Neoplatonic nomenclature and mindset, actually following Proclus,³⁶⁶ who made the most of the idea, as well as Damascius,³⁶⁷ Simplicius,³⁶⁸ and Asclepius of

³⁶⁴ Pseudo-Athanasius, *Testimonia e Scriptura*, PG.28.76.26; *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem*, PG.28.644.4. Justinian, *Contra Monophysitas*, 184. ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum anno 431*, 1,1,1, pp. 26; 72; 1,1,4, pp. 28; 52; 1,1,6, p. 138; 1,1,7, p. 49. Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, p. 40. Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannem*, v. 3, p. 155. Evagrius Scholasticus, *HE*, pp. 81; 200. John of Damascus, *Contra Jacobitas*, 115. Caesarius, *QR*, 38, line 14.

³⁶⁵ See discussion *supra*, p. 494.

³⁶⁶ Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (lib. 1–6), v. 1, p. 98 (on divine knowledge containing everything in unity): Μόνη δὲ αὕτη καὶ πάντα τὰ ὄντα καθ' ἑνωσιν ἀφραστον συνηρημένως περιέχει. Op. cit. v. 2, p. 42: ἀλλ' ὥσπερ αὐτὸ πρῶτως ἐν ἀβάτοις ἀποκέκρυπται καὶ πάντων ἐξήρηται τῶν ὄντων, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἡ πρὸς αὐτὸ τῶν πάντων ἑνωσις κρύφιος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀφραστός καὶ ἄγνωστος τοῖς πᾶσιν. In *Platonis Alcibiadem i*, 53: τὰ μὲν οὖν νοητὰ διὰ τὴν ἀφραστον ἑνωσιν οὐ δεῖται τῆς ἐρωτικῆς μεσότητος. In *Platonis Parmenidem*, p. 708: Διὰ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων δείκνυσιν ὅτι καὶ πολλὰ εἶναι τίθεται νοητὰ, καὶ τάξιν ἐν τούτοις πρῶτων καὶ μέσων καὶ τελευταίων καὶ ἑνωσιν ἀφραστον αὐτῶν, οὐχ ὡς ἀγνοῶν οὖν τὸ τῶν ὄντων πλῆθος, ἀλλ' ὡς θεώμενος ὅτι πᾶν τοῦτο τὸ πλῆθος ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ὄντος προήλθεν· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἦν ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ ὄντος καὶ ἡ ἐστία καὶ τὸ κρυφίως ὄν, ἀφ' οὗ τὰ ὄντα. Op. cit. pp. 1048–1049: Οὕσης δὲ ἐκεῖ καὶ ἐνώσεως ἀφράστου καὶ τῆς ἐκάστων ιδιότητος (καὶ γὰρ πᾶσαι ἐν πᾶσαις αἱ ἐνάδες, καὶ ἐκάστη χωρὶς), ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τῶν δευτέρων καὶ τῶν ἐξηρητημένων τὴν τε ἑνωσιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ιδιότητα γινώσκουμεν. In *Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 2, p. 243: ἐκφαίνων τοῦ νοῦ τὸ ἀμερές καὶ ἀπαγγέλλων αὐτοῦ τὴν σιγωμένην καὶ ἀφραστον ἑνωσιν. Op. cit. v. 3, p. 100: οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐκεῖ πλῆθος οὐδὲ τετραὶς ἰδεῶν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν μόνωσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀφραστον ἑνωσιν ἐν ὃν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος προσηγόρευται.

³⁶⁷ Damascius, *De Principiis*, v. 1, p. 147: Διὰ τοῦτο ἄρα οὐχ ἔν καὶ ὄν, ἀλλὰ ἐν ὃ τὸ συναμφότερον ἐκάλεσεν, ἐνδεικνύμενος τὴν ἀφραστον ἑνωσιν τοῦ ἡνωμένου ὄντος πρὸς τὸ ἔν. Op. cit. v. 1, p. 308: καὶ αὗται αἱ ὅλαι τρεῖς οἷον μονάδες οὐ διεστήζονται ἀπ' ἀλλήλων κατὰ διάκρισιν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μονάδα πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἡνωμένην ἐκείναι πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἐνωθήσονται, τοῦ ἐνὸς ἀπλῶς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρῶτην ἐνοποιὸν δύναμιν εἰς τὰς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ συνεχεῖς αὐτῷ ἀρχὰς ἀπηρειδομένου καὶ ἀναρπάζοντος αὐτὰς εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀφραστον ἑνωσιν. In *Parmenidem* (on the unity of the onenesses), p. 5: Καὶ αἱ ἀμέθεκτοι ἐνάδες ταῖς μεθεκταῖς ἦνυνται παντάπασιν. Διὸ ποτὲ μὲν ὡς μεθεκτὰς, ποτὲ δὲ ὡς ἀμεθέκτους τὰς αὐτὰς λέγωμεν, διὰ τὴν πασῶν ἀφραστον καὶ ἀδιάκριτον ἑνωσιν. Op. cit. pp. 91; 228: ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἀφραστός ἐστιν ἡ ἑνωσις τοῦ περιέχοντος καὶ τῶν περιεχομένων.

³⁶⁸ Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 9, p. 404: ὥσπερ γὰρ ἑνωσις ἀφραστός ἐστιν ἐν ἐκείνοις, οὕτως καὶ καθαρότης ἀσύγχυτος.

Tralleis.³⁶⁹ Well into the sixth century, the Neoplatonic thought continued to exercise a commanding influence upon those custodians of orthodoxy, who nonetheless used to anathematize Platonism as a mortal sin.

Likewise, the author follows Proclus when he makes reference to ‘proclivity to knowledge’ (γνώσεως ἔφεσιν).³⁷⁰ Proclus had taken this up from Plotinus,³⁷¹ yet Aristotelists were familiar with the notion since Aristotle himself had made the formula ‘All men naturally desire knowledge’ (πάντες ἀνθρωποι τοῦ εἰδέναι ὀρέγονται φύσει)³⁷² the opening phrase of his major work.³⁷³ At all events, the author of *DT* is the only Christian to have entertained this proverbial notion which transpires in Plotinus and Proclus.

The rare adjective σύνθακος means one who shares a throne with another, therefore, one’s peer.³⁷⁴ This is actually a poetic word used by Greek tragic poetry.³⁷⁵ It is once again plain that *DT*³⁷⁶ follows both Greek poetry and Proclus at the same time,³⁷⁷ and this is the sole Christian usage. It is noteworthy that the author at that point applies the expression βασιλὶς φύσις (‘queen-nature’, that is, the ontologically supreme one) to the Godhead, at two points of this work.³⁷⁸ The expression is a plain loan from Cyril

³⁶⁹ Asclepius of Tralleis, *In Aristotelis Metaphysicorum Libros A–Z Commentaria*, p. 38 (expounding the Pythagorean doctrine of numbers): οὐ διεσπασμένα ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων ὑπάρχουσιν ἀλλ’ ἡνωμένα ἀφράστῳ, φησὶν, ἐνώσει. Op. cit. p. 197 (on the unity of intelligible substances): εἴ γε πολλὰ νοητά, ἀλλὰ καλύπτεται ὑπὸ τῆς ἀφράστου ἐνώσεως. καὶ ἐν τῷ αἰσθητῷ δέ ἐστιν ἑνωσις, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐπικρατεῖ ἡ διάκρισις.

³⁷⁰ *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.773.43–44: τῆς γνώσεως τὴν ἔφεσιν.

³⁷¹ Plotinus, *Enneades*, III.8.7: καὶ αἱ πράξεις τὸ τέλος ἔχουσιν εἰς γνῶσιν καὶ ἡ ἔφεσις γνώσεως. Proclus, *In Platonis Alcibiadem* i, 212: τὰ δὲ προκείμενα ταῦτα μετὰ τὴν κάθαρσιν εἰς ἔφεσιν αὐτὸν ἀνεγείρει τῆς γνώσεως.

³⁷² Aristotle, *Metaphysica*, 980a22.

³⁷³ Cf. Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, p. 15: γνώσεως ἐφέσει. Likewise, Asclepius of Tralleis, *In Aristotelis Metaphysicorum Libros A–Z Commentaria*, p. 19. John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Libros De Anima Commentaria*, v. 15, p. 110: κινεῖται εἰς τὴν τῶν καθόλου γνῶσιν, καὶ τὸ ὀρεκτὸν ἰδοῦσα κινεῖται εἰς ἔφεσιν αὐτοῦ.

³⁷⁴ Hesychius of Alexandria, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter sigma, entry 2609: συνθακών· συγκαθέδρων. Suda, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter sigma, entry 1583: Σύνθακος: σύνθρονος. Lexica Segueriana, *Collectio Verborum Utilium e Differentibus Rhetoribus et Sapientibus Multis*, Alphabetic entry sigma, page 375: σύνθακος: σύνθρονος. Photius, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter sigma, p. 554: σύνθακος: σύνθρονος.

³⁷⁵ Euripides, *Heraclidae*, line 994; *Hippolytus*, line 1093; *Orestes*, line 1637. Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus*, line 1267.

³⁷⁶ *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.797.22–23: Ὅτι γὰρ ἔνθα ὁ Πατήρ, ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, σύνθακον αὐτῷ εὐρισκόμενον καὶ συμπροσκυνούμενον.

³⁷⁷ Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 1, p. 147: τίς μὲν ὁ τῷ Διὶ σύνθακος καὶ τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς; Cf. Hermias of Alexandria, *In Platonis Phaedrum Scholia*, p. 191.

³⁷⁸ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.625.19–20: Μόνης δὲ τῆς τῶν ὅλων βασιλίδος φύσεως, τὸ θεο-

of Alexandria, who is not only the sole author to have employed this, but also seems obsessed with the expression.³⁷⁹ This combined locution is indicative of how freely the author drew on authors as different from each other as Cyril from Proclus.

The distinction between what is 'created' and what has been given 'birth'³⁸⁰ transpires in Athanasius drawing a line between the different natures of the (created) world and that of the Son. His point was of course that the Son is not a creature.³⁸¹ The idea is central to Christian cosmology and theology, although the two adverbs γεννητικῶς and δημιουργικῶς standing in apposition is as extensive as only that which has already been cited. Even so, the distinction had been introduced by Iamblichus (245–325),³⁸² who was older than Athanasius (293–373). Once again though, it was Proclus who made the most of this in a Neoplatonic context.³⁸³

μοθετεῖν καὶ κρίνειν. *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.797.25: ἐνθα ὁ Πατήρ, ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, σύνθακον αὐτῷ εὐρισκόμενον καὶ συμπροσκυνούμενον, ὡς τῆς ἀπάντων βασιλίδος φύσεως ὑπάρχον.

³⁷⁹ Cyril of Alexandria, *commProphXII*, v. 2, p. 515; *In Joannem*, v. 2, pp. 113; 117; 142; 505; 634; v. 3, p. 9 (also quoted in ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum anno 431*, 1.1.1, p. 60); p. 55; *De Sancta Trinitate Dialogi I–VII*, pp. 423; 477; 481; 531; 561; 627; 635; *Epistulae Paschales sive Homiliae Paschales* (*epist.* 1–30), PG.77: 581.2; 673.30; 697.13; *Commentarius In Isaiam Prophetam*, PG.70.316.51.

³⁸⁰ *DT* (*lib.* 2.1–7), 2.41: καθὰ τοῖνυν ὁ υἱὸς λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ υἱικῶς γεννητικός· οὕτω τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα πνευματικῶς ἐκπορευτικὸν καὶ οὐ δημιουργικῶς. *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.824.26–27: Καὶ ὁμῶς γεννητικῶς, οὐ δημιουργικῶς λέγει.

³⁸¹ Athanasius, *Orationes Tres Contra Arianos*, PG.26.149.23–26: Καὶ ἔστω ἡ μὲν κτίσις, εἰκὼν καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς δημιουργικῆς βουλῆσεως αὐτοῦ· αὐτὸς δὲ κατ' ἐκείνους μὴ ἔστω γεννητικῆς φύσεως. *Op. cit.* PG.26.225.22–26: ἄλλην μὲν εἶναι τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ δύναμιν τὴν ἔμφυτον αὐτῷ καὶ συνυπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ ἀγεννήτως κηρύσσω, γεννητικὴν μὲν οὖσαν δηλονότι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, δημιουργικὴν δὲ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου. Cf. Pseudo-Athanasius, *De Sancta Trinitate (dialogi i; 3; 5)*, PG.28.1125.12–14. Basil of Caesarea, *Adversus Eunomium (libri 5)*, PG.29.716.17–20: Τὸ ἕκ τινος τοῖνυν, ἢ δημιουργικῶς, ἢ γεννητικῶς, ἢ φυσικῶς ἐστὶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἡ ἐνέργεια ἡμῶν ἐξ ἡμῶν, ἢ ὡς τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τοῦ ἡλίου ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

³⁸² Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis*, 2.1: Λέγω τοῖνυν δαίμονας μὲν κατὰ τὰς γεννητικὰς καὶ δημιουργικὰς τῶν θεῶν δυνάμεις.

³⁸³ Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 1, p. 134: τοῦ μὲν μοναδικοῦ καὶ δημιουργικοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἐνιαίαν ὑπεροχὴν, τῆς δὲ γεννητικῆς καὶ δυαδικῆς αἰτίας. *Op. cit.* v. 2, p. 224. *Theologia Platonica (lib. 1–6)*, v. 3, p. 54; v. 4, p. 88; v. 5, pp. 8; 16; 44: τὸ γὰρ γεννητικὸν τοῦ πατρικοῦ καὶ τὸ ζωογόνον τοῦ δημιουργικοῦ γένους ἀάμπολυ διαφέρει, καθ' ὅσον οἶμαι καὶ αἱ ἀρχαὶ τῶν ὄλων διακόσμων ἀλλήλων διακρίνεται, τὸ πέρας λέγω καὶ τὸ ἄπειρον. Ἀνάγεται γὰρ ἡ μὲν δημιουργικὴ καὶ πατρικὴ τάξις εἰς τὸ πέρας, ἡ δὲ ζωογόνος καὶ γεννητικὴ πᾶσα δύναμις εἰς τὸ ἄπειρον. Cf. *op. cit.* v. 5, pp. 53; 71; 74; 112; *In Platonis Alcibiadem i*, 30: ἄλλων θεῶν ἰδιότητες ἄλλαι πεφῆναι, αἱ μὲν δημιουργικαὶ τῶν ὄλων καὶ τοῦ εἰδούς ὑποστατικάι τῶν ὄντων καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς διακοσμῆσεως, αἱ δὲ τῆς ζωῆς χορηγοὶ καὶ γεννητικάι τῶν ποικίλων τῆς ζωῆς γενῶν. *Op. cit.* 82: ὅτι τῶν δαιμόνων οἱ μὲν καθαρτικὴν ἔλαχον δύναμιν καὶ ἄχραντον, οἱ δὲ γεννητικὴν, οἱ δὲ τελεσιουργόν, οἱ δὲ δημιουργικὴν, καὶ ὅλως κατὰ τὰς ἰδιότητας διήρηται τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὰς

Likewise, the reference to ‘the commencement of a better life’ (ἀρχὴν κρείττονος βίου)³⁸⁴ being a result of the Incarnation, is a liability to Proclus.³⁸⁵ It was only John of Damascus who took this up, which is one of his debts to Cassian himself.³⁸⁶

By the same token, when the author uses the extremely rare comparative form συμμετρότερος (at this point meaning ‘diminished’)³⁸⁷ of the adjective σύμμετρος (‘commensurate with’, ‘corresponding to’, ‘moderate’), he reproduces a term entertained by Proclus. The form comes from Aristotle.³⁸⁸ Simplicius and Damascius used this in the sense of ‘balanced’ or ‘moderate’,³⁸⁹ which is indeed the hackneyed literal sense of the word, so entertained by Plotinus too.³⁹⁰ However, it was only Proclus who applied this in the sense of something being ‘diminished’,³⁹¹ besides its normal sense, of course.³⁹² The author of *DT* is the sole Christian ever to employ the adjective συμμετρότερος in this sense, which has parallels only in Proclus, thus supplying us with one more telling instance of his liabilities to the Neoplatonist master.

A striking point evincing how heavily this author drew on Proclus is the term ἐναδικός (‘unique’) applied to the divinity of the Father, who in *DT* is

δυνάμεις ὑφ’ ἧς ἐτάχθησαν. In *Platonis Parmenidem*, pp. 868; 1048; In *Platonis Cratylum Commentaria*, 53; In *Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, pp. 176; 180; 269; 309; v. 3, pp. 135; 162.

³⁸⁴ *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.837.1–4: Αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀπείρου ὕψους ἑαυτὸν διὰ τοὺς ἰδίους δούλους κενώσας, καὶ ἀνακαινίσας πάντα, καὶ ἀρχὴν κρείττονος βίου τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιδημίᾳ παρασχόμενος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρωτότοκος κληθεῖς.

³⁸⁵ Proclus, *De Malorum Subsistentia*, 59: ἵνα τῆς ἐν αὐταῖς ὠδίνος καὶ ὑπούλου ... ἔξεως ἀπαλλαγῇσι λάβωσιν ἀρχὴν περιόδου καὶ ζωῆς κρείττονος.

³⁸⁶ John of Damascus, *Oratio Secunda in Dormitionem Sanctae Dei Genitricis Mariae*, 3: ἐν ᾗ δὲ “τὸ κέντρον τοῦ θανάτου ἢ ἀμαρτία” νενέκρωται, τί φήσομεν ἢ ζωῆς ἀρχὴν ἀλήχτου καὶ κρείττονος;

³⁸⁷ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.753.10.

³⁸⁸ Aristotle, *Historia Animalium*, 623a29 (συμμετρότερον = better proportioned). *Problemata*, 944a18 (συμμετρότατα).

³⁸⁹ Simplicius, In *Aristotelis Quattuor Libros De Caelo Commentaria*, v. 7, p. 141 (συμμετρότερας); In *Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, v. 8, p. 3 (συμμετρότερον); op. cit. p. 364 (συμμετρότερον); In *Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 10, p. 821 (ὁ δὲ γε Ἀριστοτέλης συμμετρότερα φιλοσοφῶν); *Commentarius In Epicteti Enchiridion*, p. 112 (συμμετρότερον). Damascius, *Vita Isidori*, Fr. 222; In *Phaedonem* (versio 1), 274.

³⁹⁰ Plotinus, *Enneades*, VI.7.22: Καὶ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων δὲ τὰ ζωτικώτερα καλλίω, κἂν συμμετρότερα τὰ ἕτερα ᾗ; In fact, Plotinus uses the adjective in the sense of ‘symmetric’.

³⁹¹ Proclus, In *Platonis Alcibiadem i*, 226: αὐθις δὲ τῆς ὑγρότητος ἐξαμιζομένης διὰ τῆς ἐμφύτου θερμότητος καὶ συμμετροτέρας γινομένης. In *Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 3, p. 84: μέση δὲ οὖσα ἢ σελήνη καὶ πρώτη δεχομένη τὸ φῶς συμμετρότερον αὐτὸ ποιεῖ πρὸς τὴν γένεσιν.

³⁹² Proclus, In *Platonis Alcibiadem i*, 3; 225.

virtually treated like the Neoplatonic supreme ontological reality, namely the One. The sole parallel to *DT* making reference to the 'unique Paternal divinity' (τὸ ἐναδικὸν ἦτοι μοναδικὸν τῆς πατρικῆς θεότητος)³⁹³ appears in Proclus, who applied this term to the One.³⁹⁴

Proclus is the author who advanced the theory of intellectual activity evolving in a sort of circular motion, which I have canvassed.³⁹⁵ Of all Christian authors, only the present one suggests endorsement of this theory.³⁹⁶ Besides, Didymus was the sole author to note that this is a theory advanced by 'some of those from without' the faith (καί τινες τῶν ἔξω εἰρήκασιν), pointing to both Aristotle and Plato.³⁹⁷ In fact however, the philosopher who made the most of these instances of Classical lore was Proclus,³⁹⁸ whom the author of *DT* follows, no doubt being aware of Didymus' remark. It is certainly not fortuitous that Cassian's analyses about 'thunder' and 'wheel'³⁹⁹ in his *Scholia in Apocalypsin* have some relevance to this adumbration mentioned by Didymus: a telling passage of his describes intellectual action in its highest stage of comprehension by means of the mind 'rotating'.⁴⁰⁰ This is one of the most stunning moments for any student studying Didymus. For he actually comments on Aristotle, and evinces familiarity with a notion, of which no prior known commentator had any inkling, not even Alexander of Aphrodisias.

I have canvassed the notion of διαίρεσις τῶν νοητῶν (meaning, exploration of intelligible things by means of the method of division) in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*.⁴⁰¹ This evinces a unique relevance of Cassian's writings with notions that had a long story in Greek lore, though it was Proclus and

³⁹³ See *supra*, p. 467, note 133.

³⁹⁴ See *supra*, p. 467, note 134.

³⁹⁵ *RCR*, p. 285, and *infra*, p. 517.

³⁹⁶ Cf. *DT* (*lib. 1*), 15.52: ὅτι γὰρ παντὸς χρόνου, ὃν ἂν νοήσῃ τις πολλὰ κυκλεύσας τῇ διανοίᾳ.

³⁹⁷ Didymus, *commEccl* (7–8.8), Cod. p. 225: καί τινες τῶν ἔξω εἰρήκασιν, ὅτι αἱ νοήσεις ὥσπερ τροχοὶ εἰσιν καὶ κύκλοι στρεφόμενοι. By reference to 'those from without' who made 'mental comprehension a kind of rotating wheels', Didymus actually comments on Aristotle's *De Anima*, where the act of comprehension by mind is described as a 'circle'. Cf. Aristotle, *De Anima*, 407a19–26.

³⁹⁸ Cf. Proclus' passages quoted in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, EN XXXIq; *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 2, p. 160; *In Platonis Parmenidem*, p. 808; op. cit. pp. 1152; 1161; *In Platonis Cratylum Commentaria*, 110; *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 2, p. 72; op. cit. v. 2, p. 279; op. cit. v. 2, p. 312. I canvass this point and its implications in that expanded note.

³⁹⁹ Quoting Psalm 76:19.

⁴⁰⁰ Didymus, *commEccl* (7–8.8), Cod. p. 225. Quoted in *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, EN XXXVIa.

⁴⁰¹ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, EN XXVe.

Damascius who entertained this in the manner the present author does. I postpone one more issue until the section where I discuss Cassian in relation to the Scholia: *DT* is the sole Christian treatise to entertain the Euclidean, as well as Aristotelian, axiom, according to which ‘those who are equal to a third entity, they are equal to each other’ (τὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ἴσα καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἴσα).⁴⁰² The author did so only after Proclus had done this, just once and for all in Greek philosophy: he set out to practice this axiom in relation to equality, superiority, or inferiority, between gods. *DT* did the same, in order to confront Arians and Macedonians, in an enthusiastic spirit of positivism, which likewise occurred only once and for all in Christian doctrinal polemic.

A Sixth-Century Author

The foregoing discussion has shown heretofore that the author draws heavily on Neoplatonism. Nevertheless, wherever we came upon a liability to sixth-century masters, such as Damascius and Simplicius, it turned out that Proclus had preceded them with regard to specific issues and usage involved in our exploration. Though normally Damascius appears more terse and pithy, and certainly more mature and telling, the ideas involved are always present in Proclus himself. Besides, the present author draws on Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite. As a matter of fact, it might have been the case of the author embarking on study of the Neoplatonists at the urging of Pseudo-Dionysius himself.

This analysis alone, therefore, does not suffice to determine possible influence by such authors as Damascius and Simplicius. A further step is called for, which is indeed made possible by the text of *DT*, since there are points and expressions that could have scarcely been entertained before the sixth century.

1. The Trinity being a *monad* is an emblematic notion, which recurs heavily.⁴⁰³ Although Epiphanius had made a casual reference to the Christian

⁴⁰² *DT* (*lib.* 2.8–27), PG.39.725.22–29; op. cit. (*lib.* 3), PG.39.804.14–19.

⁴⁰³ *DT*, (*liber* 2.1–7), 6.4.12: εἰ γὰρ τυχὸν λέξιν τινά, ὡς τὴν “αἰώνιος” ἢ τὴν “ἀγαθός”, θείαν ἔνδειξιν κομίζουσιν περὶ τῆς ἐν μονάδι τριάδος. (*liber* 2.1–7), 6.16: ἐν μονάδι θεότητος ἡ τριάς. (*lib.* 2.8–27), PG.39.608.9: ὅτι διαφορὰν ἢ ἐν μονάδι σεπτὴ Τριάς οὐκ ἔχει. (*lib.* 2.8–27) PG.39.660.29: διὰ τὴν ἀγαθότητα τῆς ἐν μονάδι Τριάδος. (*lib.* 2.8–27), PG.39.756.7–9: Πλάτωνος τοῦ Κωμικοῦ, ὃς ἀνθρώπως ἐν τοῖς ὑπογεγραμμένοις ἰάμβοις θεότητα μοναδικῶς ἐκτεινομένην εἰς Τριάδα, ἀφ’ ἧς τὰ ὅλα γέγονε τε καὶ σώζεται. *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.865.22–25: Ἡ δὲ “μόνος” καὶ ἐνός ἐστι λέξις, ὅσάκις ἂν εἴρηται ἐπὶ

Godhead being both a Monarchy and a Trinity,⁴⁰⁴ it was the sixth century that made much of the novel expression urging that the Trinity lives ἐν μονάδι θεότητος ('in unity of deity'). Quite evidently, theologians were encouraged to take up the language once Justinian did so.⁴⁰⁵ Olympiodorus the deacon of Alexandria,⁴⁰⁶ Oecumenius,⁴⁰⁷ Cyril of Scythopolis the Sabaite monk,⁴⁰⁸ the author of some spurious works ascribed to Athanasius,⁴⁰⁹ the *Chronicon Paschale*,⁴¹⁰ and Germanus I, Patriarch of Constantinople.⁴¹¹ As regards synods, the accepted phrase appears only in the Lateran Council (680–681).⁴¹² This is also profusely present in the *Analecta Hymnica Graeca* (seventeen instances) the collection where many of the characteristic terms of *DT* are present.

τῆς Τριάδος τῇ Γραφῇ, διὰ τὸ ἐν μονάδι θεότητος ὑπάρχειν αὐτὴν, καὶ “μοναρχίαν” ἔχειν εἴρηται. (*lib. 3*) PG.39.937.2: “Ἐλλήνες, οἱ πολυθεῖας δόξῃ καταμεθύνοντες, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς πείθοντες, ὅτι περ μόνον εἰσὶν πολυμαθεῖς, ἀμαθαινόντες δὲ περὶ τὸ καίριον παρὰ πάντας, καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἀκριβῆ περὶ τῆς ἐν μονάδι μακαρίας Τριάδος εἶδῃσιν ἔχοντες.

⁴⁰⁴ Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, v. 2, p. 391: μοναρχίαν δὲ κηρύττοντες οὐ σφαλλόμεθα, ἀλλὰ ὁμολογοῦμεν τὴν τριάδα, μονάδα ἐν τριάδι καὶ τριάδα ἐν μονάδι, καὶ μίαν θεότητα πατὴρ καὶ υἱὸς καὶ ἅγιος πνεῦματος.

⁴⁰⁵ Justinian, *Edictum Rectae Fidei*, p. 130: μονάδα γὰρ ἐν τριάδι καὶ τριάδα ἐν μονάδι προσκυνούμεν παράδοξον ἔχουσιν καὶ τὴν διαίρεσιν καὶ τὴν ἔνωσιν, μονάδα μὲν κατὰ τὸν τῆς οὐσίας ἢ γοῦν θεότητος λόγον, τριάδα δὲ κατὰ τὰς ιδιότητας ἢ γοῦν ὑποστάσεις ἥτοι πρόσωπα (διαίρεται γὰρ ἀδιαίρετως, ἴν' οὕτως εἴπωμεν, καὶ συνάπτεται διηρημένως· ἐν γὰρ ἐν τρισὶν ἢ θεότης καὶ τὰ τρία ἐν τᾷ ἐν οἷς ἢ θεότης, ἢ τὸ γε ἀκριβέστερον εἰπεῖν, ἢ ἡ θεότης).

⁴⁰⁶ Olympiodorus, the deacon of Alexandria, *commJob*, p. 226: ὁ γὰρ ἐν μονάδι θεὸς διὰ τὴν μίαν οὐσίαν καὶ θεότητα ἐν τριάδι γνωρίζεται διὰ τὰς ὑποστάσεις.

⁴⁰⁷ Oecumenius, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, p. 201: νῦν ἐν τῇ Ἁγίᾳ Τριάδι τὸ ἀλληλουῖα προσάδουσι, παραδηλοῦντες ὅτι ἐν μοναδικῇ οὐσίᾳ καὶ θεότητι ἡ ἅγια καὶ πανύμνητος ὑπάρχει τριάς.

⁴⁰⁸ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, p. 40: διδαχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μονάδα πρεσβεύει ἐν τριάδι καὶ τριάδα ἐν μονάδι, μονάδα μὲν θεότητι καὶ οὐσίᾳ καὶ φύσει, οὐχ ὑποστάσει κατὰ Σαβέλλιον, τριάδα δὲ οὐ φύσιν ἢ οὐσίαις κατὰ τὸν Ἀρειὸν, ἀλλ' ὑποστάσεσιν ἥτοι ιδιότησιν ἢ προσώποις συνάπτει μὲν τῷ τῆς οὐσίας λόγῳ, διαίρει δὲ ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι.

⁴⁰⁹ Pseudo-Athanasius, *Disputatio Contra Arium*, PG.28.497.41–46: διὰ τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ μακαρίαν θεότητα τῆς Τριάδος, ἐν μονάδι οὖσαν αὐτάρκη. Ἐτι δὲ καὶ Μωσῆς τίνος ἔνεκεν τὸν λαὸν ἐδίδαξε, τρεῖς κάμψαντα ἐπὶ γῆς τὸν αὐχένα καὶ τὰ γόνατα, προσκυνήσαι; Οὐ διὰ τὴν τῆς Τριάδος προσκύνῃσιν τῆς ἐν μιᾷ θεότητι; *Sermo Contra Latinos*, PG.28.825.36–41: μονὰς ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν, εἴτουν προσώποις, καὶ Τριάς ἐν μονάδι θεότητι, ἥτοι μιᾶς οὐσίας γινωσκομένη. Ταύτης τῆς ἁγίας καὶ σεπτῆς μονάδος, αἱ προσκυνηταὶ τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις γινώσκονται καὶ πιστεύονται.

⁴¹⁰ *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 636. This work is based on an older work by Cassian. See *infra*, Appendix III, pp. 622–626.

⁴¹¹ Germanus I, Patriarch of Constantinople (seventh–eighth cent.), *Epistulae Dogmaticae*, 2.

⁴¹² Acts 3, p. 156; Document 10, p. 392; Document 11, p. 418.

2. The author's employment of the expression 'the mystagogy of illumination' (ἐν τῇ μυσταγωγίᾳ τοῦ φωτισματος) has certain things to tell us. Although the word φωτισμα ('illumination') had been employed since Clement of Alexandria, it appears in no Christian council other than that of Constantinople⁴¹³ in 536. In *DT*, the noun φωτισμα occurs at nine points. More specifically, the term used in connection to 'mystagogy'⁴¹⁴ has two parallels only: one in Palladius,⁴¹⁵ another in the synod just mentioned.⁴¹⁶ Nevertheless, the author must have been influenced not only by this synod (in which he himself was present), but also by Pseudo-Dionysius, since this shows as a section-header in a certain work of his.⁴¹⁷

3. The term σύναρσις⁴¹⁸ ('support', 'assistance', 'help')⁴¹⁹ bespeaks a sixth-century author, too. For although there had been an extremely scarce and casual application of it since the fourth century (at less than a handful of instances),⁴²⁰ it was during and after the sixth century that the term became a current coinage. With the Local Synod of Constantinople, this noun is introduced in formal Christian minutes, and Cassian was present to see as well as hear the neologism, which was also employed by the emperor himself.⁴²¹

⁴¹³ ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, pp. 95 & 98 (five instances). The term appears also twice in the *Analecta Hymnica Graeca* (*Canones Octobris & Januarii*).

⁴¹⁴ *DT* (*lib. 1*), 15.26: τὴν πίστιν τὴν παραδοθεῖσαν ἐν τῇ μυσταγωγίᾳ τοῦ φωτισματος παρὰ τοῦ πάντων δεσπότης. *DT* (*lib. 2.1-7*), 5.24: καὶ ἡ ἄλλη αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ φῶτισμα μυσταγωγία.

⁴¹⁵ Palladius, *Dialogus de Vita Joannis Chrysostomi*, p. 92: ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐπραξεν οὐ πρὸ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν μυσταγωγίας, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὸ φῶτισμα.

⁴¹⁶ ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, p. 95, in a text by 'the clerics of Apamea' addressed to 'the fathers and bishops of Syria Secunda': οὐκ ἐπαύετο τοὺς παρατυγχάνοντας παροινῶν ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ φρικωδεστάτῳ καιρῷ τοῦ φωτισματος. οὐχ ἡγούμενά τινα διαλαθάνειν τῶν ἀξιωθέντων τῆς θείας μυσταγωγίας, ὅσος ἀγὼν ἐπικρατεῖ τοὺς φοβουμένους τὸν κύριον καθ' ὃν μέλλουσι προσιέναι καιρὸν τῷ θείῳ βαπτίσματι.

⁴¹⁷ Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*, p. 70: Μυστήριον φωτισματος.

⁴¹⁸ *DT* (*lib. 2.1-7*), 7.3.15, συνάρσεως τῆς ἀλλήλων. The phraseology is very much like Olympiodorus, the philosopher of Alexandria (sixth cent.), in *Aristotelis Meteora Commentaria*, p. 297: δέονται τῆς ἀλλήλων συνάρσεως.

⁴¹⁹ Hesychius of Alexandria, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter sigma, entry 2428: σύναρσις· συναφή, ἁρμονία. Pseudo-Zonaras, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter sigma, p. 1684: Σύναρσις. βοήθεια· συγκρότησις.

⁴²⁰ Actually only in Macarius of Magnesia (fourth–fifth cent.), *Apocriticus seu Monogenēs*, 2.35; 3.129, and Gelasius of Cyzicus (fifth cent.), *HE*, 2.1.1.

⁴²¹ ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, pp. 132 & 140 (an epistle by monk and archimandrite Marianus supervising the monks of Constantinople and representing those of the capital, of Jerusalem, and of Syria): διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων

It then hardly comes as a surprise that the authors who tenaciously employed Cassian's terminology did so with this noun, too.⁴²² Whether Porphyry had used this term cannot be certain, but definitely Simplicius did,⁴²³ since we have come upon this Neoplatonist master entertaining terms which are not only scarce, but also almost exclusive to Christian vocabulary.⁴²⁴

4. The adverb ἀφαντασίᾳστως is applied to asseverate the Incarnation as a real event, not mere fantasy, thus confronting Docetist accounts. The adjective ἀφαντασίαστος and its cognates had been used as early as the fourth century; however this invariably meant either something or someone being 'beyond comprehension',⁴²⁵ or a night's sleep without distraction by sinful dreams.⁴²⁶ The term was used by leading sixth-century Greeks, such as Asclepius of Tralleis and Olympiodorus, the philosopher of Alexandria.⁴²⁷ The sense of ἀφαντασίαστος betokening something which is all too real, was known to some authors, of whom only a casual usage by Epiphanius suggests a fourth-century usage,⁴²⁸ yet none of them aimed at describing the

συνάρσεως. Justinian, *Novellae*, p. 679 (& *Basilica, Basilica*, 6.19.2): κελεύομεν τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν καὶ τὰς τάξεις αὐτῶν πᾶσαν σύναρσιν καὶ σπουδὴν αὐτοῖς συνεισάγειν.

⁴²² Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 79: βοηθείας καὶ συνάρσεως. Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 559, line 16: τῇ συνάρσει καὶ συνεργείᾳ τοῦ πνεύματος.

⁴²³ Porphyry, *Contra Christianos (fragmenta)*, Fr. 31. Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Quattuor Libros De Caelo Commentaria*, v. 7, p. 703: ἔξωθεν δεηθέντα συνάρσεως.

⁴²⁴ Cf. the adjective ἀσυντρόχαστος ('incompatible with') which was used only by Origen, Didymus, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, XIX, and Simplicius, with no other author ever having employed this.

⁴²⁵ *Corpus Hermeticum*, *Πρὸς Τὰτ Υἱόν* 'Ὅτι Ἄφανῆς Θεός Φανερώτατός Ἑστίν, 2: ὁ δὲ εἰς ἀγέννητος δηλονότι καὶ ἀφαντασίαστος καὶ ἀφανής.

⁴²⁶ Asterius of Amasea, *Homiliae 1-14*, Homily 14.2.5: Ὑπνοὶ ἄλλοι καὶ ἀφαντασίαστοι. John Chrysostom, *In Epistulam i ad Corinthios (homiliae 1-44)*, PG.61.373.9: καὶ ἀφαντασίαστος ἔσται ἡ νύξ. Ephraem Syrus, *Paraenesis ad Ascetas (ordine alphabetico)*, p. 352: τοῦ δὲ νηστεύοντος ἄσπιλος ἡ κοίτη καὶ ἀφαντασίαστος ὁ ὕπνος αὐτοῦ. See also the anonymous *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 8.37: καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἀναμάρτητον καὶ ἀφαντασίαστον.

⁴²⁷ Asclepius of Tralleis, *In Aristotelis Metaphysicorum Libros A-Z Commentaria*, p. 151: πρὸς τὸ ἐθίζεσθαι ἀφαντασίᾳστως ἐνεργεῖν. Olympiodorus, the philosopher of Alexandria, *In Platonis Alcibiadem Commentarii*, 8: ἀφαντασίαστος γάρ ὁ ἐνθουσιασμός. *In Platonis Phaedonem Commentaria*, 6.2: οὐκ ἔστι νόησις ἀφαντασίαστος; 6.12: καὶ ἐν τῷ πτάρνυσθαι ἀφαντασίᾳστως ἐνεργοῦμεν.

⁴²⁸ Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, v. 2, p. 43: διδασκαλίαν ἄδουπον καὶ ἀψοφοποιὸν καὶ ἀφαντασίαστον. Amphilochius of Iconium, *In Illud: Pater Si Possibile Est (orat. 6)*, lines 314-315: Δειλιῷ γάρ, ἵνα δεῖξω ἀφαντασίαστον τῆς σαρκὸς τὴν ἀνάληψιν. Pseudo-Eustathius of Antioch, *Homilia Christologica in Lazarum, Mariam et Martham*, 3: καὶ ἀφαντασίαστον τὸ θαῦμα δημοσιεύει τῇ οἰκουμένῃ. 8: πρὸς πίστωσιν ἀληθινὴν τῆς ἀφαντασίαστου ἀναστάσεως τοῦ σεσωμένου. Later, during the sixth century, Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 153: τὴν ἀληθῆ

reality of Incarnation itself. Only two authors made the term a Christological watchword, namely, Oecumenius and the author of *DT*.⁴²⁹ They happen to be the first authors to entertain the adverb ἀφαντασιάστως in apposition with ἀτρέπτως ('without mutation') and only one later author followed.⁴³⁰ Maximus Confessor suggests that the expression comes from a letter by Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite addressing Gaius.⁴³¹ It is therefore plain that *DT* entertains a sixth-century vocabulary at this point, too.

5. The author makes reference to angels who praise God ceaselessly singing the hymn known as *trisagion*. 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord'. During the sixth century, the Monophysite addition 'who has been crucified for us' in this doxology caused uproar, which invited action by the emperor himself, as already canvassed. Severus had reasoned that the Isaiah 6:3 exclamation, 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord', 'is addressed only to the Son, whereas the Father and the Spirit do not participate in receiving this doxology'. Infuriated at this as Justinian was, he spent a considerable part of his polemical tract to rebut this assertion, which 'Severus dared pronounce'.⁴³² Against this assertion, he adduces extensive quotations from Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil of Caesarea, John Chrysostom, and Cyril of Alexan-

και ἀφαντασίαστον ὁμολογίαν και πίστιν. *Doctrina Patrum*, p. 285: τούτου δύο και τὰ θελήματα και τὰς ἐνεργείας κατ' ἄλλο και ἄλλο "μετὰ τῆς θατέρου κοινωνίας" ἐκδιδάσκει, δι' ὧν αἱ φύσεις ἀφαντασιάστως κατοπτεύονται.

⁴²⁹ *DT* (lib. 1), 26.46: συγκατέβη ἀτρέπτως ἀφαντασιάστως ἕως οἰκέτου μορφῆς. Oecumenius, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, p. 32: νοεῖται συνημμένος ὁ Ἐμμανουὴλ, θεότητός τε και ἀνθρωπότητος, τελείως ἔχουσῶν κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον λόγον και τὴν κατὰ ποιότητα φυσικὴν ιδιότητα και διαφοράν, οὔτε συγχυθέντων τῶν εἰς ἐνότητα συνδεδραμηκότων, οὔτε μὴν διαιρουμένων μετὰ τὴν ἄφραστον και ἀφαντασίαστον ἔνωσιν. Op. cit. p. 255: ὡς εἶναι οὖν τὸν Ἐμμανουὴλ ἐκ θεότητός τε και ἀνθρωπότητος τελείως ἔχουσῶν ἐκάστη τῶν φύσεων κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον λόγον, ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀναλλοιώτως, ἀφαντασιάστως. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄφραστον ἔνωσιν πεπεσμέθα ἐν πρόσωπον και μίαν ὑπόστασιν και μίαν ἐνέργειαν, καὶ ἡ τῶν φύσεων μὴ ἀγνοῖται διαφορὰ, ἐξ ὧν τὴν ἀπόρρητον ἔνωσιν πεπράχθαι φαμέν. Notice the telling expression 'ineffable union' (ἄφραστον ἔνωσιν), which appears also in *DT*, as already canvassed *supra*. In a future work of mine I hope I will be showing that Oecumenius' commentary on the Apocalypse and Cassian's *Scholia in Apocalypsin* were written during the same period (namely in the 540') and they were not irrelevant to each other. Cf. *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.904.10–11, rebutting Docetism: σὰρξ ἔμψυχος ἐγένετο ἀληθῶς, και οὐ φαντασία, οἰθθέντων αὐτόν, Μανιχαίων μὲν, σῶμα δοκήσει ἐσχηκέναι, Ἀρειανῶν δὲ ἄψυχον γεγενῆσθαι.

⁴³⁰ Pamphilus (presbyter, sixth–seventh cent.), *Diversorum Capitum sive Difficultatum Solutio*, Question 13: ἀλλὰ και περὶ τοῦ ἐνός τῆς τριάδος θεοῦ λόγου ἀληθινῆν, ἀτρεπτόν τε και ἀφαντασίαστον οἰκονομίαν.

⁴³¹ Maximus Confessor (sixth–seventh cent.), *Epistula Secunda ad Thomam*, 3, quoting Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite addressing Gaius: ἀφαντασιάστως τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οἰκονομίαν πεπλήρωκεν.

⁴³² Justinian, *Contra Monophysitas*, 192.

dria.⁴³³ The Local Synod of Constantinople in 536 was the one to deal with the question at the emperor's behest and Cassian was present during the sessions. In the acts of this synod the 'trisagios hymn' (τρισάγιος ὕμνος) is styled τρισάγιος αἶνος, which is almost synonymous: it only stresses a little more that this 'hymn' is a 'praise', but in effect the meaning is the same.⁴³⁴ It is striking indeed that the sole parallel to that text, which mentions τρισάγιος αἶνος, transpires in the text of *De Trinitate*,⁴³⁵ only to appear again in the *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, and never to recur in any author at all.⁴³⁶ Quite evidently, Cassian employed the phrase from the papal letter, and the collection of hymns once again associates the author with the Akoimetoι.

6. Likewise, the end of the author's prayer ends with the ceremonial repetition 'Amen, amen, amen' (Ἀμήν, ἀμήν, ἀμήν) to be followed by the equally ceremonial 'May it be so, May it be so, May it be so' (Γένοιτο, γένοιτο, γένοιτο).⁴³⁷ This would appear as one more eccentricity of the author, were it for this ritualistic interjection not having been used by a sixth-century text ascribed to monks Barsanuphius and John.⁴³⁸ We have come upon this work at some points during our exploration of Cassian's texts.⁴³⁹

7. The author refers to secular lawmakers who used the word ῥητῶς ('expressly') in legal texts. The author's point is that since Paul used this adverb in 1 Tim. 4:1, it follows that the Holy Spirit is a lawgiver.⁴⁴⁰ Once again, he writes following the experience of his own times, which proves

⁴³³ Cf. Justinian rebutting this claim: *Contra Monophysitas*, 192; 194; 195; 196; 197.

⁴³⁴ ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, p. 22, in an epistle of Pope Felix IV of Rome (526–530) to Patriarch Peter of Antioch (Peter the Fuller): καὶ τὸν παραδοθέντα ἡμῖν ὑπ' ἀγγέλων τρισάγιον αἶνον ἐνόθευσας ἐνθήμενος ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς; loc. cit. ὁπότε δὲ ὑπ' ἀγγέλων ὁ τρισάγιος οὗτος αἶνος ἡμῖν ἐξεδόθη, οἵτινες πρὸ μὲν τοῦ σταυροῦ ἔλεγον ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος, ὡς ἡξιώθη Ἡσαίας θεάσασθαι, μετὰ δὲ τὸν σταυρὸν ὑμολόγουν ἅγιος ὁ θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος.

⁴³⁵ *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 7.8.8: τοῦ ἀγιάσαντος καὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ συνοδοξαζομένου παρ' ὑμῶν ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ διὰ τοῦ τρισαγίου αἵνου.

⁴³⁶ *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, *Canones Novembris*, 1.5.9: καὶ σὺν ἀγγέλοις αἰεὶ ὑμνοῦντες αἶνον Θεῷ τρισάγιον.

⁴³⁷ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.769.10–12: Ἀμήν, ἀμήν, ἀμήν. Καὶ ἐροῦσι πάντοτε πάντες πανταχοῦ οἱ ὀρθοδόξων Χριστιανῶν λαοί: Γένοιτο, γένοιτο, γένοιτο. Cf. *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 7.8.13: ἀμήν, ἀμήν, ἀμήν.

⁴³⁸ Barsanuphius and John, *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Coenobitas*, 573, lines 57–58: Ἀμήν, ἀμήν, ἀμήν. Γένοιτο, γένοιτο, γένοιτο! It was not until much later that the exclamation returned to literature, with each of Bishop Athanasius I of Constantinople (thirteenth–fourteenth cent.) and Gennadius Scholarius (fifteenth cent.) using it at a couple of points.

⁴³⁹ See *RCR*, pp. 118; 142; 175; 176; 188; 193; 276; 300–303; 317; 321. Also, *supra*, pp. 220; 366; 380; 382; *infra*, pp. 530; 532.

⁴⁴⁰ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.628.8–13: τῇ γὰρ λέξει τοῦ “ῥητῶς” καὶ οἱ κοσμικῶς θεσμοθετήσαντες ἐχρήσαντο.

him a sixth-century writer. For it was Justinian's *Novellae* that used the adverb ῥητῶς at thirty-three points, whereas the collection *Basilica*, which preserved this legislation, makes use of this adverb at three hundred points.

8. I have mentioned the shift of emphasis from γνῶσις to πράξις which took place during the fifth century.⁴⁴¹ To Cassian the priority of action over intellectual activity was long past, which is why exhortation to study (μελέτη) is a theme that recurs in his texts. He was a man of the sixth century, not of the fifth. The author of *DT* has the same priorities: one should 'live amidst books' and to join unfailingly in all ecclesiastical services,⁴⁴² which is the same concern recurring in Cassian's texts.

9. The parenthetic expression ὡς ἄρτίως εἴρηται ('as just mentioned')⁴⁴³ is uniquely characteristic of Galen,⁴⁴⁴ whose vocabulary is entertained amply in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*. Authors did not care to employ this, which was revived for a while only during the sixth century by John Philoponus.⁴⁴⁵ That this construction is used in catenae-fragments ascribed to Origen and Didymus⁴⁴⁶ only tells us that the catenist was probably the same person, or one of the same community, and that the compilation took place during the sixth century, probably either at the Laura of Sabas or at the Akoimetoι.

10. A simple expression referring to 'the incarnation of the Lord' (δεσποτικήν σάρκωσιν)⁴⁴⁷ is illuminating. For this was also used by Leo of Rome,⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴¹ See *RCR*, pp. 10–11.

⁴⁴² *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.768.8–11: ζῆν ἐν βιβλίοις, καὶ ἀχώριστον εἶναι μετὰ καθαροῦ συνειδότος τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συνάξεων. The expression ἐκκλησιαστική σύναξις was part of the vocabulary of monks and was used by the following authors, along with various constitutions of monasteries. Pseudo-Athanasius, *Quaestiones in Scripturam Sacram*, PG.28.717.14 (συνάξεως ἐκκλησιαστικῆς). Socrates Scholasticus, *HE*, 4.12 (τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συνάξεων). John of Damascus, *De Haeresibus*, 80 (ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς συνάξεσιν). Cassian refers simply to σύναξις, pp. 7^v; 100^v.

⁴⁴³ *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 7.3.16.

⁴⁴⁴ Galen, *De Sanitate Tuenda Libri vi*, v. 6, p. 254; *De Alimentorum Facultatibus Libri iii*, v. 6, p. 534; *De Morborum Differentiis*, v. 6, p. 856; *De Symptomatum Causis Libri iii*, v. 7, pp. 102; 160; 185; 189; 210; *De Praesagitione Ex Pulsibus Libri iv*, v. 9, p. 311; *De Methodo Medendi Libri xiv*, v. 10, p. 938; *De Simplicium Medicamentorum Temperamentis Ac Facultatibus Libri xi*, v. 11, p. 549; *De Compositione Medicamentorum Secundum Locos Libri x*, v. 12, p. 608; *In Hippocratis Librum VI Epidemiarum Commentarii vi*, v. 17b, p. 150.

⁴⁴⁵ John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Libros De Anima Commentaria*, v. 15, p. 261; *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 17, p. 618. A single instance in the seventh-century medical doctor Paul of Aegina (*Epitomae Medicae Libri Septem*, 6.118.7) is an influence by Galen.

⁴⁴⁶ Origen, *fr* John, II. Didymus, *fr* Ps(al), Fr. 855.

⁴⁴⁷ *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.821.21–24: εἰς γούν τὴν δεσποτικὴν ἀναμάρτητον σάρκωσιν, τὴν ἐκκειμένην Παρομιάν φέρειν, οὐδαμῶς δὲ εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀρρήτου θείας φύσεως Υἱὸν Λόγον.

⁴⁴⁸ ACO, *Concilium Universale Chalcedonense anno 451*, 2.1.1, p. 45: τί δὲ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία καθόλου περὶ τοῦ θείου μυστηρίου τῆς δεσποτικῆς σαρκώσεως πιστεύει καὶ διδάσκει, τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἡμῶν καὶ συνεπισκόπῳ Φλαβιανῷ σαφέστερον τὰ ἀπεσταλμένα γράμματα περιέχει.

and no author other than the present one did ever employ it. The sentiment of this expression is clearly Antiochene, since I have sustained that it was Antioch that was all too prone to style Christ (not simply God alone) δεσπότης,⁴⁴⁹ and to style δεσποτικός (-ή, -όν) anything pertaining to Christ, such as that of 'the Lord's voice' (δεσποτικήν φωνήν), or 'the Lord's Holy Communion' (τῆς δεσποτικῆς κοινωνίας).⁴⁵⁰ Never did Didymus use the designation δεσποτικός for Christ, but Didymus is not the author of *De Trinitate*, where this is applied abundantly.⁴⁵¹ Caesarius' text runs in the same sentiment.⁴⁵²

11. The author uses the expression 'surrounding' a certain issue by means of one's 'mind' (κυκλεύειν τῇ διανοίᾳ),⁴⁵³ which means to besiege and encircle a certain topic, as it were, so as to grasp its meaning and implications. The verb κυκλεύειν literally means performing a circular movement (such as that of the sun, or the stars), while metaphorically this may also mean 'roam about',⁴⁵⁴ and it was Didymus⁴⁵⁵ who had entertained this in the same sense as the one applied here. This is a fine token of the author being a learned

⁴⁴⁹ See *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, EN Ic.

⁴⁵⁰ Cf. Cassian the Sabaites, *Const.*, p. 14^v: τὴν δεσποτικὴν φωνήν. *SerenPrim*, p. 96^r: τῆς δεσποτικῆς κοινωνίας.

⁴⁵¹ *DT* (*lib.* 1), 26.52: τὸν περὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος δεσποτικὸν ὄρον. *DT* (*lib.* 1), 28.15: εἰρήται τῷ αὐτῷ προφήτῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ προσώπου. *DT* (*lib.* 2.1-7), 5.21: ἀπεικασμένον τε τῷ λέγοντι δεσποτικῷ ῥήματι. *DT* (*lib.* 2.1-7), 6.23.4: τὸ δεσποτικὸν σωτήριον αἷμα. *DT* (*lib.* 2.8-27), PG.39.604.34-35: Καὶ δεσποτικαὶ δὲ φάσεις παρ' Ἰωάννη ἔχουσιν. *DT* (*lib.* 2.8-27), PG.39.648.18-19: Καὶ ὁ Θεὸς δὲ Πατὴρ, δεσποτικῶς ἡμᾶς κεκτημένος, οἰκεῖ ἐν ἡμῖν. *DT* (*lib.* 2.8-27), PG.39.716.24-25: τὴν ἀθάνατον κοινωνίαν τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ. *DT* (*lib.* 2.8-27), PG.39.745.5: τῷ περὶ τὸ βάπτισμα δεσποτικῷ θεσπίσματι. *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.821.21-22: τὴν δεσποτικὴν ἀναμάρτητον σάρκωσιν. *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.848.25: Χριστιανοὶ ἐπεκλήθημεν, ὡς δοῦλοι τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ ὀνόματος μετασχόντες. *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.852.23: καὶ εἰς τὴνδε τὴν λέγουσαν δεσποτικὴν ῥῆσιν. *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.892.30-32: Πάλιν γοῦν ἄλλοτε ἐξουσιαστικῶς καὶ δεσποτικῶς ποιεῖν καὶ φθέγγεσθαι τὸν Μονογενῆ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ μαρτυρεῖ ἡ Γραφή.

⁴⁵² Caesarius, *QR*, 218, line 461: αἷμα δεσποτικόν. 212, line 32: ἐργάτην γενέσθαι τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ ἀμπελώνος. 218, line 757: δεσποτικῶ αἷματι.

⁴⁵³ *DT* (*lib.* 1), 15.52: ὃν ἂν νοήσῃ τις πολλὰ κυκλεύσας τῇ διανοίᾳ.

⁴⁵⁴ Which is how Evagrius of Pontus used this. *Sententiae ad Monachos*, 81 (κυκλευτῆς μοναχός); *Sententiae ad Virginem*, 13 (γρῶν φεύγε κυκλευουσών); *Tractatus ad Eulogium*, PG.79.1128.16 (τῶν κυκλευτῶν); *De Octo Spiritibus Malitiae*, PG.79.1160.1&4 (κυκλευτῆς μοναχός).

⁴⁵⁵ Didymus, *commEcc* (7-8.8), Cod. pp. 229-230: ὁ κυκλεύων τὸν σύνπαντα κόσμον καὶ ὁρατῶν πάντα, ἃ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός, ὁρᾷ αὐτὰ ὅτι "καλὰ λίαν ἐστίν". ἐὰν δὲ μὴ κυκλεύσῃ, ἀλλὰ ἐν καθ' ἐν λάβῃ, (οὐχ) ὁρᾷ τὸ κάλλος τοῦ πεποιηκότος. οὕτω οὖν, εἰ ἢ μὴ { κυκλεύσῃ τις πάντα τὰ δογματὰ καὶ πάσας τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ ἀντακολουθίαν αὐτῶν εὕρῃ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν καὶ δι' ἐκείνου τοῦ κτίσματος εἰδεῖν τὸν δημιουργόν, οἷας συνάμεως ἐστίν. ὅτε καὶ ἀναλόγως πάντα ἅμα λαβὼν ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ ὥσπερ κυκλεύσας τὴν σοφίαν εὕρισκει τὴν ἀληθῆ. Besides, there is a literal application of the term. *comPs* 20-21, Cod. p. 19: κυκλεύων ὁ ἥλιος. *In Genesim*, Cod. p. 34: ἐξάκις τοῦ ἡλίου κυκλεύοντος ἡμέραι ἐξ διεγέγοντο.

Aristotelist, since it was Aristotle who had described the cognitive procedure and mind itself as a circle.⁴⁵⁶ It seems however that Cassian using this idea writes following Simplicius commenting on Aristotle rather than Aristotle himself.⁴⁵⁷ For in the same work, Simplicius employs the term ἀμεγέθης,⁴⁵⁸ which he does abundantly elsewhere, too, whereas it is only *DT* that employs⁴⁵⁹ this term: Didymus does not: the term transpires only once in the anthology from Didymus' commentary on the Psalms, only to denote that this is a catenist's term.⁴⁶⁰

Caesarius

The author of *DT* portrays his own predicament, but it is only in the third book of his unorganized and anguished text where this worry is expressed.⁴⁶¹ He addresses his pupils as the most beloved persons he had in this world

⁴⁵⁶ Aristotle, *De Anima*, 407a: ἀναγκαῖον δὲ τὸν νοῦν εἶναι τὸν κύκλον τοῦτον· νοῦ μὲν γὰρ κίνησις νόησις κύκλου δὲ περιφορά· εἰ οὖν ἡ νόησις περιφορά, καὶ νοὺς ἂν εἴη ὁ κύκλος οὗ ἡ τοιαύτη περιφορά νόησις. (The mind must be identical with this circle; for the movement of a circle is revolution. If then thinking is revolution, then the circle revolving in this way must be mind itself).

⁴⁵⁷ Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Libros De Anima Commentaria*, v. 11, p. 46: πόθεν οὖν συλλογίζεται τὸν κύκλον τοῦτον νοῦν εἶναι; ἐπειδὴ ὧν αἱ ἐνέργειαι αἱ αὐταί, τούτων καὶ αἱ οὐσίαι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ κύκλου περιφορά νόησις· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ τοῦ νοῦ ἐνέργεια νόησις ὡμολογημένως. ὧν δὲ μία ἡ ἐνέργεια, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ αὐτά· νοὺς ἄρα καὶ ὅδε ὁ κύκλος τὰ αὐτά. Op. cit. v. 15, p. 132: ὁ καθόλου κύκλος οὐ κινεῖται· λόγος γὰρ ἐστίν. ὃν δὲ λόγον ἔχει ὁ νοὺς πρὸς τὴν νόησιν, τοῦτον ἔχει καὶ ὁ κύκλος πρὸς τὴν περιφοράν· κίνησις γὰρ ἐκάτερον, τὸ μὲν τοῦ νοῦ, τὸ δὲ τοῦ κύκλου. οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐναλλάξ ὃν λόγον ἔχει ἡ νόησις πρὸς τὴν περιφοράν, τοῦτον καὶ ὁ νοὺς πρὸς τὸν κύκλον. εἰ τοίνυν ἡ νόησις περιφορά, καὶ ὁ νοὺς ἄρα κύκλος. εἰ δὲ ἡ περιφορά αἰσθητοῦ ἐστὶ κύκλος (ὁ γὰρ καθόλου κύκλος οὐ περιάγεται) καὶ ὁ νοὺς ἄρα αἰσθητός ἐστι κύκλος. Op. cit. v. 15, p. 136: ὁ γὰρ ἀπορῶν ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ καὶ κινήσει ἐστίν, ὁ μέντοι εὐρών, ταῦτόν δὲ εἰπεῖν νονοκῶς ἐν ἡρεμίᾳ λοιπὸν ἐστὶ καὶ γαλήνη, ὅθεν καὶ ἐπιστήμη καλεῖται διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ στάσιν ἄγειν τὴν ψυχὴν. καὶ ὁ συλλογισάμενος δέ τι καὶ δι' ἀποδείξεως εὐρών λοιπὸν ἡρεμεῖ. Likewise, op. cit. v. 11, p. 312. Some scholars dispute attribution of this work to Simplicius. See *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, EN XXXIq. Nevertheless, Proclus regarded 'cycle' as 'an image of the mind'. In *Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 2, p. 46: 'Ὁ μὲν κύκλος εἰκὼν ἐστὶ νοῦ· μένει γὰρ κατὰ τὸ ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ πρόεισιν κατὰ τὰς γονίμους αὐτοῦ δυνάμεις καὶ ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς ἑαυτὸν κατὰ τὴν πανταχόθεν αὐτὸν περιλαβάνουσιν ὁμοίως γνῶσιν.

⁴⁵⁸ Simplicius, op. cit. v. 11, p. 73.

⁴⁵⁹ *DT* (lib. 1), 16.10: ἀμεγέθης γὰρ καὶ ἀπλατὴς ἐστίν. Op. cit. 27.28: παραδεικνύς δὲ τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀμέγεθες ἔφη. *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 1.5: δυνάμει ἀμερῆς, ἀναφῆς, ἀμεγέθης. Op. cit. 1.11: ἡ ἀμεγέθης καὶ ἀσύγκριτος καὶ σεπτὴ ὑπόστασις. Op. cit. 6.16: ὡς ἔστιν ὁ ἀμεγέθης καὶ ἀνείδεος θεός. *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.981.31–32: τῆς ἑμῆς θεότητος τὸ ἀμέγεθες.

⁴⁶⁰ *JrPs(al)*, Fr. 307: τὸ δὲ μεγαλύναι τὸν θεὸν οὐκ αὐξήσαι μέγεθός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ, ἀμεγέθης γὰρ σωμάτων ἴδιον τοῦτο, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἀσώματος.

⁴⁶¹ Nevertheless, the first pages of the work are missing, so the possibility of some indications stated therein cannot be excluded.

and, since he was already pretty aged, he refers not only to his spiritual children, but also to 'the children of his 'children'. He consequently portrays himself as striving against wild waves, declaring his faith that God, 'who always helps all sinners and the small-minded, especially myself', will stand by him and shall grant his grace upon the author intending to preach to his spiritual children.⁴⁶²

When Caesarius/Cassian set out to write his new dialogue, that is, the *Erotapokriseis*, his ordeal was behind him, yet only just so. He had hardly recovered from it. His introduction, therefore, could not afford not to make an implicit mention of what he had been through by that time. He does so in this new work, which he anyway intended to write, and announced this in *DT*.⁴⁶³ As a result, the opening of Caesarius' *Erotapokriseis* is the sequel of this point of *DT*, and the text of Epiphanius of Salamis appeared most serviceable to the occasion. He refers to those who sail on an open sea: so long as the sea is calm, they care little about the situation on the ship and enjoy the trip. But when a strong adverse wind crops up and the lives of those sailing are in danger, they look carefully at the dry land searching for a safe harbour to take refuge in. It is under such circumstances that one steers the rudder so as to get to attain to the salvation of one's life.

It is subsequent to this imagery that the author tells us that his ordeal eventually had come to a happy conclusion: he managed to reach salvation, by taking his 'ship' into the safety of a wind-proof peninsula, thus escaping death at the very last moment. Which is why his pupils (on whose mouths the author's account is placed) now rejoice and offer thanksgiving hymns to God.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶² *DT* (*lib.* 3) PG.39.781.45–784.4: Τῷ δὲ Θεῷ αὐθις τὸ πᾶν θαρρήσας, τῷ τὰ κύματα παύοντι, καὶ εὐδιον πλοῦν διδόντι, καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦντι, οὐ κατὰ χάριν (ἦν καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῖς καὶ στενοῖς τὸν λόγον, ἰδία δ' ἐμοῦ λέγω, χορηγεῖν εἴωθεν) εἰς ταύτην προελήλυθα τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, πρόειμι ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξῆς πιστεύων, ὡς πρὶν ἡ λαλήσω σὺν τοῖς παιδίοις, οἷς ἔδωκέν μοι, καὶ τοῖς παιδίοις τῶν παιδίων, δι' ἃ καὶ ζῶντες πονοῦμεν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν, οἷς οἶδεν, τὴν χάριν δέξομαι.

⁴⁶³ See *infra*, *DT* (*lib.* 2.8–27), PG.39.693.6–8: "Ὅπως δὲ τὸ θαλάττιον ὕδωρ ἄλμυρον εὕρισκται, τοῦ ἐνὸς γένους τῶν ὑδάτων ὑπάρχον, ἐτέρα ἐπιδείξει σὺν Θεῷ φάναι πραγματεία. Cf. parallel texts, on p. 619.

⁴⁶⁴ Caesarius, *QR*, 1: Οἱ τὴν μεγάλην καὶ εὐρύχωρον διαπλέοντες θάλασσαν, ἕως μὲν ἐξ οὐρίας ἡδέως ποντοποροῦσιν, μικρῷ τῶν παρακειμένων φροντίζουσιν· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐναντίος καὶ σφοδρὸς ἀντιπνεῦση ἄνεμος τὴν ζάλην διεγείρων καὶ θάνατον ἀπειλῶν τοῖς πρὸ ὀλίγου ἀφόβως πλέουσιν, τότε δὴ τὸν εὐδιον ἐπιποθοῦσιν λιμένα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀντικρὺ κειμένην ἡπειρον περισκοποῦντες μηδαμοῦ τε ἐνορμισθῆναι δυνάμενοι λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πλησίον, εἰ τύχοι, νῆσον διὰ τῶν πηδαλίων τὴν ὀλκάδα ἰθύνουσι παντὶ τρόπῳ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἑαυτοῖς πραγματευόμενοι. ταύτη δὲ πλησιάσαντες καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων ὑποφυγόντες καὶ τοῦ ἀπευκτοῦ θανάτου περισωθέντες εὐχαριστηρίου ἀναπέμπουσι φωνὰς τῷ σωτῆρι πάντων θεῷ.

It should be noticed that the pupils surrounding their master ask him to teach them about ‘the venerated and holy Trinity and other chapters of the Holy Scripture’ (δεόμενοι τὰ περὶ προσκυνητῆς καὶ ἁγίας τριάδος καὶ ἐτέρων κεφαλαίων τῆς ἁγίας γραφῆς ἀκοῦσαι ἡμᾶς).⁴⁶⁵ Which means that *DT* is not the right title for that work. J.A. Mingarellio did not grasp the scope of it when he set this header where a header was missing. For as I have already suggested, the work set out to confront Arianism, Eunomianism, and Macedonianism, not to offer a comprehensive Trinitarian theology.⁴⁶⁶

As I said a moment ago, *DT* announces Caesarius’ *Erotapokriseis*, which places an onus on me to adduce some proof.

In *DT* the author mentions *en passant* some questions which are irrelevant to his specific scope. One of them is that ‘all waters are of one nature’. While making this assertion, he anticipates the question of why waters of earth are of different qualities, such as seawater which is salty. Having in mind also to write a work treating such questions (that is, the work that reached us as the one by Caesarius), he announces that topics of this kind shall be treated ‘in another tract’ of his.⁴⁶⁷ As a matter of fact, he returns to such matters in the first work he wrote immediately after his ordeal.⁴⁶⁸

At the very same point of *DT*, the author feels it necessary to make one more remark outside theology, actually one relating to zoology. Why did the Holy Spirit appear ‘in the form’ of a dove during Jesus’ baptism? Because this animal is ‘pure’, the author explains. Why is it ‘pure’? Because this animal has no bile, he resolves.⁴⁶⁹ Extravagant though the exegesis is, it is informative. For no author apart from Caesarius did ever care to make such a statement.⁴⁷⁰ Besides, both authors (indeed the selfsame one) draw on Matthew 10:16 (‘be harmless as doves’) in order to buttress up the point.⁴⁷¹

DT is a work written under intense anxiety. The author feels it necessary to speak of himself every now and then, always emphasizing how pious

⁴⁶⁵ Loc. cit.

⁴⁶⁶ Cf. *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 7.8,8: ὁ γὰρ λόγος μοί ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεϊκοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ φωτίζοντος ἅπαντα καὶ φιλοτιμουμένου τὰ θεϊκά τοῖς κτίσμασι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ ἐφάμιλλα.

⁴⁶⁷ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.693.5–8, quoted *supra*, note 463.

⁴⁶⁸ Caesarius, *QR*, 73 and 77.

⁴⁶⁹ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.693.18–19. Ἐπειδὴ τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο ἀκέραιόν τέ ἐστι καὶ χολῆς ἐστέρηται.

⁴⁷⁰ Caesarius, *QR*, 212, line 12: φασιν γὰρ ὑπὲρ πάσαν ὄρνιθα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀερόβια ἄκακον τὴν περιστερὰν ὑπάρχειν καὶ μηδὲ αὐτὸ ἔχειν τὸ χοληδόχον ὄργανον. See full text quoted in *RCR*, Appendix I. Only Horapollo of Nilus recorded the ‘hearsay’ that ‘this animal has no bile’. Cf. Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica*, 1.75: εἰ μὴ μόνον ἢ περιστερά. ... ἱστορεῖται δὲ ὅτι οὐ χολὴν ἔχει τοῦτο τὸ ζῶον.

⁴⁷¹ Matthew 10:16: Γίνεσθε ἀκέραιοι ὡς αἱ περιστεραί.

and dogmatically impeccable his conduct has been throughout his life.⁴⁷² At the same time, there is an extremely implicit remark to his disciples, about 'a slander' (συκοφαντία) (evidently against him), which they had striven to confront.⁴⁷³

There are points where the text is reminiscent of both the language of the *Scholia in Apocalypsin* and that of Caesarius. A case in point is the distinction of one being what one is either 'by nature' (κατὰ τὴν φύσιν) or 'by free choice' (κατὰ γνώμην). He styles his pupils 'angels' on account of their character, and contrasts them from real angels who are angels by nature.⁴⁷⁴ The same distinction is drawn by Caesarius making reference to primordial angels who were transmuted into devils on account of their free choice, whereas they had been created impeccable in the beginning. By doing so, the author actually reveals himself to be Cassian: the participle συναποστήσας⁴⁷⁵ is a telling parallel to Scholion XXXVIII, where the infinitive συναποστήναι had actually been used, despite the detriment this point suffered by the initial editors, a century ago.⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷² *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), 39.645.34–648.4: 'Ἡμεῖς δὲ πανταχόθεν δεικνύντες ὡς πλείστην παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον, ὡς γε ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦμεν, πεποιήμεθα φροντίδα τοῦ μηδ' ὅτιοι ἐν εἰκῇ, μηδὲ σὺν ἀπεχθείᾳ τῇ κατὰ τινος φθέγγεσθαι, καὶ τοῦ ὅτι εὐλογον λοιδορίαν πεφεύγαμεν· ἤκομεν, τοὺς μὲν τῶν σωφρονεστερέων καὶ τοὺς ὁμόφρονας ἡμῖν ἀναμνήσοντας, ὧν ἀπὸ τῶν Γραφῶν ἀκηκόασιν· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους πείσοντας, τῷ γε ἐφ' ἡμῖν, μὴ οὕτω γνώμης, ἢ πίστεως, ὡς ἔχουσιν, τοῦ λοιποῦ ἔχειν. *Op. cit.* 39.660.9–13: 'Ἡμεῖς δὲ δεισάντες, μὴ τισιν δόξωμεν χρῆσθαι, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι, σοφιστοῦ τινος ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰρωνεῖα, εὐθὺς ὡς ἐκ πρώτης σχεδὸν συλλαβῆς, οὕτω μέχρι καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ τέλους, πλείστην τινὰ τῆς ἀληθείας πρόνοιαν ποιήσωμεν, διελέγχοντες αὐτούς.

⁴⁷³ *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 7.8.3: ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν, εἰ ἐσιωπήσατε καὶ ἀπερράψατε συκοφαντίας τὰ στόματα, ἐπράττετε ἂν πολλῷ λυσιτελέστερον. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν τελειότερον σκοπὸν ἀναπέμποντες καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦτο καὶ εὐθυμίαν τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις παρέχοντες καὶ πλείονα τὸν ὀρθόδοξον ζῆλον ἐμβάλλοντες φαμέν, ὅτι ὡς οὐδεμία κοινωνία φύσεως κτίσματι πρὸς τὴν ἄκτιστον φύσιν ἐστίν.

⁴⁷⁴ *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 7.8.8: οἶδα δὲ σαφῶς, ὧς εὐδόκιμοι καὶ τὸ οὐράνιον φῶς κατοικούντες ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι περ ὑμεῖς ὡς ἄμεμπτοι καὶ τέλειοι οὐκ ἠχθέσθητε ἐπὶ τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν παρ' ἐμοῦ, ἔνεκα τῶν κατὰ τὴν φύσιν, οὐ κατὰ τὸ ἐπαινετὸν τῆς γνώμης, ὁμοίαν ὑμῖν ἀγγέλων. *Cf. DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 7.8.5: καὶ τοῦτο οὐ κατὰ γνώμην οἰκείαν, τῷ κοινῷ δὲ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῶν λόγῳ (οὐ πάντας φημί) ὑπόχρεοι ὄντες τινές.

⁴⁷⁵ Caesarius, *QR*, 44: ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τραπεῖς ἀρχέκακος διάβολος συναποστήσας αὐτῷ ἱκανοὺς τὰν ἀγγέλων οὐ φύσει ἀλλὰ γνώμῃ τραπέντας.

⁴⁷⁶ Cassian the Sabaite, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XXXVIII: 'Ορμὴ ὁ δράκων πολέμησας μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ θλ(ι)βεῖς, βληθεὶς κάτω ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔσυρεν πῖπτων τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀστέρων ἅτινα ἄστρα θείας δυνάμ(ε)ις οὐσας (ἔπεισε) συναποστ(ή)ναι αὐτῷ καὶ συγκατενεχθῆναι τῷ δράκοντι, ὡς 'Ἡσαΐας φησὶν· πῶς ἐξέπεσεν ὁ ἑωσφόρος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ; See EN XXXVIII. The sixth-century fanciful 'Origenism' is once again present, following Caesarius' clumsy statement about the primeval creation comprising 'minds'. At this point, he takes 'stars' as betokening 'divine powers', which is another doctrine condemned by the sixth-century imperial orthodoxy that branded this doctrine as 'Origenistic'. *Cf.* Appendix I, Caesarius making the primordial creation consisting of rational 'minds'. Caesarius, *op. cit.* 168: διὰ τί δὲ ἄρα καὶ τοὺς

By the same token, *DT* makes use of the epithet εὐκατάπληκτοι, which has some important things to tell us. The term was used in no more than five instances during the life of the Greek language, and those instances give us to understand that the term was a predilection of the Antiochene mindset (Libanius, Nestorius, Cassian).⁴⁷⁷ The anonyma scholia on Homer's *Iliad*, which are in fact a Homeric lexicon, make the telling remark that εὐκατάπληκτον is a synonym with the Homeric epithet ἐπιεικτόν,⁴⁷⁸ which is precisely the one (also a rare word) used by Cassian in his *Scholia in Apocalypsin*.⁴⁷⁹ Taking into account his persistent tendency to using rare words (even neologisms), little wonder that he opts for using two alternatives of the same, extremely rare, term. Εὐκατάπληκτος means 'easily yielding', which is what ἐπιεικτός means, too. The sole difference is that the former may mean 'easily yielding' out of either fear or awe, whereas the latter means 'easily yielding' not only out of fear, but perhaps on account of one's own character. The term was used in a few instances only, which are distinctly Antiochene.⁴⁸⁰

The expression 'the defenders of Arius' (οἱ Ἀρείου ὑπάσπισται) is a revealing one, since this was used by both the author of *DT*⁴⁸¹ and Caesarius.⁴⁸²

δαίμονας ἅμα τῷ διαβόλῳ νόας ὑπάρχοντας καὶ ἄσωμάτους ἀμαρτήσαντας καὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν καταρραγέντας μὴ ἐν σώμασιν καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς πρὸς νῆψιν καὶ διόρθωσιν κατησφαλίστατο;

⁴⁷⁷ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.725.45 (ref. to Jesus' disciples): "Ἦντινα ἀλὴν ἐνδυσάμενοι οὐκ ἔτι εὐκατάπληκτοι καθεστήκεσαν. Basil of Caesarea, *In Quadraginta Martyres Sebastenses*, PG.31.513.36–37: 'Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ δειλοῖς, οὐδὲ φιλοζώοις, οὐδ' εὐκαταπλήκτοις ἐντέξεσθε, ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς Θεὸν ἀγάπης. Nestorius, *Sermones*, Sermon 5, lines 163–164 (ref. to Aaron): λαμπρὸς μὲν ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ τῆς νομικῆς ἱερωσύνης κρηπίς, ἀλλ' ἄσεβέσιν εὐκατάπληκτος δῆμοις. Libanius, *Argumenta Oratorum Demosthenicarum*, Prologue, 11: καὶ γὰρ δειλὸς ἦν τὸ πρῶτον πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ δήμου θορύβους καὶ εὐκατάπληκτος.

⁴⁷⁸ Homer, *Ilias*, V.892; VIII.32; XVI.549; *Odyssea*, VIII.307; IXI.493. Scholia in Homerum, *Scholia in Iliadem* (*scholia vetera*) (= *D scholia*), Book of Iliad V.892: 'Ἀσχετον. Ἄνυπομόνητον, δ' οὐχ οἶον τε ἐπισχεθῆναι. Οὐκ ἐπιεικτόν. Οὐκ εὐκατάπληκτον, οὐχ ὑποχωρητικόν, οὐκ εὐένδοτον. The term ἀνύπεικτος is used recurrently by Caesarius, *QR*, 170.14; 202.11; 213.79; 214.12; 218.199. Otherwise, in Christian literature it was used only by Gregory of Nyssa, *In Sanctum Ephraim*, PG.46: 832.32 & 841.12; *De Opificio Hominis*, p. 244; *De Infantibus Praemature Abreptis*, p. 95. Cassian's liabilities to Gregory are evident once again.

⁴⁷⁹ Scholion XXVIII: μετὰ (τὴν) ἀνάστασιν γὰρ καὶ ἀνάληψιν ὁφθέν τὸ ἀρνίον οὐκέτι ἐσφαγμένον ὤφθη καὶ ἐπιε(ικ)τὸ (ν), τουτέστιν οὐκέτι ἄλλοιούμενον.

⁴⁸⁰ Libanius, *Argumenta Oratorum Demosthenicarum*, Prologue, 11: δειλὸς ἦν καὶ εὐκατάπληκτος. Nestorius, *Sermones*, Sermon 5: ἄσεβέσιν εὐκατάπληκτος δῆμοις (ref. to Aaron). One last instance concludes the catalogue; Basil of Caesarea (who though may be Basil of Ancyra), *In Quadraginta Martyres Sebastenses*, PG.31.513.36: οὐ δειλοῖς, οὐδ' εὐκαταπλήκτοις.

⁴⁸¹ *DT* (liber 2.8–27), PG.39.613.37–38: ἡκολούθησας ἐν μέρει τοῖς Ἀρείου ὑπάσπισταις.

⁴⁸² Caesarius, *apud* Catenae (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Joannem*, p. 370: Φασὶν οἱ τοῦ Ἀρείου ὑπάσπισται. The misinformed catenist notes that this is an excerpt from 'Caesarius, the brother of Theologos' (Σχόλιον Καισαρείου Ἀδελφοῦ θεολόγου).

There is a considerable Sabaite colour with regard to this, since its extremely scarce application takes us upon Cyril of Scythopolis and a certain unknown Sabaite writer concealing himself under the name of John of Damascus.⁴⁸³ The expression is recorded in the minutes of Ephesus,⁴⁸⁴ yet no further remarkable currency of it did ever come to pass.⁴⁸⁵ This makes the identification of Caesarius plausible once again.

Considering the saying about him 'who is least in the kingdom of heavens'⁴⁸⁶ provides us with some workable conclusions. The author of *DT*⁴⁸⁷ initially takes this to mean John the Evangelist, yet subsequently he records how 'certain ones' rendered this portion as denoting 'the Lord' himself (τινὲς δὲ τὸ μέρος τοῦτο, περὶ τοῦ Δεσπότης ἐννόησαν).⁴⁸⁸ Caesarius first opts for Christ being suggested by Jesus' words. Then he considers and endorses the alternative of John the Evangelist being denoted by means of Matt. 11:11. Therefore, both *DT* and Caesarius employ the same double rendering of Matt. 11:11, and they both suggest that this bespeaks either Christ or John the Evangelist.

Finally, a large part of Caesarius' text has been recognised as the selfsame text appearing under the name of Clement of Rome.⁴⁸⁹ I am not surprised. I have already suggested that my exploration of the *Scholia in Apocalypsin* reveals that this text is very much like some of the Pseudo-Clementine

⁴⁸³ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* (so styling anti-Arians), p. 9: τῶν τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως ὑπάσπιστῶν ἐλαυνομένων καὶ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν καταδυναστευόντων ἀπὸ τῶν Κωνσταντίου χρόνων. Pseudo-John of Damascus, *Passio Sancti Artemii*, PG.96.1257.2–6: ὁ τοῖς καλοῖς βασκαίνων διάβολος, ἀλλ' ἡγειρε ζάλην καὶ τάραχον διὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ οἰκείων ὑπάσπιστῶν. Ἀρειος γὰρ ὁ τῆς μανίας ἐπώνυμος, τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἐκκλησίας ὑπάρχων πρεσβύτερος, δεινῶς τε αὐτὴν ἐτάραξε.

⁴⁸⁴ ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum anno 431*, 1.1.3, p. 96: οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἀρείου δυσσεβείας ὑπάσπισταί. 1.1.4, p. 29: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ τῆς Ἀρείου δυσσεβείας ὑπάσπισταί. Both expressions are attributed to Cyril of Alexandria.

⁴⁸⁵ There are only two instances. Chronicler George Monachus (ninth cent.), *Chronicon* (lib. 1–4), p. 526: βουλομένων τῆς οἰκείας αἰρέσεως ὑπάσπιστὴν ἀποδείξαι τὸν μέγαν Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀρειανῶν αὐτὸν δῆθεν βαπτισθῆναι ἀναπλαττόντων. Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 312: ὃ τε τῆς Ἀρείας λύσσης ὑπάσπιστής. Once again, the specific work reproduces Cassian's/Caesarius' vocabulary. In Photius' undisputed works, this vocabulary never appears.

⁴⁸⁶ Matt. 11:11.

⁴⁸⁷ *DT* (liber 3), PG.39.885.26–39.

⁴⁸⁸ These are Origen, *schMatt*, PG.17.293.19–29. Epiphanius, *Panarion*, v. 1, p. 284; v. 2, p. 127. John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum*, PG.57.427.35. *In Acta Apostolorum*, PG.60.21.3–10. However, Pseudo-Macarius, *Homiliae Spirituales* 50 (collectio H), Homily 28, takes this as suggesting 'the apostles'.

⁴⁸⁹ Caesarius, *QR*, 109 is the text of Pseudo-Clement of Rome, *Recognitiones* (e Pseudo-Caesario). See *infra*, note 493.

writings in many respects, and Riedinger's thesis that these writings, along the one by Caesarius, were produced at the monastery of the Akoimetoï should be borne in mind.

Let my final remark in this section be on the expression 'to stitch up the mouth' of someone (ἀπορράπτειν τὸ στόμα). The phrase is in fact a paraphrase from an expression of Plato⁴⁹⁰ originating in orator Aeschines.⁴⁹¹ Quite bizarrely, posterity took up the orator's rather than Plato's expression, which was passed over to subsequent generations. It was taken up by Philo,⁴⁹² it thrived in Antiochene minds,⁴⁹³ from where it was evidently passed over to Constantinople⁴⁹⁴ by such eminent Antiochene intellectuals as Libanius and John Chrysostom. Nevertheless, this is present also in Proclus,⁴⁹⁵ which certainly did not elude the author of *DT*. Finally, the expression recurring in the *Catenae* seems to me to be probably one more indication of Sabaite hands involved in such compilations.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹⁰ Plato, *Euthydemus*, 303e1: ἀτεχνῶς μὲν τῷ ὄντι συρράπτετε τὰ στόματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

⁴⁹¹ Aeschines, *De Falsa Legatione*, 21: ὥστε ἀπορράψειν τὸ Φιλίππου στόμα.

⁴⁹² Philo, *Quod Deterius Potiori Insidiari Soleat*, 134: ἀπερραμμένου τὸ στόμα τοῦ διδάξαντος; *Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres Sit*, 25: σὺ τὸ στόμα ἀπερραμμένον ἐξέλυσας; *Legatio ad Gaium*, 361: καὶ τὸ στόμα κλειόντων καὶ ἀπορραπτόντων.

⁴⁹³ *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 7.8,3: ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν, εἰ ἐσιωπήσατε καὶ ἀπερράψατε συκοφαντίας τὰ στόματα. Caesarius, *QR*, 109 & Pseudo-Clement of Rome, *Recognitiones* (*e Pseudo-Caesario*), 9.28 (ὁ καὶ τῶν ἀπίστων πάντως ἀπορράψει τὰ στόματα). John Chrysostom, *Quod Regulares Feminae Viris Cohabitare Non Debeant*, 1 (ἡμῖν ἀπερράψαν τὰ στόματα); *De Incomprehensibili Dei Natura* (*Contra Anomoeos*; *homiliae* 1–5), *Homily* 4; *Adversus Judaeos* (*orationes* 1–8), PG.48.883.55; *In Illud: Habentes Eundem Spiritum* (*homiliae* 1–3), PG.51.284.31; *Epistulae* 18–242, PG.52.658.2; *In Genesim* (*homiliae* 1–67), PG.53.96.21; PG.54.510.28; *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG.55.266.48; *In Matthaeum* (*homiliae* 1–90), PG.58: 596.41 & 788.40; *In Epistulam ad Romanos* (*homiliae* 1–32), PG.60.616.15; *In Epistulam i ad Corinthios* (*homiliae* 1–44), PG.61.336.38; *In Epistulam ii ad Thessalonicenses* (*homiliae* 1–5), PG.62.487.26; *In Epistulam ad Titum* (*Homiliae* 1–6), PG.62.684.20; *De Inani Gloria et De Educandis Liberis*, line 431; *In Isaïam*, 2.1; 8.2; *et passim* (26 instances). Libanius, *Declamationes* 1–51, 15.1.21: ὁ καὶ τῶν ἀπίστων πάντως ἀπορράψει τὰ στόματα.

⁴⁹⁴ Proclus of Constantinople (Bishop, fifth cent.), *Homilia in Sanctam Virginem ac Dei Genitricem Mariam*, line 99 (καὶ Ἰουδαίων ἀπερράψαν τὰ στόματα). Gennadius I, Patriarch of Constantinople (fifth cent.), *Fragmenta in Epistulam ad Romanos*, p. 392: καὶ τῶν βλασφημῶν ἀπορράψας εὖ μάλα τὰ στόματα. Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 297: παντελῶς τὰ στόματα ἀπορράψωσιν; *In Joannem* (*in catenis*), Fr. 103: εἰς τὸ ἀπορράπτεσθαι τὰ τῶν αἰρετικῶν στόματα.

⁴⁹⁵ Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 2, p. 284: ἀπερράψε διὰ τῆς ῥήσεως ταύτης τὰ στόματα τῶν οἰομένων ὄντως κυκλικὸν εἶναι τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ διαστατόν. This is a contemptuous reference to the allegedly Stoic notion of the soul being corporeal, and indeed spheroid (σφαιροειδεῖς), after its separation from the body. SVF, II.224.39.

⁴⁹⁶ *Catenae* (*Novum Testamentum*), *Catena in Marcum* (*recensio ii*) (*e codd. Oxon. Bodl. Laud.* 33), p. 372: πανταχοῦ τούτοις ἀπορράψας αὐτῶν τὰ στόματα. *Catena in Epistulam ad Romanos* (*typus Monacensis*), p. 350: καὶ τῶν βλασφημῶν ἀπορράψας τὰ στόματα. *Catena in*

Antioch

In the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, I have urged that styling John the Evangelist θεολόγος,⁴⁹⁷ or Christ δεσπότης,⁴⁹⁸ is a token of Antiochene propensity. In like manner, applying the designation θεοτόκος to Mary bespeaks Alexandrian disposition. I have sustained nonetheless that no iron curtain did ever really exist between the two schools, especially when we study sixth-century authors. My suggestion is simply that authors on either side were prone to one of the foregoing designations, while not banning the other, even though it was Antioch that accorded John the Evangelist the epithet θεολόγος, and it was Alexandria that loved to style Mary θεοτόκος. Anyway, the dispute between Cyril and Theodoret, which coloured and besieged the Council of Ephesus, was long past. In the sixth century, each party acquiesced to catchwords introduced by the other side, while in the main observing and entertaining the traditional terminology of each one's patrimony and lore. To style Mary θεοτόκος was an Antiochene concession to Alexandria. To designate John as θεολόγος, or to allow the epithet δεσπότης (and the epithet δεσποτικός, applied to Jesus' words or actions), not only for God but also for Christ, was an Alexandrian reciprocity to the Antiochene compliments.⁴⁹⁹ For all this, once we see heavy recurrence of either term, the likelihood is that the author belongs to the theological tradition that initially introduced and espoused the corresponding designation. Therefore, once in *DT* we come upon the term δεσπότης and its cognates accorded to Christ at seventy-two points, whereas Mary is applied the title θεοτόκος at four points only, there is some research called for.

Epistulam ii ad Thessalonicenses (typus Parisinus), p. 390: ἀπορράψει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῖς. *Catena in Epistulam ad Hebraeos* (catena Nicetae) (e cod. Paris. gr. 238), p. 587: Ἵνα δὲ μειζόνως τὰ στόματα τῶν αἱρετικῶν ἀπορράψωμεν. Op. cit. p. 591: καὶ φιλοσόφων ἀπέφραττον στόματα, καὶ ῥητόρων ἀπέφραττον γλώσσας.

⁴⁹⁷ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholia IV (EN IVb) and VII.

⁴⁹⁸ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion I, EN Ic. Whereas styling God δεσπότης is a common theme, applying this to Christ is an Antiochene predilection, stemming from specific theological priorities.

⁴⁹⁹ For instance, Cyril of Alexandria employs the designation δεσποτικός at nearly a hundred and ten points. However, he normally applies this to God and divine action. It is hardly at six instances that the epithet is applied to Christ. Cf. Cyril of Alexandria, *commProphXII*, v. 2, pp. 65 & (αἶμα δεσποτικόν); *Epistulae Paschales sive Homiliae Paschales* (epist. 1-30), PG.77.856.14 (κήρυγμα δεσποτικόν); *expPs*, PG.69.844.38 (δεσποτικὴν ἀνάστασιν); *Commentarii in Lucam* (in catenis), PG.72.708.23 (δεσποτικὸν τάφον); op. cit. PG.72.872.50 (ψῆφος δεσποτικῆ στεφανούσα).

During the sixth century, any Antiochene-educated monk regarded Cyril of Alexandria as a sacrosanct father of the church, not an opponent. Which is why the present author draws conveniently on the Alexandrian, even though his liabilities do not suffice to conceal his true identity. Besides, sometimes even rhetorical figures of speech are common. For instance, when *DT* uses the expression παγχάλεπον πάθος ('most grievous passion'),⁵⁰⁰ its origin is barely characteristic of either Antioch or Alexandria: this extremely scarce expression had been used by both Cyril⁵⁰¹ and Theodoret⁵⁰² alike, and by no other author. Once Cassian read such a rare language shared by both theologians, why should he himself have not drawn on Cyril?

Consequently, when we come upon the term ἀνεθελῆσῖα ('involuntariness') and its cognates, we find out that the term was not actually used, save a casual instance in Herodotus,⁵⁰³ until Arius did so. This we learn from the present author quoting the Arian argument asking the question whether the Father gave birth to the Son by his own free will or not (ἀνεθελήτως).⁵⁰⁴ However, when the author uses the noun ἀνεθελῆσῖα, he actually draws on Cyril of Alexandria, who had developed his argument against the Arians introducing this neologism of his own.⁵⁰⁵ No author cared to take up this term, save another Sabaite monk, namely, John of Damascus.⁵⁰⁶ This suggests that this neologism was in fact taken up by the Sabaite mindset, which perhaps explains why this appears once in the catenae-fragments on the Psalms ascribed to Origen.⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁰ *DT* (lib. 1), 10.6: ἀλλότρια γὰρ εἶναι ταῦτα Χριστιανῶν ἢ μνημονευθεῖσα ἐλέγχει γραφή, παντὶ αἰρετικῶ ἀντιβαίνουσα παγχάλεπῳ πάθει.

⁵⁰¹ Cyril of Alexandria, *De Adoratione*, PG.68.797.40–42: "Οἱ δὲ οὐχὶ τὸ ἀρρώστησαι μόνον τὰ ἐκτοπώτατα τῶν παθῶν, μόνοις ἔσται τοῖς ἡρώσστηκόσι παγχάλεπον. Op. cit. PG.68.980.7: Λέπρα μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους σώμασι παγχάλεπὸν ἐστὶ πάθος. *Commentarii in Lucam (in catenis)*, PG.72.600.2: Παγχάλεπον ἀποκείρει πάθος τῶν ἡμετέρων διανοιῶν.

⁵⁰² Theodoret, *Eranistes*, p. 148: τὸ δὲ ἢ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, ἢ τὸ σκέλος ἔχει πεπληγμένον, ἢ ἄλλο τι πάθος παγχάλεπον. *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio*, 8.17: ἐκεῖνο τὸ φάρμακον τοῦ Ἡρακλείους τὸ σῶμα παγχάλεπῳ περιέβαλε νόσῳ.

⁵⁰³ Herodotus, *Historiae* (ἀνεθελήτων), VII.88 & 133.

⁵⁰⁴ *DT* (lib. 1), 9.28. Cf. *DT* (lib. 1), 9.33 (ἀνεθελήτως).

⁵⁰⁵ *DT* (lib. 1), 9.17 (ἀνεθελῆσῖας). Cf. Cyril of Alexandria, *De Sancta Trinitate Dialogi I–VII*, p. 455 (ἀνεθελήτως, ἀνεθελῆσιαν, θέλησις τε καὶ ἀνεθελῆσῖα); p. 456 (τὴν ἀνεθελῆσιαν). Cyril applied various forms of the term at nearly a hundred points of his work, some of which were included in the minutes of the Council of Ephesus.

⁵⁰⁶ John of Damascus, *De Duabus In Christo Voluntatibus*, 28 (ἀνεθελήτος).

⁵⁰⁷ Origen, *excPs*, PG.17.133.23: ἀνεθελήτους. Photius only cared to include this lemma in his lexicon, but he actually did not use it himself. *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter alpha, entry 1799 (ἀνεθελήτων).

Sabaite scholars were keen on styling John θεολόγος,⁵⁰⁸ while paying their respects to Cyril of Alexandria at the same time, which is evident from analysis of Cassian's own writings, as well as by the fact that 'Cassian's Book' (Codex 573) treasured texts of this Alexandrian. Nevertheless, one's education inevitably forms one's vocabulary, and especially it determines words and phrases that appear most in his writings. This happened with Cassian's texts, too. As it happens with both the *Scholia in Apocalypsin* and Caesarius' text,⁵⁰⁹ in *DT* we come across John the Evangelist styled θεολόγος, while the author allows the designation θεοτόκος for Mary at the same time.⁵¹⁰ However, against this scarce usage, we come upon more than eighty instances where the term δεσπότης is ascribed to Christ, and the extremely rare case of the same designation is accorded to the Holy Spirit,⁵¹¹ which Caesarius did also, as we have seen.⁵¹²

Prone to extravagance as he is, the author employs the term ἀλεκτροφωνίων⁵¹³ for the 'cock-crow' of Matt. 26:74, instead of the normal ἀλεκτροφωνία. This eccentricity, however, is useful to my exploration, since there is only one parallel to this, which transpires in Theodore of Mopsuestia.⁵¹⁴ The same goes for the comparative ἀνεφικτότερον, of the adjective ἀνεφικτος

⁵⁰⁸ *DT* (*lib.* 1), 15.4: ὁ θεολόγος Ἰωάννης ἐν μὲν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ εἶπεν. *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.796.8: τῷ Θεολόγῳ. *DT* (*lib.* 1), 27.61: Ἰωάννης μὲν ὁ πολὺς ἐν θεολόγοις. Caesarius, *QR*, 2; 197; 198. Cassian the Sabaite, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholia IV; VII. Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 122, line 83. John of Damascus, *Orationes De Imaginibus Tres*, 1.19; 3.30; 3.43. *Contra Jacobitas*, 85; *Contra Nestorianos*, 1; 42 (bis); *Homilia in Transfigurationem Salvatoris Nostri Jesu Christi*, 7. Pseudo-John of Damascus, *Vita Varlaam et Joasaph*, p. 168.

⁵⁰⁹ Cassian uses the appellation θεολόγος twice in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin* (IV and VII). Caesarius does so at three points: *QR*, 2; 197; 198.

⁵¹⁰ *DT* (*lib.* 1), 31.2: Γαβριὴλ μὲν παρὰ Λουκᾶ εὐαγγελιζόμενος τὴν θεοτόκον. *DT* (*lib.* 2.1-7), 4.6: ὁ γὰρ Γαβριὴλ λαλῶν τῷ Δανιήλ, ἡ εὐαγγελιζόμενος τὴν θεοτόκον παρθένον. *DT* (*lib.* 2.1-7), 4.7: ὁ ἀρχάγγελος Γαβριὴλ, διακονησάμενος πρὸς τὴν θεοτόκον Μαρίαν. *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.848.35: ἡ Θεοτόκος, ἐξ ἧς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα Χριστὸς ἐκ πάντων εἰς τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἐπελέγη. *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.988.44-45: τὴν Θεοτόκον Μαρίαν. Caesarius, *QR*, 197.8.

⁵¹¹ Christ styled δεσπότης: *DT* (*lib.* 1), 15.23; 15.26; 15.33; 15.79; 15.90; 16.50; 18.66; 20.8; 25.1; 26.21; 26.23; 26.45; 26.52; 27.11; 27.1; 27.64; 28.15; 30.11; 31.12; 34.1; 34.10; 36.4; *DT* (*lib.* 2.1-7), 1.1; 2.34; 5.13; 5.20; 5.21; 5.24; 6.2.1; 6.2.3; 6.4.2; 6.6.4; 6.10.1; 6.19.1; 6.19.3; 6.23.4; 7.3.2; 7.3.9; 7.3.10; 7.3.16; 7.6.1; 7.7.2; 7.8.1.16; *DT* (*lib.* 2.8-27), PG.39. 604.34; 633.7 644.20 648.18 648.23 684.12; 693.16; 712.6; 716.25; 725.11; 745.5; 748.41; 749.40; *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.780.34; 797.5; 812.23; 816.28; 820.36; 821.22; 848.25; 849.32; 852.23; 852.31; 857.40; 869.15; 876.22; 881.2; 885.36; 888.24; 892.31; 916.52; 925.5; 929.30; 948.20; 957.33; 961.1; 961.9; 973.28; 977.21; 985.11; 985.50; 988.31. The Holy Spirit styled δεσπότης. *DT* (*lib.* 2.1-7), 6.10.1; 6.10.2; 6.11; 7.8n. 2; *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39. 801.14; 801.41; 804.13; 892.31; 668.12; 676.23.

⁵¹² See *supra*, p. 410. Caesarius applying the neologism of his own τριδέσποτον to the Trinity.

⁵¹³ *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.920.4-5: καὶ τὴν πρὸ ἀλεκτροφωνίου ἄρνησιν Πέτρου.

⁵¹⁴ Theodore of Mopsuestia, *In Joannem*, Fr. 136: καὶ ἡμεῖς περὶ τὴν ἀλεκτροφωνίαν περιλύομεν τὴν νηστείαν.

(‘infeasible’). No author other than Theodore of Mopsuestia did ever use this besides *DT*.⁵¹⁵ These are tokens of the author being a follower of that Antiochene doctor, which will be all too evident further on.

Moreover, when the author avers that Christ was so called only ‘subsequently to his incarnation’,⁵¹⁶ he actually echoes the doctrine that was elaborated by Theodoret during his quarrel with Cyril of Alexandria over the designation θεοτόκος for Mary.⁵¹⁷

The superlative adjective παμμεγέθης (‘very great’, ‘immense’) seems to have been introduced by Josephus.⁵¹⁸ The instances of this form transpiring in literature are scarce and most of them relate to our author.⁵¹⁹ We come upon this in the Clementine writings.⁵²⁰ The Sabaite monks Cyril of Scythopolis⁵²¹ and John of Damascus recurrently used this.⁵²² Proclus⁵²³ applied it in a work of his that probably was the first that the author of *DT* had read, since all Christian theologians have always had a special interest (and still do) in Plato’s *Timaeus*. We also see this epithet applied by a hardly known Antiochene writer.⁵²⁴ All the affinities that we have thus far

⁵¹⁵ *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.793.40: πολλῶ μάλλον ἀνεφικτότερον. Theodore of Mopsuestia, *expPs*, Psalm 35:7b: διὰ τοῦτο τὰ κρίματά σου ἀβύσσου μοι πάσης ἀνεφικτότερα εἶναι δοκεῖ. The superlative ἀνεφικτότατος was used just once by the grammarian Apollonius Dyscolus, *De Costructione*, Part 2, vol. 2, p. 392: τὸ ἀνεφικτότατον τοῦ μέλλοντος.

⁵¹⁶ *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39. 817.46–48: Ἀρχὴν δὲ τοῦ καλεῖσθαι Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ ἐνανθρωπήσει ἔλαβεν.

⁵¹⁷ Theodoret, *Eranistes*, p. 228: ὡς χρὴ πιστεῦναι καὶ εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. Χριστὸς δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν ὁ θεὸς λόγος ἐκλήθη. Τοῦτο τοῖνυν τὸ ὄνομα πάντα δέχεται, καὶ ὅσα τῆς θεότητος, καὶ ὅσα τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ἴδια. *Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium*, PG.83.489.16–21: Ἄλλ’ Ὑῖος μὲν μονογενῆς, καὶ Θεὸς Λόγος, καὶ Κύριος καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως ὠνομάζετο, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν ὡσαύτως καλεῖται. Ἰησοῦς δὲ Χριστὸς μετὰ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν ὁ αὐτὸς ὠνομάσθη. *Op. cit.* PG.83.489.43–51: Δῆλον τοῖνυν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων, ὡς διὰ τὸ χρίσμα τοῦ Πνεύματος ὠνομάσθη Χριστός. Ἐχρίσθη δέ, οὐχ ὡς Θεός, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἄνθρωπος. Εἰ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον κέχρισται, μετὰ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν καὶ Χριστὸς ὠνομάσθη. Ἄλλ’ ὅμως οὐκ ἄλλος ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος, καὶ ἄλλος ὁ Χριστός· ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς Λόγος ἐνανθρωπήσας ὠνομάσθη Χριστός Ἰησοῦς· ἐνηθρώπησε δέ, ἵνα τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας διαφθαρεῖσαν νεουργήσῃ φύσιν.

⁵¹⁸ Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, 6.171 (παμμεγεθέστατος); 7.335 (παμμεγεθέστατα); 8.140 (παμμεγεθέστατον); 12.230 (παμμεγεθέστατα).

⁵¹⁹ *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.804.31 (παμμεγεθεστάτων).

⁵²⁰ Clement of Rome, *Epistula i ad Corinthios* (παμμεγεθεστάτω).

⁵²¹ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, pp. 107 (παμμεγεθέστατος); 118 (παμμεγεθέστατος); 119 (παμμεγεθεστάτοις); 138 (παμμεγεθέστατος); *Vita Joannis Hesychastae*, p. 212 (παμμεγεθέστατον); *Vita Cyriaci*, p. 232 (παμμεγεθέστατος).

⁵²² John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, PG.95.1101.2 (παμμεγεθεστάτω).

⁵²³ Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, p. 177 (παμμεγεθεστάτης).

⁵²⁴ Alexander (Cyprian monk, probably sixth century, the author of *Inventio Crucis*), *Laudatio Barnabae Apostoli*, line 827 (παμμεγεθέστατον).

identified, or plausibly surmised, are present while exploring this term.⁵²⁵ It would be hardly urged that all of those persistent instances are mere coincidence.

I have made a short discussion about Antioch having played a special role as the cradle of religious chanting and composition of hymns. The author of *DT* was a companion of those who composed such hymns and probably he himself composed some of them. Furthermore, it is not a coincidence either that both *DT*⁵²⁶ and Caesarius⁵²⁷ refer to David the Psalmist associating him with 'melody' (μελωδία): this is simply an Antiochene trait and part of their tradition to hold 'melody' in high regard.⁵²⁸ Discovering the vocabulary of Cassian/*DT* in the *Analecta Hymnica Graeca* is all but a coincidence.⁵²⁹ I have carried out a research on this issue and (not to my surprise) it turned out that it was the people of Antioch who had laid stress on David having offered not only prophecy, but also 'melody'. Authors such as Origen,⁵³⁰ Eusebius, and the Cappadocian Gregories,⁵³¹ did not care to offer accounts of David as μελωδός. On the other hand, Antiochene monks, who were also Sabaite ones (Antiochus of Palestine, John of Damascus), did care to do

⁵²⁵ One more instance: Socrates Scholasticus, *HE*, 6.19 (παμμεγεθεστάτην).

⁵²⁶ *DT* (*lib.* 1), 15.58: τὰ ἴσα μελωδεῖ καὶ περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ. 15.72: καὶ ἰσοδύναμον τῷ μελωδηθέντι περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρός. 18.47: ὁ μνημονευθεὶς Δαυὶδ ἐν κδ' ψαλμῷ μελωδεῖ. *DT* (*lib.* 2.8–27), PG.39: 652.10: Παρὰ τῷ μνημονευθέντι τοίνυν ἀκριβεστάτῳ μελωδῷ. 673.38: Ἐπιφωνεῖ γοῦν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ ὁ Μελωδός. 721.20: Καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀφορῶν ὁ Μελωδός. *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39: 869.38: Δαυὶδ μελωδεῖ. 916.39: ἅμα δὲ τῷ μελωδῷ ψαλλέτωσαν.

⁵²⁷ Caesarius, *QR*, 1.32 (Δαυὶδ μελωδοῦντος); 1.47 & 14.19 & 30.40 & 36.18 & 48.10 & 60.28 & 89.7 & 107.25 & 121.31 & 122.36 & 128.14 & 139.65 & 145.11 & 146.77 & 146.127 & 162.14 & 168.25 & 175.29 & 179.12 & 187.15 & (Δαυὶδ ὁ τῶν θείων μελωδός); 20.16 & 20.37 (Δαυὶδ τὸν θεῖον μελωδόν); 22.12 & 101.39 (Δαυὶδ μελωδοῦντος); 25. 7 (Δαυὶδ μελωδοῦντος); 35. 20 & 50.9 (ὁ θεσπέσιος Δαυὶδ μελωδεῖ); 58.12 (ἐν μελωδίαις ὁ Δαυὶδ φησιν); 71.5 (ἐκ τοῦ θεσπεσίου Δαυὶδ παιδευόμεθα μελωδοῦντος); 74.5 & 78.4 (Δαυὶδ περὶ θεοῦ μελωδοῦντος); 97.8 78.4 (Δαυὶδ φησιν ἐν μελωδίαις); 104.10 (φησιν ἐν μελωδίαις ὁ Δαυὶδ); 128.51 (Δαυὶδ μελωδῶν); 134.21 (τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεσπεσίου Δαυὶδ μελωδούμενα); 202.15 (Δαυὶδ μελωδός); 214.99 (ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ Δαυὶδ μελωδοῦμενος).

⁵²⁸ See *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Introduction.

⁵²⁹ Cf. *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, *Canones Septembris*, 8.12.6; *Canones Novembris*, 9.21.3; *Canones Decembris*, 26.51.5; 29.59.6; 26.51 (title); *Canones Februarii*, 7.7.9.

⁵³⁰ Fragments ascribed to Origen only confirm that the germane anthologies were composed mainly by monks of Antiochene sentiment, such as Cassian and Antiochus of Palestine. Cf. Origen, *frJfr* (*in catenis*), Fr. 25: αὐτὸς ἔφη μελωδῶν ὁ Δαβίδ. *frLam* (*in catenis*), Fr. 84: ὁθεν ὁ Δαβίδ μελωδεῖ. *frPs*, Psalm 97, verse 5,6: Τῇ γὰρ πνευματικῇ κιθάρᾳ τοῦ Δαυὶδ τὴν θείαν ἀνακρουόμεθα μελωδίαν.

⁵³¹ Eusebius, *Generalis Elementaria Introductio* (*Eclogae Propheticae*), p. 75: Μελωδῆμα τοῦ Δαυὶδ. Gregory of Nazianzus, *In Laudem Sororis Gorgoniae* (*orat.* 8), PG.35.805.17–18: Ὡ Δαβίδ, ταῖς πισταῖς μόνον ψυχαῖς οὐ μακρὰ μελωδήσας! Gregory of Nyssa, *In Inscriptiones Psalmorum*, v. 5, p. 33: ὁ μέγας Δαβίδ τῇ περὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν φιλοσοφίᾳ τὴν μελωδίαν κατέμειξεν.

so,⁵³² thus vaccinating the Palestinian milieu with their Antiochene sensitivity to ecclesiastical chanting.⁵³³ Other eminent Syrians, such as Theodoret and Romanus Melodus, were also among those who saw David not only as a prophet, but also as a 'melodist'.⁵³⁴

I have urged that the mutual animadversion between Theodoret and Cyril of Alexandria is one thing, but the absence of substantial differences between their theology is quite another. I have also maintained that between Antioch and Alexandria there was not any abyss existing whatsoever.⁵³⁵ Each of them borrowed from the other, according to one's predilection, tendencies, or just literary taste. This is why Didymus employs the notion of 'melody' associated with David only in his commentary on Zachariah,⁵³⁶ and so does Cyril at some points.⁵³⁷ However, this casual Alexan-

⁵³² Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 89, line 69. John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, PG.96.536.43: ὁ μακάριος Δαβὶδ ἐμελώδησε. *Homilia in Transfigurationem Domini*, PG.96.549.11–13: Παρέστω Δαβὶδ, καὶ τιναστέω τὴν θεόφοτον λύραν τοῦ Πνεύματος, καὶ τρανότερον νῦν μελωθεῖτω. *Laudatio Sanctae Barbarae*, PG.96.792.54–55: τὸ τοῦ προφήτου Δαβὶδ εὐκαίρως εἰπούσα μελώδημα. Furthermore, Asterius of Antioch, *comPs (homiliae 31)*, Homily 23.12: ὦ θαυμάσιε Δαυὶδ, θεράπον θεοῦ γνήσιε, μελωδέ. Homily 27.5: τοῦ θεοῦ νόμων γνήσιους ἀκροατὰς ποιήσῃ διὰ τοῦ μέλους, ἵνα ὡς καλάμῳ τῷ μέλει καὶ ἰξῶ τῇ μελωδίᾳ τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἀγρεύσῃ. Ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυὶδ. *frPs (in catenis)*, Fr. 23: Τοῦ Δαυὶδ στόμα καὶ χεὶρ ἦσαν οἱ ψαλτωδοὶ ὡς τὰ αὐτοῦ μελωδοῦντες, οἵτινες ἤθελον αἰετὸν Δαυὶδ ἐκ θείας χάριτος αἰεὶ προφητεύειν τοὺς ψαλμούς. John of Antioch (historian, seventh cent.), *Fragmenta*, Fr. 18. Basil of Seleucia, *Sermones XLI*, p. 113: μελωδῶν Δαυὶδ. p. 152: ὁ προφήτης Δαυὶδ μελωδεῖ. Cf. *Anonymous Dialogus Cum Iudaeis*, 7: ὅπερ μελωδῶν ὁ Δαυὶδ. In the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, I have urged that Casian's relation to some texts of the collection *Anonyma Adversus Iudaeos* calls for meticulous exploration.

⁵³³ Hesychius of Jerusalem, *Homilia II de Hypapante (homilia 2)*, 14: Δαυὶδ προβάλλων ὁ ψαλμῶδὸς ἐμελώδησεν. *Homilia II De Sancta Maria Deipara (homilia 6)*, 8: θέασαι τί Δαυὶδ ἀκριβῶς ἐμελώδησε. Barsanuphius and John (sixth cent.), *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Coenobitas*, 390, line 12.

⁵³⁴ Theodoret, *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, p. 202: ὅθεν ὁ μακάριος Δαβὶδ μελωδῶν ἔφη. p. 216: τοῦτο καὶ μελωδῶν ὁ θεὸς εἶπε Δαβὶδ. *Quaestiones in Libros Regnorum et Paralipomenon*, PG.80.656.40–41: Εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ Δαβὶδ γέγονεν εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν, δηλονότι τῇ μελωδίᾳ καταυγάζων. Op. cit. PG.80.693.25: Μελωδῶν ὁ μακάριος ἔφη Δαβὶδ. Op. cit. PG.80.752.29–30: Ἐχρώντο δὲ οὗτοι τῇ πνευματικῇ τοῦ Δαβὶδ μελωδίᾳ. Op. cit. PG.80.761.1–2: Ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ προφήτης Δαβὶδ ἐν τῇ πνευματικῇ μελωδίᾳ φησὶν. *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80.1629, 34–36: ὁ θεὸς Δαβὶδ τοῦτον ἔγραψε τὸν ψαλμόν· ἵνα διὰ τῆς μελωδίας, τῆς ἐν τῷ θείῳ ναφῇ γινομένης, τὴν ὠφέλειαν οἱ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀκαρπώσωνται. *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum*, PG.81.29.46: τὴν ἱερὰν τοῦ Δαβὶδ μελωδίαν. Romanus Melodus (sixth cent.), *Cantica*, Hymn 22.1: Δαυὶδ ἐμελώδησε.

⁵³⁵ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Introduction.

⁵³⁶ Didymus, *commZach*, 1.29: Ὡσαύτως ὁ Δαυὶδ ὡς μελωδὸς ἔφασκεν. 1.126: περὶ ἧς μελωδῶν ὁ ὕμνωδὸς ἔφη. 1.350: καὶ ἐν ἐβδόμῳ Ψαλμῷ ἀπειλεῖ ὁ μελωδὸς φάσκων. 2.272: Καὶ ὅρα εἰ περὶ τούτων ἐν τεσσераκοστῷ τετάρτῳ Ψαλμῷ ὑμνεῖται περὶ τῆς νύμφης καὶ τοῦ νυμφίου τὸ μελωδοῦμενον ὦδε. 4.223: ὁ ὕμνωδὸς μελωδεῖ φάσκων.

⁵³⁷ Cyril of Alexandria, *De Sancta Trinitate Dialogi I–VII*, p. 445: Ἀναμελωδεῖ γάρ που καὶ ἀναμέλπει λέγων ὁ θεὸς Δαβὶδ. p. 569: Ἀναμελωδοῦντος δὲ τοῦ μακαρίου Δαβὶδ. p. 609: τὸν

drine usage against the massive Antiochene one only demonstrates the fountainhead of the idea. As a massive entertainment of the term θεοτόκος by and large points to an Alexandrian author, and John styled θεολόγος or Christ styled δεσπότης bespeaks an Antiochene hand, so texts containing expressions associating David with 'melody' make the likelihood of an Antiochene having penned them a very strong one. This, I believe, can be a good indicative guide for future identification of spuria where this notion occurs.⁵³⁸ A final remark is called for though: an eminent Antiochene, namely Chrysostom, never associated David with 'melody'.⁵³⁹ However, all the mongers of his name applied the notion massively in spurious texts under his name, probably (and ironically) taking it that this might stress the Antiochene identity of the phony signature.⁵⁴⁰

In a *DT*-portion that bespeaks its affinity with the Scholia⁵⁴¹ the author explains that the name 'Christian' actually means one subduing oneself to Christ and becoming his 'servant'. It should be recalled that the designation 'Christian' appeared in Antioch for the first time.⁵⁴² What the author does at this point is to explain the close association of this appellation with the genuinely Antiochene notion of Christ accorded the designation δεσπότης.⁵⁴³

θεσπέσιον Δαβίδ, ἀναμελωδούντα. p. 649: 'Ἀναμελωδεῖ δὲ πρὸς Θεὸν καὶ ὁ θεσπέσιος Δαβίδ. p. 652: 'Ἀναμελωδούντος ἀκούω καὶ πνευματικὴν ὥσπερ τινὰ διακροούντος λύραν τοῦ μακαρίου Δαβίδ. *De Adoratione*, PG.68: 345.45: ἀναμελωδούντος μὲν τοῦ Δαβίδ. 736.23: ὁ Δαβίδ ἀναμελωδεῖ. 949.14–15: ἀναμελωδούντος ἡμῖν τοῦ θεσπεσίου Δαβίδ. *GlaphPent*, PG.69.429.25: τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Δαβίδ μελωδούμενον. *Commentary in Isaiam Prophetam*, PG.70: 473.13: τὸ διὰ φωνῆς τοῦ Δαβίδ μελωδούμενον. 1217.29–30: 'Ο θεσπέσιος Δαβίδ, τῇ διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος δεδουχία καταλαμπόμενος, τὰς πρὸς Θεὸν μελωδίας ἐποιεῖτο.

⁵³⁸ Cf. Pseudo-Athanasius, *Vita Sanctae Syncreticae*, PG.28.1489.42: καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς Δαβίδ μελωδεῖ. Pseudo-Epiphanius, *Homilia in Laudes Mariae Deiparae*, PG.43.489.21: τὴν τοῦ προφήτου Δαβίδ μελωδίαν. 496.13–14: καὶ ὁ Δαβίδ τὸ μελωδικὸν ᾄσμα τοῦτο βοᾷ.

⁵³⁹ There is only one instance in John Chrysostom, which would make an attenuated sense. *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG.55.154.17–18: Εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι ἡδῶ τῆς Δαυιδικῆς ψῳδῆς ταύτην ἀκούσεται, ἣν ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐκεῖνοι μελωδήσουσιν.

⁵⁴⁰ Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *Christi Discipulum Benignum Esse Debere*, PG.48.1072.32: κατὰ τὸν μελωδὸν Δαυὶδ. *Prooemia in Psalmos (fragmenta)*, PG.55.537.22–24: τὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Δαυὶδ ἐκίνησε γλῶσσαν τοὺς ψαλμοὺς διευκρινῆσαι τούτους, καὶ μελωδίαν ἀναμίζει τῇ προφητείᾳ. *In Psalmum 94*, PG.55.615.50–51: ὁ μελωδὸς Δαυὶδ διὰ τῆς πυκτῆδος πανηγυρικὸν ἠχῆσας μέλος. *In Psalmum 100*, PG.55.629.17–21: πνευματικῶς ᾄδειν ὁ μακάριος Δαυὶδ ὁ προφήτης παρακελεύεται: ... Πνεύματι γὰρ ἀγίῳ τὴν μελωδίαν ποιοῦμενος. *In Parabolam De Filio Prodigio*, PG.59.520.39–40: 'Ο δὲ φησι, Δαυὶδ ὁ προφήτης ἔνδον μελωδεῖ. *In Illud: Memor Fui Dei*, PG.61: 689.25–26: ὁ μελωδὸς ἐμαρτυρήσατο Δαυὶδ. 690.72: Δαυὶδ τῆς μελωδίας τὸν ῥήτορα. 693.9: Δαυὶδ ἐμελώδησε.

⁵⁴¹ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion I.

⁵⁴² Theodoret, *HE*, p. 293.

⁵⁴³ *DT (lib. 3)*, PG. 39.848.20–25: "Κύριος ἐγένετο," φύσει καὶ ἀνάρχως ὢν Κύριος, ὅτε οἱ μαθηταί, ὡς γέγραπται, δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ γεγόνασιν· ὅτε ὁ 'Απόστολος ἐπέστειλεν· "Παῦλος δοῦλος Ἰησοῦ

Styling the blessed and saved ‘citizens of heaven’ by means of the neologism οὐρανοπολίτης (a ‘citizen of heavens’)⁵⁴⁴ attests to Syrian propensity,⁵⁴⁵ and certainly it betokens Sabaite authors,⁵⁴⁶ whom theologians of the capital were always prompt to emulate.⁵⁴⁷ It is then hardly surprising that the term recurs in the *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*.⁵⁴⁸ I have suggested that the apocryphon *Acta Joannis*, which current scholarship, fascinated by its title, took to be a second-century text, is actually a fifth- or sixth-century fanciful composition. This conclusion was arrived at in connection with the Evangelist John styled θεολόγος.⁵⁴⁹ The same point is reiterated by the epithet οὐρανοπολίτης, which is one that enjoyed currency during the fifth and sixth centuries. This epithet, too, is of Antiochene/Palestinian provenance.⁵⁵⁰

An interesting point should be noticed. *DT* quotes a condensed rendering of John 15:15 (‘Henceforth I call you not servants, but friends *and brothers*’),⁵⁵¹ taking the expression *and brothers* (καὶ ἀδελφούς) to be part of this scriptural portion. There are only three plus one instances where this *sui generis* rendering of the scriptural portion transpires. A spurious text ascribed to Chrysostom, along with one ascribed to Ephraem Syrus, only tell us that these texts were produced in the same *scriptorium*.⁵⁵² The plus-one instance

Χριστοῦ” ὅτε καὶ πάντες, τὴν κυριότητα αὐτοῦ καὶ χριστότητα ἐπιγινόντες, Χριστιανοὶ ἐπεκλήθημεν, ὡς δούλοι τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ ὀνόματος μετασχόντες.

⁵⁴⁴ *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.877.46.

⁵⁴⁵ John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum*, PG.58.654.21; *De Paenitentia* (*homiliae* 1–9), PG.49.290.60. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *Oratio de Nativitate*, line 21; *De Eleemosyna*, PG.60.709.56; *De Corruptoribus Virginitatis*, PG.60.744.5; *De Circo*, PG.59.569.2. Ephraem Syrus, *Paraenesis ad Ascetas* (*ordine alphabetico*), p. 345; *Encomium in Magnum Basilium*, p. 352. Asterius of Amasea, *Homiliae* 1–14, Homily 8.2.2. Basil of Seleucia, *Sermones* XLI, p. 369. Barsanuphius and John, *Quaestiones et Responsiones*, 49, line 12.

⁵⁴⁶ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, pp. 8; 84; *Vita Theodosii*, p. 235. Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 15, line 86. Pseudo-John of Damascus, *Vita Barlaam et Joasaph*, p. 182.

⁵⁴⁷ Cf. Proclus of Constantinople (Bishop, fifth cent.), *Homilia de Dogmate Incarnationis*, 3. Theodore Studites, *Sermones Catecheseos Magnae*, Catechesis 77, p. 216. Germanus I of Constantinople, *Orationes*, Oration 4 (In Dormitionem Mariae I), 344. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 193, p. 157b, line 36 (reviewing Maximus Confessor).

⁵⁴⁸ *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, *Canones Decembris*, 6.8.2; 29.59.3; *Canones Januarii*, 10.20.5; 11.22.9; 14.23.6; *Canones Junii*, 30.20.9.

⁵⁴⁹ See *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, EN IVb.

⁵⁵⁰ See Appendix I, p. 382.

⁵⁵¹ *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.840.3–4: ‘Οὐκ ἔτι ὑμᾶς καλῶ δούλους, ἀλλὰ φίλους καὶ ἀδελφούς, ὡς γέγραπται.

⁵⁵² Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *In Exaltationem Venerandae Crucis*, PG.59.680.4: Οὐκ ἔτι δούλους, ἀλλὰ φίλους καὶ ἀδελφούς ὠνόμασεν, Ἀπαγγελῶ τὸ ὄνομά σου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου, λέγων. Ὁρᾷς πόσῃν μεταβολῇ ὁ σταυρὸς κατεργάσατο; Ephraem Syrus, *De Virtute; Ad Novitium*

is staggering indeed: it attests to Cassian having penned the texts, since this peculiar rendering of John 15:15 appears in his *Scholia in Apocalypsin*.⁵⁵³

I now come to considering the final piece of evidence, which can leave no doubt that we are dealing with an Antiochene author.

Notwithstanding inherent erudition from a scholarly or philological point of view, the text of *DT* is a bad text written by a learned author. There is hardly a modicum of care to get this aggregate of quoted passages organized. The heavily recurring quotations make up the largest part of the tract, only to be followed by short comments by the author claiming that either the Son or the Holy Spirit are not creatures, but the Father's peers. In addition, there are abrupt digressions here and there: one of them, deals with 'angels', with the author addressing them in the second person and explaining that to maintain that the Holy Spirit is superior to archangels Michael and Gabriel is not an insult to them.⁵⁵⁴ Another digression is the extensive prayer addressed to the Trinity, which implicitly refers to the author's personal plight.⁵⁵⁵

There is a specific excursus, however, which is a valuable and definitive piece of evidence attesting to the author being an Antiochene. Though it seems irrelevant and there is no obvious reason, the author all of a sudden embarks on an exegesis on prophet Zachariah, 3:8–4:14.⁵⁵⁶ It should be noticed, by the way, that the author generally refrains from entertaining the Alexandrian vocabulary concerning allegorical exegesis. The term 'allegory' (ἀλληγορία) itself is used just once, only because the author had to use the same terminology⁵⁵⁷ in his reply to a Macedonian quotation⁵⁵⁸ where the term appeared. Otherwise, and in stark contrast to Didymus, no terms such as 'tropology' (τροπολογία) or 'anagoge' (ἀναγωγή) ever appear at all. The author remains faithful to the Antiochene predilection for *typology*, which is the method applied throughout this work. The term τύπος itself is used to denote that the Old Testament is a 'prefiguration' of the Christian era, which denotes a *historical* conception of scriptural instances rather than engagement in ideational abstractions out of them. The Biblical history was

Monachum (*capita quattuor*), 2, line 118: 'Εν ἀληθείᾳ, μακάριοι οἱ τοιοῦτοι, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐρεῖ ὁ Κύριος, οὐκέτι ὑμᾶς καλέσω δούλους, ἀλλὰ φίλους καὶ ἀδελφούς.

⁵⁵³ Cassian the Sabaite, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion I.

⁵⁵⁴ *DT* (*lib.* 2.1–7), 7.8,9.

⁵⁵⁵ *DT* (*lib.* 2.8–27), PG.39: 764.10–769.12.

⁵⁵⁶ *DT* (*lib.* 2.8–27), PG.39: 701.6–705.11.

⁵⁵⁷ *DT* (*lib.* 2.8–27), PG.39.648.7: οὕτε κατὰ ἀλληγορίαν.

⁵⁵⁸ Op. cit. PG.39.645.11: ἀλληγορικῶς.

the 'figure' (τύπος),⁵⁵⁹ or the 'pattern' (εἰκών),⁵⁶⁰ foreshadowing the truth that was to be realized with Christ's advent. Following Pauline epistles,⁵⁶¹ the author prefers to see the relevance between the two Testaments⁵⁶² in terms of the pattern explaining the distinction between 'shadow' and 'truth'.

Both *DT* and Cassian's ascetic texts are absolutely at one on this.⁵⁶³ To this Caesarius should be added: he never uses the term 'allegory' either. The Scholia-terminology making the distinction between 'literal' (πρόχειρον) or 'anagogical' interpretation is present in like terms.⁵⁶⁴ The *Scholia in Apocalypsin* do have the term ἀναγωγή at a couple of points (although both ἀλληγορία and τροπολογία are absent from there, too); but it should be recalled that these Scholia are, for the most part, quotations from Didymus' own commentary on the Apocalypse. In his known texts, Didymus applies the term ἀναγωγή to more than two hundred instances.

⁵⁵⁹ *DT* (*lib. 1*), 15:79: τοῦ Μελχισεδέκ ... διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν τύπον καὶ υπογραμμὸν τινα τοῦ δεσπότου. *Op. cit.* 18:22: Καὶ ἀπλῶς ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη τύπον φέρουσα τῆς νέας. *Op. cit.* (*lib. 2*–27), PG.39.637.34–36: "Ὅταν δέ τις ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς Κύριον, καὶ μεταστῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ τύπου εἰς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου εἰς τὴν χάριν. *Op. cit.* PG.39.696.18–20: καὶ πᾶσα δὲ ἡ ὑπόθεσις τῆς ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου αὐτῶν ὁδοῦ, τύπος ἦν τῆς ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι σωτηρίας. *Op. cit.* PG.39.697.2–5: Μωϋσῆς δέ, τῇ ῥάβδῳ τὸ πικρὸν ὕδωρ χρήσιμον ποιήσας, σωτηρίαν καθολικὴν προηγόρευεν. Αὐτὸς γὰρ τύπον ἔφερεν τοῦ Χριστοῦ. *Op. cit.* PG.39.712.7–11: Καὶ τὸ χρίσμα δέ, ὅπερ ἐχρίσθησαν Ἀαρὼν τε ὑπὸ Μωϋσέως, ἔτι μὴν καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ κέρατος, οἱ ἐπικληθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ χρίσματος χρηστοί, τύπον ἔφερεν τοῦ ἡγιασμένου χρίσματος, οὗ λαμβάνομεν ἡμεῖς.

⁵⁶⁰ *DT* (*lib. 2*–27), PG.708.7–12: Εὐροιμεν δὲ ἂν πρὸς τοῖς μνημονευθεῖσι καὶ τὴν κολυμβήθραν τὴν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἥ ὄνομα Ἐβραϊστὶ Βηθσεδὰ, ὁμολογουμένως εἰκόνα τοῦ βαπτίσματος, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὴν τυγχάνουσιν τὴν ἀλήθειαν· ἡ γὰρ εἰκὼν πρὸς καιρὸν, ἡ δὲ ἀλήθεια εἰς αἰωνιότητα κρίνεται. *Op. cit.* PG.39.712.27–713.4: Καὶ ἵνα συλλήβδην εἴπω, φυλάττων δηλονότι τὸ σέβας τὸ μεταξὺ ἀληθείας καὶ σκιάς, καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν αὐτῇ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἐφώτιζεν τε πάντοτε πάντας τοὺς κατ' ἐκείνους τὸν καιρὸν Ἰσραηλῖτας, καὶ ἔσωζεν.

⁵⁶¹ Col. 2:17; Heb. 8:5; 10:1.

⁵⁶² *DT* (*lib. 2*–27), PG.39.713.1: φυλάττων δηλονότι τὸ σέβας τὸ μεταξὺ ἀληθείας καὶ σκιάς. *Op. cit.* PG.39.716.2–5: Καὶ ἵνα δείξῃ Πέτρος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ Ἐπιστολῇ, ὥς, εἰ τὸ γενόμενον ποτε ἐν σκιά βαπτίσμα ἔσωζεν, πόσῳ μᾶλλον τὸ γενόμενον ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἀπαθανατοῖ καὶ ἀποθεοῖ ἡμᾶς.

⁵⁶³ Cf. Cassian the Sabaites, *De Panareto*, p. 103: μηδενὸς ἀμφιβάλλοντος περὶ τῶν δύο χαρακτήρων τῶν θείων γραφῶν, λέγω δὴ τύπου καὶ ἀληθείας, τοῦ πληρουμένου κατὰ τὸν τύπον τὸν ἐξηρμένον ἐν τῷ θείῳ εὐαγγελίῳ. *loc. cit.* Οὐ γὰρ ἀντιστῆκει ὁ τύπος τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ μαρτυρεῖ.

⁵⁶⁴ Caesarius, *QR*, 193, lines 9–10: τίς ἡ τούτων ἀναγωγή ἐκ τῆς προχείρου μεταφορᾶς; 216, line 21: εἰ δὲ καὶ κατ' ἀναγωγὴν πρὸς τὰ ἡμέτερα μεθαρμοσθῆναι τὸν λόγον βούλεσθε. Cf. *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion VII: Ὁ τ(ο)αὐτάς ὡς ἐ(στ)ι θείας θεωρ(ι)ας ἀν(η)γμένως νοήσας. Scholion XIII: Ἀνακτέον τὰ ἱστορικῶς γεγενημένα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα δηλουμένους ἀπατ(ε)ῶνας, πορνείαν καὶ εἰδω(λο)λατρείαν κατὰ ἀναγωγὴν εἰσηγουμένους. Scholion III: τὸ γὰρ συνετὸς ἀναγινώσκων καὶ μὴ προχείρως ἀκούειν ἀλλὰ πιστῶς. Scholion XXV: πρὸς οὓς ἐροῦμεν μὴ κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον ταῦτα γεγράφθαι.

Besides, the author evidently employs the *typological* exegesis: he sets out to consider Zachariah having gone mute when he was advised by archangel Gabriel that he was about to have a son.⁵⁶⁵ Zachariah's dumbness, Caesarius has it, was the *typos* of the Law that was about to be silenced to give way to the Gospel.⁵⁶⁶

Let us now turn to the exegesis on prophet Zachariah, 3:8–4:14.

First, it is worth exploring the philological character of the text. The author abides by his enterprise to express himself by means of terms that are either neologisms of his own making, or extremely rare Greek ones. Nevertheless, as far as essence is concerned, it is all too evident that he writes this section drawing on relevant exegesis produced by Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret.

The term στρατηγία ('office of general', 'generalship'),⁵⁶⁷ which he uses to explain Zach. 3:10, is the same term applied by Theodore of Mopsuestia⁵⁶⁸ rendering the same scriptural instance. At the same point, speaking of those 'who live in affluence' (ἐν ἀφθόνῳ διάγοντας εὐθηνίᾳ),⁵⁶⁹ he entertains a diction drawn from Philo,⁵⁷⁰ also used by Theodore of Mopsuestia⁵⁷¹ and Theodoret.⁵⁷²

I have canvassed the epithet ἀδιάδοχος⁵⁷³ both in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*,⁵⁷⁴ as well as in Appendix I. In *DT* the expression is more specific, and means a 'kingship without succession', an endless kingship (ἀδιάδοχος βασιλεία). The locution recurs in the *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*. Once the specific expression ἀδιάδοχος βασιλεία is explored, it turns out that this was

⁵⁶⁵ Luke 1:12–22.

⁵⁶⁶ Caesarius, *QR*, 196, lines 23–25; 218, lines 31–34.

⁵⁶⁷ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.704.12: 'the military leadership by Zorobabel'.

⁵⁶⁸ Theodore of Mopsuestia, *commProphXII*, Prophet Zachariach, 3, 9b.

⁵⁶⁹ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.704.11–13: Θάνατον ἐπάγω διὰ τῆς στρατηγίας τοῦ Ζοροβάβελ τοῖς πολέμοις· ὥστε πάντας πάσης ἀπαλλαγέντας ταραχῆς, καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνῳ διάγοντας εὐθηνίᾳ.

⁵⁷⁰ Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 92: πυθόμενος οὖν Ἀβραάμ ἀφθονον εὐθηνίαν καὶ εὐετηρίαν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. *De Vita Mosis* (lib. i–ii), 1.193: τῆς κατ' Αἴγυπτον εὐθηνίας καὶ εὐετηρίας καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐκεῖ πάντων ἀφθονίαν. *De Specialibus Legibus* (lib. i–iv), 2.192: εὐθηνίας καὶ εὐετηρίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονίαν. *Legatio ad Gaium*, 90: εὐθηνίας τε καὶ εὐετηρίας καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονίας.

⁵⁷¹ Theodore of Mopsuestia, *commProphXII*, Prophet Joel, 2.19–20a: τὴν ἀφθονίαν λέγων τὴν τότε προσεσομένην αὐτοῖς. τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον κἀνταῦθα εἰπὼν τῆς εὐθηνίας τὴν ἀπόδοσιν.

⁵⁷² Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80.1964.48–1965.1: Διὰ γὰρ πολλὴν τὴν εὐθηνίαν, καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὴν ἀφθονίαν. Cf. Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 66: καὶ τῶν καλῶν ἢ ἀφθονία τε καὶ εὐθηνία διαγγέλλεται.

⁵⁷³ *DT* (lib. 1), 31.7: βασιλείαν λέγει ἣν ἔχει ἀδιαίρετον καὶ ἀδιάδοχον μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος. Op. cit. 31.15: τὸ ἐπίκοινον τῆς θεότητος καὶ τῆς ἀδιαδόχου μίᾳς βασιλείας.

⁵⁷⁴ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, EN XIV f.

entertained by Antiochene writers, and Syrians in general.⁵⁷⁵ There is only one instance in Theodore Studites, the normal reproducer of Cassian's vocabulary.⁵⁷⁶ This appeared in the minutes of Ephesus recording a letter addressed to the emperor by the 'synod of the Eastern bishops' (in other words, to Antiochene bishops) reporting that they had anathematized Cyril of Alexandria and Memnon of Ephesus; which means that ἀδιάδοχος had been written by Antiochene hands.⁵⁷⁷

The Vision of the Candlestick by Prophet Zachariah (Zach. 3:8–4:14)

How the author renders the vision of prophet Zachariah and how his exegesis relates to those of other theologians can be seen from the following tables, from which it becomes all too plain that *DT* is the authorship of a disciple of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodore^t.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁵ Asterius of Antioch, *comPs* (*homiliae* 31), Homily 25.40. Basil of Seleucia, *Sermones* *XLI*, p. 185. Ephraem Syrus, *Sermo De Secundo Aduentu Et Iudicio*, p. 227. Theodore^t, *Eranistes*, pp. 83; *intDan*, PG.81: 1308.30; 1356.8–9. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *De Patientia Et De Consumptione Huius Saeculi*, PG.63.937.61–62. Pseudo-John of Damascus, *Vita Barlaam et Joasaph*, pp. 232; 300.

⁵⁷⁶ Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 16.

⁵⁷⁷ ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum anno 431*, 1.1.5, p. 130: ὑμεῖς τε καὶ οἱ τρισμακάριοι ὑμῶν πρόγονοι ἀδιάδοχα τὰ τῆς βασιλείας παρελήφατε σκήπτρα. They refer to the imperial power of the emperor.

⁵⁷⁸ This of course does not preclude him from applying his reading from other authors, which though do not affect the gist of the specific exegesis. For instance, reference to the 'candlestick' being made of 'gold' is associated with 'pure faith'. There is only a singular parallel to this combination of the notions 'gold' and 'pure faith'. Pseudo-Cyril of Alexandria, *Collectio Dictorum Veteris Testamenti*, PG.77.1212.21–22: Οἱ μὲν χρυσοὶ κώδωνες ἐδήλουν τὸ τῆς πίστεως καθαρὸν καὶ λαμπρόν.

The vision of candlestick by prophet Zachariah (Zach. 3:8–4:14)

Objects and persons described by Zachariah	DE TRINITATE	DIDYMUS	THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA	THEODORET
<i>East</i> is the name of the servant (τὸν δοῦλον μου 'Ανατολήν) Zach. 3:8.	For the power of the servant is of royal rank and shines like the East. (<i>Lib.</i> 2.8–27), PG.39.701.7–704.1: Τὰ ὅσα ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἱερέα τὸν μέγαν ἔφη· Ἄγω, φησί, τὸν δοῦλόν μου τὸν Ζοροβάβελ εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς βασιλείας, ἀφ' ἧς ἔσται ὡς Ἀνατολή λαμπρὸς ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος τὸ ὄνομα καλέσας.	East is Jesus Christ, the Sun of Righteousness that has risen from the East. <i>Commentarii in Zachariam</i> , 1.252: ἄνδρα καλὸν αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν, ἀνατολὴν δὲ διὰ τὸ ἀνατεταλκέναι, δικαιοσύνης ἥλιον ὄντα.	East betokens the brightness of royal power. <i>Commentarius in XII Prophetas Minoras</i> , Prophet Zachariah, 3.8b–9a: ἄγω γάρ, φησιν, τὸν δοῦλον τὸν ἑμὸν—τὸν Ζοροβάβελ λέγων—καὶ ἀποκατίστημι τὴν βασιλείαν, ἀνατολὴς οὐχ ἦν τινος λαμπρὸν τῇ τῆς ἐξουσίας περιουσίᾳ δεικνύς. τοῦτον δὴ ὥσπερ τινὰ λίθον τίθημι πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τῶν σῶν.	The royal power of Zorobabel, a descendant of David, shines like the brightness of the East. <i>Interpretatio in XII Prophetas Minoras</i> , PG.81.1893.50–1896.1: ἐπὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν μεταβαίνει γένος, καὶ τὸν Ζοροβάβελ ἐκγονον ὄντα τοῦ Ἰερχονίου, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Δαβὶδ τὸ γένος κατέγοντα, οὕτω περιφανῆ καὶ περίβλεπτον ὑπισχνεῖται ποιῆσιν, ὡς τὸ λαμπροτάτῳ τῆς ἀνατολῆς φωτὶ παροβιάζεσθαι. τοῦτον λέγει δεδωκέναι τὸν λίθον πρὸ προσώπου τοῦ ἱερέως ἐπτακοσμούμενον ἀφθαλμοῖς.

Objects and persons described by Zachariah	DE TRINITATE	DIDYMUS	THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA	THEODORET
'Behold, I am digging a trench' (ἰδοὺ, ἐγὼ ὀρύσσω βόθρον) Zach. 3:9.	God renders Zorobabel victorious against his enemies. (<i>Lib. II</i>), PG.39.704.11: ἀντὶ τοῦ, Θάνατον ἐπάγω διὰ τῆς στρατηγίας τοῦ Ζοροβάβελ τοῖς πολέμοις.	God illuminates the world and brings all secrets of hearts to light. Op. cit. 1.262: Ὁ κύριος παντοκράτωρ, ἐγὼ Κύριος παντοκράτωρ, βόθρον, ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ κεκρυμμένα πάντα φανερώσαι, ἐπὶ τῷ ἁψασθαι καὶ ψηλαφῆσαι πάσαν τὴν ἀδικίαν τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης, δῆλον δ' ὅτι τῆς ὀρυττομένης, ἐν μὲν τῇ ἐπιλαμπομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ, τότε μάλιστα ὅτε "φωτίζει Κύριος ὁ Θεός" ὁ παντοκράτωρ "τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ σκότους, καὶ τὰς βουλὰς τῶν καρδιῶν φανεροί", ἐπὶ τῷ καταδικάσαι τοὺς πράξαντας τὴν ἀδικίαν πάσαν.	God renders Zorobabel victorious against his enemies. Op. cit., 3:9b: οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐργάσομαι θανάτον, ὥστε πάντας διὰ τῆς ἐκείνου στρατηγίας τοὺς πολέμους τρεπόμενος ὥσπερ βόθρῳ τινὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ περιβάλλειν διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς τιμωρίας, ὑπὲρ ᾧν δὴν ἀδικεῖν ἔλυνται τὴν ἐμὴν προσήκουσαν γῆν, ἵσπερ οὖν ἔταξα προεστάναι τὸν βασιλέα.	God renders Zorobabel victorious against his enemies. Op. cit., PG.81.1896.38-46: Ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ Γ'ωγ καὶ Μαγ'ωγ προηγόρευσεν, οἷς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μὲν τὴν πανωλεθρίαν ἐπήγαγε· καὶ ἅπαντας κατ' αὐτὸν θανάτῳ παρέπεμψεν, ὃν τροπικῶς προσηγόρευσε βόθρον. Τοῦτου δέ, φησιν, γενομένου, ἅπαντες οἱ ὑπὸ τῷ Ζοροβάβελ στρατευόμενοι, οἳ αὖθις νικηφόροι γενόμενοι, ἀδελφῶς λοιπὸν ὑπὸ τὰς ἀμπέλους καὶ τὰς συκάδας ἀλλήλους εἰς ἐστίασιν τὴν τῶν πολέμιων οὐ δειμαίνοντες ἔφροδον.

Objects and persons described by Zachariah	<i>DE TRINITATE</i>	DIDYMUS	THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA	THEODORET
The stone with the seven eyes (ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον τὸν ἕνα ἑπτὰ ὀφθαλμοὶ εἶσι) Zach. 3:9.	This is Zorobabel. (<i>Lib.</i> 2.8–27), PG.39.704.3: λίθον τὸν Ζοροβάβελ ὀνομάζει.	This is Christ. Op. cit., 1.254: Ἀποδιδούς δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ ἁγισθαι τὸν δοῦλον αὐτοῦ ἀνατολήν φησιν “Διότι ὁ λίθος ἀπὸ προσώπου” τοῦ ἐπιλάμπωντος “ἑπτὰ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχει”. Τίς δ' οὐτός ἐστιν, ἢ ὁ ἐπιδημήσας Σωτήρ, ἔχων τὴν ἐπταδύναμον διορατικὴν φύσιν; Cf. Op. cit., 1.300–312.	This is Zorobabel. Op. cit., 3.8b–9a: ἄγω γάρ, φησιν, τὸν δοῦλον τὸν ἐμὸν—τὸν Ζοροβάβελ λέγων—... τοῦτον δὴ ὥσπερ τινὰ λίθον τίθῃμι πρὸ πάντων ὀφθαλμῶν τῶν σῶν. Op. cit., 4.7: λίθον ὀνόμασεν τὸν Ζοροβάβελ.	This is Zorobabel. Op. cit., PG.81.1896.30–34: Τοῦτον ἐν ἑαυτῷ φέρων τὸν λίθον ὁ Ζοροβάβελ (ἐξ αὐτοῦ γάρ τὸ κατὰ σάρκα βεβλάσθηκεν ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης Σωτήρ), εἰκότως καὶ αὐτὸς ὀνομάζεται λίθος, παντοδαποῖς διαλάμπων χάρισμασιν. Op. cit., PG.81.1897.45: τὸν Ζοροβάβελ λίθον ὀνόμασεν. Further: τὸν Ζοροβάβελ, οἷα δὴ λίθον. Op. cit., PG.81.1893.50–1896.1: Ζοροβάβελ. ... Τοῦτον λέγει δεδοκέναι τὸν λίθον.

Objects and persons described by Zachariah	DE TRINITATE	DIDYMUS	THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA	THEODORET
The seven eyes on the stone Zach. 3:9.	The perceptive power of Zorobabel. (<i>Lib. II</i>), PG. 39.701.10–704: Ταῦτα ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἱερέα τὸν μέγαν ἔφη· Ἄγιο, φησί, τὸν δοῦλόν μου τὸν Ζοροβάβελ εἰς τὴν ἔξουσίαν τῆς βασιλείας, ἀφ' ἧς ἔσται ὡς Ἀνατολὴ λαμπρός· ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος τὸ ὄνομα καλέσας· ἐντεῦθεν τε συνεχῇ τὸν λόγον καὶ ἀδιάστατον ποιούμενος, λίθον τὸν Ζοροβάβελ ὀνομάζει, ἐφ' ὃν τὸ πρόσωπον Ἰησοῦ ἐστῆρικτο, παρέχον αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκ τῶν εὐγῶν ἐπικουρίαν, καὶ ἀντιλαμβάνον παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆ βασιλείας εἰρήνην.	They are the seven spirits of Isaiah 11:2, which rest upon Christ himself Op. cit., 1.255: Καὶ ὅρα γε τοὺς ἐπὶ ἓνα λίθον ἑπτὰ ὀφθαλμοὺς Κυρίου, ὧν ὁ μὲν πνεῦμα σοφίας, ὁ δὲ συνέσεως ἔστιν. Τίς γάρ οὕτω ὀφθαλμὸς φωτεινὸς ἔστιν, πάντα τὰ καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα κατοπτεύων, ἢ τὸ τῆς σοφίας πνεῦμα, παραπλησίως καὶ τὸ τῆς συνέσεως πνεῦμα;	The activity of the holy grace. Op. cit., 3.8b–9a: τοῦτον δὴ [sc. Zorobabel] ὥσπερ τινὰ λίθον τίθῃμι πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τῶν σῶν, ἐφ' ᾧ περ ἐστηρίχθαι σὲ χρή παρέχοντα μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκ τῶν προσευχῶν καὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης βοήθειαν ... κἀνταῦθα δὲ τῷ ἑπτὰ οὐκ ἐπὶ ἀκριβολογίας ἀριθμῷ λέγει, ἀλλ' ἵνα εἴπῃ τι δυνήσεται διὰ ταῦτα ὁ Ζοροβάβελ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν παρ' ἐμοῦ προχειρισθείς, ἐπειδὴ πολλὴν τινα καὶ ἄφατον αὐτῷ παρέξω τὴν ἐποψίαν τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν.	The activity of the holy grace. Op. cit., PG. 81.1896.2–5: Οὕτε δὲ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, ὀφθαλμοὺς νοητέον, οὔτε τὸν ἑπτὰ ἀριθμὸν ἐπὶ ῥητοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ληπτέον. Τὴν γὰρ τῆς θείας χάριτος ἐνέργειαν ὀφθαλμοὺς προσηγόρευσεν· ἑπτὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς ὠνόμασε, τὸ πλήθος αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ μέγεθος διὰ τούτων σημάτων.

Objects and persons described by Zachariah	DE TRINITATE	DIDYMUS	THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA	THEODORET
Candlestick all made of gold (λυχνία χρυσή δλη) Zach. 4:2.	The most pure faith. 'Gold' bespeaks 'pure things'. (Lib. II), PG:39.704.15; και λυχνίας χρυσής, τοῦτ' ἔστι τῆς καθαροτάτης πίστεως, τῆς ἀρχομένης μὲν ἐξ ἡμῶν, ὑπομένης δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς πραγμάτων (διὰ γὰρ τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὸ καθαρόν καὶ τίμιον παραλαμβάνεται· οὐ γὰρ πέφυκεν ἰοῦσθαι χρυσός).	The spiritual temple of God. 'Gold' bespeaks 'intelligible things'. Op. cit., 1.278: Εὐρίσκομεν οὐ πολλὰ τοῦ τῆς Γραφῆς ὡς τὰ νοητὰ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ χρυσοῦ σημαίνεται· τάχα οὖν ἡ νοητὴ λυχνία ὁ πνευματικὸς οἶκος καὶ ναὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τυγχάνει. The soul and flesh assumed by Christ. Op. cit., 1.280.	The divine grace and administration. 'Gold' bespeaks 'pure things'. Op. cit., 2b-3: ἡ μὲν λυχνία δῆλως τῆς θείας χάριτος ἔστιν, ἀποτομένης μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς διοικούσης δὲ ἄχρει τῶν ὑπὲρ γῆν πραγμάτων, ἀτε τῶν ἀπάντων ταύτῃ διοικουμένων, ἣν καὶ εἰκότως ὡς μεγάλην τε καὶ περιφανή χρυσὴν δλην εἶδεν, ἐπειδὴ χρυσὸς ἀπασῶν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ὕλων ἔστι τὸ τιμώτατον.	The divine care. Op. cit., PG.81.1897.9-12: Καὶ ταῦτα δὲ πάντα αἰνιγματὰ ἔστιν ἑτέρων πραγμάτων. Νῦν γὰρ λυχνίαν χρυσήν εἰς τύπον τῆς θείας ἔδειξε προμηνθείας, ἣ καὶ τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια πρυτανεύει.
The bawl upon the candlestick (τὸ λαμπάδιον) Zach. 4:2.	The divine grace. (Lib. II), PG:39.704.20-22: λαμπάδιον, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὴν ὑψόθεν πάντα καταφαίνουσιν θεῖαν χάριν.	The teaching about the Trinity. Op. cit., 1.279: ὁ φωτεινὸς περὶ τῆς Τριάδος λόγος. The teaching about the Father. Op. cit., 1.286; 1.340.	The divine grace. Op. cit., 2b-3: τὸ δὲ ἐπάνω αὐτῆς λαμπάδιον δηλοῖ τὸ ἐκ τῆς χάριτος ἐξ ὕψους ἀπαντας τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς περιλάμπων φῶς.	The divine grace. Op. cit., PG.81.1897.17-18: οὕτω διὰ τοῦ λαμπάδιου τὴν τὰ πάντα φωτίζουσιν θεῖαν χάριν ἠνίκατο.

Objects and persons described by Zachariah	DE TRINITATE	DIDYMUS	THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA	THEODORET
The seven lamps (οἱ ἑπτὰ λύχνοι) Zach. 4:2.	The gifts of the divine grace. (<i>Lib. II</i>), PG-39.704.22–23: καὶ ἑπτὰ λόχρους, ἀντὶ τοῦ τῆς πνευματικῆς δωρεάς τὴν ἀφθονίαν καὶ τελειότητα.	The seven-fold divine power betokened by the 'spirits' of Isaiah 11:2: op. cit., 1.281: χρυσὴ ὅλη λυχνία ... ἣ ἐπικείνεται ἑπτὰ λύχνοι, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς θείας βουλῆς, καὶ ἰσχύος, καὶ γνώσεως, καὶ εὐσεβείας, καὶ φόβου Θεοῦ. Op. cit., 1.283: αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἑπταφωγῆς δύναμις τῶν ἑπάνω τῆς λυχνίας ἑπτὰ λύχνων.	The gifts of the divine grace. Op. cit., 2b–3: ἑπτὰ δὲ λύχνους ὁρᾷ τὸ τέλειόν τε καὶ πλούσιον τῆς χάριτος δεικνύς, ὡς ἀνωτέρω λέγει τὸ ἐπὶ τὸν λιβὸν τὸν ἕνα ἑπτὰ ὁρθαλμοὶ εἰσὶν. Ἵνα εἴπη τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς οἰκείας τὸ μέγεθος.	The incessant and unfailing character of the divine providence. Op. cit., PG.81.1897.12–16: οἱ δὲ ἑπτὰ λύχνοι τῶν ἑπτὰ τῆς ἐβδομάδος ἡμερῶν ἰσάριθμοι, τὸ διηκεῖς καὶ διαρκές τῆς θείας παραδηλοῦσι προνοίας.

Objects and persons described by Zachariah	<i>DE TRINITATE</i>	DIDYMUS	THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA	THEODORET
Seven oil funnels (ἑπτὰ ἐπαρυστρίδες) Zach. 4:2.	The incessant and unfailing character of the divine gifts. (<i>Lit. II</i>), 39-704.23-25: πρὸς τοῦτοις ὑπερβεν ἑπτὰ ἐπαρυστρίδας, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ ἀσβεστον καὶ διαρκές τῆς ἐκείθεν ἐπιρροῆς.	The devout study and knowledge of truth. Op. cit., 1.283: Αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἐπταφγγὴς δύναμις τῶν ἐπάνω τῆς λυχρίας ἑπτὰ λύχρων τρέφεται καὶ αὐξεται, ἐποχτετευομένου ἐλαίου διὰ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐπα[ρ]υστρίδων ἐπιρρεουσῶν τὸ τρέφον καὶ φυλάττον τὸ φῶς ἔαιον. Οὐχ ἕτερον δὲ τοῦτο τυγχάνει τῆς μελέτης τῆς γνώσεως τῆς ἀληθείας. Μνήμην γὰρ καὶ κραταιοτέραν θεωρίαν ἐκ τοῦ μελετᾶν καρποῦμεθα.	No exegesis.	God's love for men. Op. cit., PG.81.1897.15-17: αἱ δὲ ἐπαρυστρίδες, αἱ τὸ ἔλαιον ἐπύχουσαι, τὴν ἀφθονὸν φιλοτιμίαν τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας σημαίνουσιν.

Objects and persons described by Zachariah	DE TRINITATE	DIDYMUS	THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA	THEODORET
Two olive-trees (αἱ δύο ἐλάαι). Zach. 4:3.	The kingship and the priesthood (Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodore). Alternatively, the 'two peoples', Jews and Christians (Cyril of Alexandria, <i>Commentarius in XII Prophetas Minores</i> , v. 2, pp. 330–331). (<i>Lib. II</i>), PG.39:704. 25–28: καὶ δύο ἐλαίας: αἱ νοούνται, ἥτοι ἱερωσύνη καὶ βασιλεία, ἥτοι δύο λαοί, ἡ οἱκοί Θεοῦ, ὁ Ἰσραηλιτῶν ποτε καὶ ὁ Χριστιανῶν.	The divine teaching. Op. cit., 1.281: σεσαφηνίσται δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρότερον λόγοις εἶναι μελέτης θείας, ἐλαίας ὀνομαζομένους διὰ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῶν αὐξεν καὶ τρέφειν τὸ φῶς. Op. cit., 1.284: Καὶ ὅρα εἰ ἡ περὶ τῶν νοητῶν καὶ τῶν χαρισμάτων τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος μελέτη ἐλαίων ἐστι τρυγώμενον ἐκ τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐλαίας, ἡ δὲ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ συστάσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ προνοίας τῆς ἐκ Θεοῦ ἐκ τῆς εὐωνύμου ἐλαίας πιέζεται.	The kingship and the priesthood. Op. cit, 11–14: αἱ ἐλααὶ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἦσαν γνώρισμα, ὅς ἐπὶ γῆς κρατεῖν ἔταξεν ὁ θεός.	The kingship and the priesthood. Op. cit., PG.81.897.19–21: Δύο δὲ ἐλαίας ἐκατέρωθεν τεθηλυίας τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἐκάλεσε τῇ χάριτι κοσμουμένας.

Objects and persons described by Zachariah	<i>DE TRINITATE</i>	DIDYMUS	THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA	THEODORET
The two branches of the olive-trees (οἱ δύο κλάδοι τῶν ἐλαιῶν) Zach. 4:12.	No exegesis.	<p>The partial truths and introductory teaching to the profound divine truths.</p> <p>Op. cit., 1:337: Ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐ δυνατὸν τὸν ἐκ μέρους γινώσκοντα καὶ προφητεύοντα θεωρῆσαι ἐξ ὧν τὰ στελέχη καὶ τὰ ἔρη τῶν ἐκκειμένων φυτῶν, ἐκ δευτέρου ἐπερώτησιν προσάγει περὶ δύο κλάδων ἐλαιῶν, τούτων γὰρ μόγις γινώσκειν δυνατὸν τὸν δι' ἐσόπτρου καὶ αἰνίγματος ἐπιβάλλοντα τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, ἵν' ἐκ τῶν μερικῶν ὠφελῇ θεῖς δυναθῇ ποτε γινῶναι τίνες αἱ ἐλαῖαι τυγχάνουσιν.</p>	<p>They are two men: Jesus (for priesthood) and Zorobabel (for kingship).</p> <p>Op. cit., 11–14: δύο κλάδους ἐκ τῶν ἐλαιῶν ἐκπεφυκότας λέγει τὸν τε Ζοροβάβελ καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς θείας χάριτος εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν παρήχτο, ὁ δὲ τῇ τῆς ἱερωσύνης χάριτι πρὸς τὴν λειτουργίαν προβέβλητο τὴν θείαν. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πίστητος αὐτοὺς ἐκάλεσεν υἱούς, ἵνα εἴπῃ, οἱ ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων καὶ τιμιωτάτων παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκπεφυκότες, βασιλείας τε καὶ ἱερωσύνης, οἱ πάντες ὑπουργεῖν θεῷ εἰσι τεταγμένοι τῷ πάντων κυρίῳ.</p>	<p>They are two men: Jesus (for priesthood) and Zorobabel (for kingship).</p> <p>Op. cit., PG.8.11897.21–24: τοὺς δὲ δύο κλάδους, τοὺς μέχρι τῶν λύχνων διήκοντας, τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ τὸν Ζοροβάβελ, τὸν μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἱερατικῆς, τὸν δὲ ἐκ τῆς βασιλικῆς βεβλαστηκότα φύλῃς.</p>

Objects and persons described by Zachariah	DE TRINITATE	DIDYMUS	THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA	THEODORE†
The mountain (τὸ ὄρος) Zach. 4:7.	Mountain is the devil. (<i>Lib. II</i>), PG-39.704. 35: "Ὁρος ἐνταῦθα τὸν πολέμιον καλεῖ.	<p>The incarnated Saviour.</p> <p>Op. cit., 1.301: Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ μὲν τις ἐρεῖ τὰς δύο προσηγορίας ἐκ παραλλήλου κείσθαι κατὰ τοῦ ἐπιδημήσαντος Σωτήρος. Πολλὰ γὰρ γραφαὶ καὶ ὄρος καὶ λίθον αὐτὸν ὀνομάζουσιν. See further 1.302—312.</p> <p>So Cyril of Alexandria, <i>Commentarius in XII Prophetas Minores</i>, v. 2, p. 336. But see also his alternative exegesis (<i>infra</i>, p. 558).</p>	<p>The mighty powers of this world.</p> <p>Op. cit., 7: ὄρος λέγει μέγα τοὺς ἄγαν δυνατοὺς ἐν βασιλείᾳ τε καὶ στρατοπέδων καὶ ὑπηκόων πλῆθει.</p>	<p>The adversary powers, who seek to destroy both the temple and the people of God.</p> <p>Op. cit., PG.81.1897.45—46: 'Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ζοροβάβελ λίθον ὠνόμασεν, εἰκότως καὶ τὰ μυρία ἔθνη ἐκείνα ὄρος καλεῖ, καὶ τοῦ θείου ναοῦ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν κωλύσαι πειρώμενα, καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τὸ λειπτόμενον καταλῦσαι. 'Αλλ' οὐδὲν ισχύετε ταῦτα βουλευόμενοι.</p> <p><i>Interpretatio in Ezechielem</i>, PG.81.1208.24—25 (quoting Zac. 4:7, and then this comment): 'Ἐξ ὧν δηλον, ὡς μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον ἐπεστράτευσεν τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα καὶ κατελύθη θεία χειρὶ.</p>

Objects and persons described by Zachariah	DE TRINITATE	DIDYMUS	THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA	THEODORET
The stone of the inheritance (ὁ λίθος τῆς κληρονομίας) Zach. 4:7.	This is Zorobabel. (<i>Lib. II</i>), PG:39.704.36–40: Τὸν λίθον, φησί, τῆς κληρονομίας τὸν Ζοροβάβελ, καὶ ὃ ἀντιπρόσωπος καὶ ἐναντίος ὁρμῆς, τοσαύτη πνευματικὴ χάρις, κατορθοῦντα τὰς μάχας, περιβαλεῖ, ὥς ὅλον αὐτὸν δοκεῖν αὐτοχρημα χάριν ὑπάρχειν.	This is Christ. Op. cit., 1.301: Τίς εἶ σύ, ὦ ὅρος πρὸ προσώπου τυγχάνων τοῦ Ζοροβάβελ τοῦ κατορθώσαι, καὶ τίς ὁ λίθος ὃν ἐξοίσω τῆς κληρονομίας ἱσότητα χάριτος χάριτα αὐτῆς; Πρὸς τὰντα ὁ μὲν τις ἐρεῖ τὰς δύο προσηγορίας ἐκ παραλλήλου κείσθαι κατὰ τοῦ ἐπιδημήσαντος Σωτήρος. Πολλοὶ γὰρ γραφαὶ καὶ ὅρος καὶ λίθον αὐτὸν ὀνομάζουσιν. Cf. op. cit., 306: 'stone of inheritance' is the folk of pious Christians.	This is Zorobabel. Op. cit., 7: 'Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ λίθον ὠνόμασεν τὸν Ζοροβάβελ, ὅρος λέγει μέγα τοὺς ἀγαν δυνατοὺς ἐν βασιλείᾳ τε καὶ στρατοπεδῶν καὶ ὑπηκόων πλῆθει. τίς γὰρ δὴ, φησὶν, οὕτω μέγας ἐστὶν ἢ οὕτω μέγα δυνάμενος διὰ τε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὑπηκόων καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὀπλιτικοῦ παρασκευήν, ὥστε δυνηθῆναι ἀπεναντίας τι τοῦ Ζοροβάβελ ἰσχύσαι, ὃν διάδοχον τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀποδείξας κληρονομίας, ἥς τὰς ἐπαγγελίας πρὸς τὸν προπάτορα τοῦ γένους ἐποιήσαμην, λέγω δὴ τὸν Δαυὶδ, ὅλον δι' ὅλου χάριτος πληρώσω τῆς ἐμῆς—τοῦτο γὰρ ἱσότητα λέγει χάριτος—, ἀφ' ἧσπερ αὐτῷ ἀναγκαίως προσέσται τὰ μεγάλα ὑπὲρ τῶν οἰκείων στρατηγούντι δυνηθῆναι κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων.	This is Zorobabel. Op. cit., PG.81.1897.46–1900.3: 'Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ζοροβάβελ λίθον ὠνόμασεν, εἰκότως καὶ τὰ μυρία ἔθνη ἐκεῖνα ὅρος καλεῖ, καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ νοοῦ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν κωλύσαι πειρώμενα, καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τὸ λειπόμενον καταλύσαι. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἰσχύσετε ταῦτα βουλεύόμενοι. "Ἐξοίσω γὰρ τὸν λίθον τῆς κληρονομίας, ἱσότητα χάριτος χάριτα αὐτῆς." Ὁ δὲ λέγει τοιοῦτον ἔστι· κὰν μυριάκις λυττήσῃτε ἐμποδῶν τῷ Ζοροβάβελ γιγνώμενοι, κενὰς ὑμῶν ἀποφανῶ τὰς ἐλπιδάς· πάσης γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐμπλήσας χάριτος, καὶ τελεία αὐτὸν κατακοσμήσας χάριτι, καὶ στερῆρόν ἀποφῆνας οἷα δὴ λίθον, ἔπαιντας ὑμᾶς ὀλέθρῳ παραδοῦναι παρασκευάσας, ὥστε τὸ ἐλλείπον τῇ ἀνθρωπείᾳ δυνάμει ἀνακληροδοῦσαι καὶ ἐξισῶσαι τῇ ἁνωθεν χάριτι.

Objects and persons described by Zachariah	DE TRINITATE	DIDYMUS	THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA	THEODORET
The stone of tin (ὁ λίθος ὁ κασσιτέρως) Zach. 4:10.	Tin is a cohesive metal, which also serves to restoring iron and copper vessels. The author denotes the notion of restoration of the people of God, in line with Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret. (<i>Lib. II</i>), PG:39.705.6–9: Κασσιτέρων δὲ λίθον εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ κασσιτέρῳ τὰ πεπονημένα σκεύη, σιδηρὰ τε καὶ χαλκὰ, θεραπεύεται καὶ ἀναπληροῦται, καὶ ἐνωτικὸς ἐστὶν ὁ κασσίτερος.	No exegesis.	The apparent weakness of the people of God, which will turn overwhelmingly powerful by divine support. Op. cit., 10b: μή τοίνυν ἀπιστεῖτε, φησὶν, τοῖς λεγομένοις, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὤψεσθε αὐτῶν τὸ πέρας καὶ χαρήσεσθε τὴν περὶ πάντα δύναμιν ὁρῶντες τοῦ Ζοροβάβελ. τοῦτο γὰρ λέγει τὸν κασσιτέρων λίθον, τὴν περιεσσεμένην αὐτῷ δηλῶν ἰσχὺν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ. ὁθεν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπήγαγεν.	The apparent weakness of the people of God, which will turn to overwhelming power by divine support. Op. cit., PG.81.1900.8–31: Διότι τίς ἐξουδένωσεν εἰς ἡμέρας μακράς; Ἔοικε τοῦτο τοῖς ἐν τῷ Δευτερονόμιῳ φερομένοις τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγοις: "Ἐγὼ ἀποκτενῶ, καὶ ζῆν ποιήσω· πατάξω, καὶ γὰρ ἰάσομαι." Τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐνταῦθα δηλοῖ, ὅτι καθάπερ ἐξουδένωσα τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς ἡμέρας μακράς, καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτων ἐρημίαν κατεψηφισάμην αὐτῆς· οὕτω μοι ῥάδιον εἰς τὴν προτέραν αὐτὴν ἐπαναγαγεῖν εὐπραξίαν. Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ὁρῶντες "Χαρήσονται, καὶ ὀψονται τὸν λίθον τὸν κασσιτέρων ἐν χειρὶ Ζοροβάβελ." Γινώσκονται, φησί, διὰ τῆς πείρας, ὡς ὁ νῦν παρ' αὐτῶν καταφρονούμενος

Θεός, αὐτὸς διὰ τοῦ Ζοροβάβελ
 κατορθώσει τὴν νίκην. Τὸν
 γὰρ κασσίτερον ἐπ' εὐτελείας
 ἐνταῦθα τέθεικεν. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ
 καὶ ὁ θεὸς νεὼς ἐμπέπηρστο,
 καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐξηδραπόδιστο, καὶ
 ἡ πόλις ἀνάστατος ἐγεγόνει,
 ὑπώπτειον δὲ ἅπαντες, οὐ διὰ
 τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ παρανομίαν, ἀλλὰ
 διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν
 τιμωμένου Θεοῦ, ταῦτα πάντα
 συμβῆναι, λιβὸν κασιτέρῃνον
 κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ὑπόνοιαν τὴν
 θείαν βοήθειαν προσηγάρευσεν,
 διδάσκων ὅτι αὕτη ἡ παρὰ τῶν
 ἀπίστων εὐτελής τις νομιζομένη
 καὶ ἀσθενής δι' ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς
 τοῦ Ζοροβάβελ τὴν οἰκίαν
 ἐπιδείξεται δύναμιν.

Objects and persons described by Zachariah	DE TRINITATE	DIDYMUS	THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA	THEODORET
The seven eyes (ἐπτὰ ὄφθοι) Zach. 4:10.	The divine counsel bestowed by the Holy Spirit. (<i>Lib. II</i>), PG:38.705:5–6: Οἱ οὖν τὴν πᾶσαν κτίσιν ἐφορώντες ἐπτὰ ὀφθαλμοί, οἱ προλεχθέντες παρὰδοξοὶ χρηματισμοὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος εἰσιν.	The Cherubim, as well as any illuminated Christian. Op. cit., 1.332: Ἐπτὰ θεῖους ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχει ὁ ἅλος ἐξ ὧν διορατικὸς ὑπάρχων· ταύτη γοῦν καὶ τὰ πανάγια Χερουβείν οἷς ἐπασχεῖται Θεός.	The divine power overseeing and counseling Zorobabel. Op. cit., 4:10c: ὁ γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἐφορῶν τε καὶ διοικῶν καὶ σώζων πλουσίως τε καὶ ποικίλως, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ καὶ ταῦτα ὑποσχομένος τε περὶ τοῦ Ζοροβάβελ καὶ πρὸς πέρας ἄξων. καὶ γὰρ καὶ κἀνταῦθα τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ τελείου λέγεται.	The divine power overseeing and counseling the people of God. Op. cit., PG.1900.26–32: λίθον κασσιτέρινον κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ὑπόνοιαν τὴν θείαν βολήθειαν προσηγόρευσε, διδάσκων ὅτι αὕτη ἡ παρὰ τῶν ἀπίστων εὐτελής τις νομιζομένη καὶ ἀσθενής, δι' ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς τοῦ Ζοροβάβελ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπιδείξεται δύναμιν. Ὅθεν εὐθὺς ἐπήγαγεν· “Ἐπτὰ οὗτοι ὀφθαλμοὶ Κυρίου εἰσιν, οἱ ἐπιβλέποντες ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν.”

Objects and persons described by Zachariah	DE TRINITATE	DIDYMUS	THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA	THEODORET
'And on that day living water shall spring forth out of Jerusalem' (καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐξελεύσεται ὕδωρ ζῶν ἐξ Ἱερουσαλήμ) Zach. 14:8.	The spiritual baptism in the name and through the teaching of the Trinitarian God. (<i>Lib. II</i>), PG.39.708.7-9: Τὸ δὲ "ζῶν ὕδωρ," καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀνω ἐκπορευόμενον Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἄρα καὶ ζώντας γεννᾷ.	Knowledge of the ecclesiastical doctrine. Op. cit., 5.82: Ἐξερχόμενον γὰρ ὕδωρ ζῶν ἐκ τῆς νοητῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ, τῆς τὴν εἰρήνην ὁρώσης Ἑκκλησίας, ὁ πνευματικὸς νόμος ἐστίν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἡ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν φρονημάτων γνώσις.	The true and spiritual worship, in the name of the Trinitarian God. Op. cit., 14:8a: τότε καθαρὰ ἱερωσύνη ἐπὶ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐπιτελεσθήσεται καὶ νόμιμος προστάσια τε ἀρέσκουσα τῷ Θεῷ καὶ διδασκαλία τοῖς νόμοις ἀκλόουδος τοῖς θεοῖς, ἥτις οὐ τοῖς κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ ἔθνους ἐπιτηδεῖα μόνον ἔσται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα.	The Christian message, which was promulgated worldwide. Op. cit., PG.81.1953.48-51: Αὐνίττεται δὲ διὰ τοῦτου τὸ σωτήριον κήρυγμα, τὸ κατὰ πάσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην δρασμόν, καὶ τὰ τε ἔωα, τὰ τε ἐσπέρια τῆς θείας διδασκαλίας ἐμπλήσαν.

The vision of candlestick by prophet Zachariah (Zach. 3:8–4:14)

Objects and persons described by Zachariah	DE TRINITY	DIDYMUS	CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA
<i>East</i> is the name of my servant (τὸν δοῦλον μου 'Ανατολήν) Zach. 3:8.	For the power of the servant is of royal rank and shines like the East. (<i>Lib.</i> 2.8–27), PG:39.701.7–704.1: Τὰ ὅσα ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἱερέα τὸν μέγαν ἔφη: Ἄγω, φησί, τὸν δοῦλον μου τὸν Ζοροβάβελ εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς βασιλείας, ἀφ' ἧς ἔσται ὡς Ἄνατολή λαμπρὸς ἐκ τοῦ πρόγματος, τὸ ὄνομα καλέσας.	East is Jesus Christ, the Sun of Righteousness that has risen from the East. <i>Commentarii in Zachariam</i> , 1.252: ἀνδρα καλῶν αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν, ἀνατολήν δὲ διὰ τὸ ἀνατεταλάσκειναι, δικαιοσύνης ἥλιον ὄντα.	East is Jesus Christ, the Sun of Righteousness that has risen from the East. <i>Commentarius in XII Prophetas Minores</i> , Prophet Zachariah, v. 2, p. 321: καὶ τὶς δι' οὗτος ἔστιν; ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἄγω τὸν δοῦλόν μου ἀνατολήν. Θεὸς μὲν οὖν κατὰ φύσιν καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς πέρηνεν ὁ Μονογενής, καὶ ὡς τοῦτο ὑπάρχων, ἐλεύθερος, ἀλλὰ κενέωνκεν ἑαυτὸν, κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, καθίεις εἰς ὅπερ οὐκ ἦν, καὶ κεχηρμάτιζε δοῦλος, διὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, καίτοι Κύριος πάντων ὑπάρχων ὡς Θεός· ἀλλ' ἦν καὶ οὕτως ἀνατολή, τοιτέστι Δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος, ... δοῦλον δὲ φησὶν αὐτόν, διότι τὸ ἐν δοῦλου καθιεσθαι μορφή· ἀνατολήν δέ, ὅτι φῶς ἐστὶ τὸ ἀληθινόν, αὐτῇ καὶ ἡμέρα, καὶ λαμπρὸς ἑωσφόρος, εἰς νοῦν ἀνατελλών, καὶ καταφαιδύρων καρδίαν. ... (p. 323) Ἐδείξεν ὄντα καὶ φῶς καὶ ἀνατολήν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν.

Objects and persons described by Zachariah	DE TRINITATE	DIDYMUS	CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA
'Behold, I am digging a trench' (ἰδοὺ, ἐγὼ ὀρύσσω βόθρον) Zach. 3:9.	God renders Zorobabel victorious against his enemies. (<i>Lib. II</i>), PG.39.704.11: ἀντὶ τοῦ, Θάνατον ἐπ'αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς στρατηγίας τοῦ Ζοροβάβελ τοῖς πολέμοις.	God illuminates the world and brings all secrets of hearts to light. Op. cit. 1.262: Ὁρύσσω, φησιν, ἐγὼ Κύριος παντοκράτωρ, βόθρον, ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ κεκρυμμένα πάντα φανερώσαι, ἐπὶ τῷ ἀψύχῳ καὶ ψηλαφῆσαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἀδικίαν τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης; διήλον δ' ὅτι τῆς ὀρυττομένης, ἐν μιᾷ τῇ ἐπιλαμπτομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ, τότε μάλιστα ὅτε "φωτίζει Κύριος ὁ Θεός" ὁ παντοκράτωρ "τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ σκότους, καὶ τὰς βουλὰς τῶν καρδιῶν φανεροί", ἐπὶ τῷ καταδικάσαι τοὺς πράξαντας τὴν ἀδικίαν πᾶσαν.	'Trench' betokens the Cross. Op. cit., p. 323: βόθρῳ δὴ οὖν παρενδύει τὸν τοῦ Σωτῆρος σταυρόν. ... πέποιθε μὲν γὰρ τὸν Υἱόν ὁ Πατήρ, "ἵν' ὁ κόσμος σωθῇ" δι' αὐτοῦ." διὰ δὲ τῶν τῶν μὴ συνιέντων ἀπόνοιαν, γέρονε βόθρος καὶ πάγη τοῖς σταυρώσαντι ὁ ἀπεσταλμένος· νενομίσται δὲ τάχα που καὶ οὐρεῖται τὸν βόθρον ὁ πεπομφός. οὐρεῖω δὴ οὖν τὸν βόθρον φησὶ καὶ ψηλαφῆσαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἀδικίαν τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ· τὸ ψηλαφῆσαι φησὶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡγήσῃ καὶ περιεργάσσομαι λεπτόως. ἐπειδὴ ... εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκτόπως παραρνήσασθαι τὸν Υἱόν, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ σταυρῷ κατῳλισθόν βόθρον, οὐκ ἀφῆκεν αὐτῶν ἀψηλάφητον ἔτι τὴν ἀμαρτίαν.
The stone with the seven eyes (ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον τὸν ἑνα ἑπτὰ ὀφθαλμοὶ εἰσι) Zach. 3:9.	This is Zorobabel. (<i>Lib. 2.8-27</i>), PG.39.704.3: λίθον τὸν Ζοροβάβελ ὀνομάζει.	This is Christ. Op. cit., 1.254: Ἀποδιδοὺς δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ ἀγεσθαι τὸν δοῦλον αὐτοῦ ἀνατολὴν φησιν "Διότι ὁ λίθος ἀπὸ προσώπου" τοῦ ἐπιλάμπαντος "ἑπτὰ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχει". Τίς δ' οὗτος ἐστίν, ἢ ὁ ἐπιδημήσας Σωτήρ, ἔχων τὴν ἐπαδύναμον διορατικὴν φύσιν; Cf. Op. cit., 1.300-312.	This is Christ. Op. cit., p. 322: ὀνομάζει δὲ πρὸς τοῦτω καὶ λίθον αὐτόν. (See ff. <i>infra</i>).

Objects and persons described by Zachariah	DE TRINITATE		CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA	
	DIDYMUS			
The seven eyes on the stone Zach. 3:9.	The perceptive power of Zorobabel. (<i>Lith. II</i>), PG:39.701.10–704: Τούτα ὁ Θεός πρὸς Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἱερέα τὸν μέγαν ἔφη· Ἄγω, φησί, τὸν δοῦλόν μου τὸν Ζοροβάβελ· εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς βασιλείας, ἣς ἦς ἔσται ὡς Ἀνατολή λαμπρὸς· ἐκ τοῦ παράγματος τὸ ὄνομα καλέσας· ἐντεῦθεν τε συνεχὴ τὸν λόγον καὶ ἀδιάστατον ποιούμενος, λίθον τὸν Ζοροβάβελ ὀνομάζει, ἐφ’ ὃν τὸ πρῶτον Ἰησοῦ ἐστήρικτο, παρέσεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκ τῶν εὐχῶν ἐπικουρίαν, καὶ ἀντιλαμβάνον παρ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆ βασιλείας εἰρήνην.	DIDYMUS	They are the seven spirits of Isaiah 11:2, which rest upon Christ himself.	This is Christ overseeing the world. Op. cit., p. 332: ὀνομάζει δὲ πρὸς τούτῳ καὶ λίθον αὐτόν, καὶ μὴν καὶ δεδοσθαι φησί πρὸ προσώπου Ἰησοῦ, ἐπὶ τὰ τε ἔχειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς εὐ μάλα δισχυρίζεται. ἔδει γὰρ μάλιστα τὴν κατὰ νόμον ἱερωσύνην, ἧς εἰς τύπον θεθεῖκαμεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, οἶνει πρὸ προσώπου καὶ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχειν διὰ παντὸς τὸν λίθον τὸν ἐκλεκτόν, τὸν ἀερογωναῖον, τὸν ἔντιμον, τὸν εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιών, τὸν πολυτίμητον μαργαρίτην, τουτέστι Χριστόν, τὸν πολλοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐφορῶντα τὰ πάντα. τὸ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ τοῦ τελείως ἔχοντος αἰετως ἐστὶ σημαντικόν.
Candlestick all made of gold (<i>λυχνία χρυσή</i>) Zach. 4:2.	The most pure faith. ‘Gold’ bespeaks ‘pure things’. (<i>Lith. II</i>), PG:39.704.15: καὶ <i>λυχνίας χρυσῆς</i> , τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ τῆς καθαρότητος πίστεως, τῆς ἀρχομένης μὲν ἐξ ἡμῶν, ὑπομένης δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς παραγμάτων’ (διὰ γὰρ τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὸ καθάρων καὶ τιμίων παραλαμβάνεται· οὐ γὰρ πέφικεν ἰοῦσθαι χρυσός).		The spiritual temple of God. ‘Gold’ bespeaks ‘intelligible things’. Op. cit., 1.278: Εὐρίσκομεν οὐ πολλοῦ τοῦ χρυσοῦ σημαίνεται· τάχα οὖν ἡ νοητὴ <i>λυχνία</i> ὁ πνευματικὸς οἶκος καὶ ναὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ <i>τυγχάνει</i> . The soul and flesh assumed by Christ.	The Church. Op. cit., p. 330: τὴν γὰρ τοι <i>λυχνίαν</i> τὴν χρυσὴν φαμεν εἶναι πάλιν τὴν <i>Ἐκκλησίαν</i> .

Objects and persons described by Zachariah	DE TRINITATE	DIDYMUS	CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA
The bawl upon the candlestick (τὸ λαμπάδιον) Zach. 4:2.	The divine grace. (<i>Lib. II</i>), PG:39-704.20–22: λαμπάδιον, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν πάντα καταφαίνουσιν θεῖαν χάριν.	The teaching about the Trinity. Op. cit., 1.279: ὁ φωτεινὸς περὶ τῆς Τριάδος λόγος. The teaching about the Father. Op. cit., 1.286; 1.340.	This is Christ. Op. cit., p. 330: τὴν γάρ τοι λυχρίαν τὴν χρυσὴν φαμεν εἶναι πάλιν τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, ὡς τετιμημένην ἐν κόσμῳ, ὡς διαφανεσάτην ἐν ἀρεταῖς, ὡς ὑψοῦ δι' ἁλὶν ἡμένην τοῖς τῆς ἀληθοῦς θεογνωσίας δόγμασιν, ἐφ' ἣ τὸ λαμπάδιον, τουτέστι Χριστός ... τοῦτο τὸ λαμπάδιον τὸ πάσαν καταφωτίζει τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανόν, ἐπὶ τῇ λυχρίᾳ τέθεικεν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατήρ. Op. cit., p. 334: Ἀνεδίδουντο δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οἱ λύχνοι, τουτέστιν οἱ ἄγιοι, συνεκλάμποντες τῷ λαμπάδιῳ, φημί δι' Χριστῷ.
The seven lamps (οἱ ἑπτὰ λύχνοι) Zach. 4:2.	The gifts of the divine grace. (<i>Lib. II</i>), PG:39-704.22–23: καὶ ἑπτὰ λύχνους, ἀντὶ τοῦ τῆς πνευματικῆς θωρεᾶς τὴν ἀφθονίαν καὶ τελειότητηα.	The seven-fold divine power betokened by the 'spirits' of Isaiah 11:2: op. cit., 1.281: χρυσὴ ὅλη λυχρία ... ἣ ἐπίκεινται ἑπτὰ λύχνοι, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς θείας βουλῆς, καὶ ἰσχύος, καὶ γνώσεως, καὶ εὐσεβείας, καὶ φόβου Θεοῦ. Op. cit., 1.283: αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἑπταφερρῆς δύναμις τῶν ἐπάνω τῆς λυχρίας ἑπτὰ λύχνων.	The saints (apostles, evangelists, doctors of the Church). Op. cit., p. 330: ἑπτὰ δὲ οἱ λύχνοι, φῶς οὐκ ἔχοντες ἴδιον, ἀλλ' ἐπαχθέν καὶ ἔξωθεν, καὶ ταῖς δι' ἐλαίου χορηγίαις τρεφόμενον σημαίνουσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς ἁγίους ἀποστόλους, καὶ μέντοι καὶ εὐαγγελιστάς, καὶ τοὺς κατὰ καιρὸν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν διδασκάλους, δεχομένους μὲν οἶά τινας λύχνους εἰς νοὺν καὶ καρδίαν τὸν παρὰ Χριστοῦ φωτισμόν, καὶ ταῖς τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐπιχορηγίαις τρεφόμενον ἔχοντας, ἰέντας γεμῆν τοῖς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τὸ φῶς, καὶ τῷ λαμπάδιῳ συνακαυγάζοντας τοὺς πεπιστευκότας. Op. cit., p. 334: Ἀνεδίδουντο δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οἱ λύχνοι, τουτέστιν οἱ ἄγιοι, συνεκλάμποντες τῷ λαμπάδιῳ, φημί δι' Χριστῷ. So on p. 344 (<i>infra</i>).

Objects and persons described by Zachariah	DE TRINITY	DIDYMUS	CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA
Seven oil funnels (ἐπτά ἐπαρυσπίδες) Zach. 4:2.	The incessant and unfailing character of the divine gifts. (<i>Litb. II</i>). 39-70.4.23-25; πρὸς τοῦτοις ὑπερβεν ἐπτά ἐπαρυσπίδας, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ ἄσβεστον καὶ διαρκές τῆς ἐκείθεν ἐπιβρόης.	The devout study and knowledge of truth. Op. cit., 1.283: Αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἐπαφωγγὴς δύναμις τῶν ἐπάνω τῆς λυχρίας ἐπτά λύγων τρέφεται καὶ αὐξεται, ἐποχτυετομένου ἐλαίου διὰ τῶν ἐπτά ἐπα[ρ]υσπίδων ἐπιτρεουσῶν τὸ τρέφον καὶ φυλάττον τὸ φῶς ἔαιον. Οὐχ ἔτερον δὲ τοῦτο τυγχάνει τῆς μελέτης τῆς γνώσεως τῆς ἀληθείας. Μνήμην γάρ καὶ κραταιοτέραν θεωρίαν ἐκ τοῦ μελετᾶν κάρπουμέθα.	The divine illumination. Op. cit., p. 330: Ἐπιτήρει δέ, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἐπτά λύχοις ἐπαρυσπίδες ἦσαν, δι' ὧν αὐτοῖς εἰσεχέιτο τὸ ἔλαιον, ἐπαρυσπίδα γεμὴν τὸ λαμπάδιον οὐκ ἔχει. διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν, φῶς μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀληθινὸν ὁ Υἱός, οὐκ ἔξωθεν, οὐδὲ ἑπαχτόν, οὕτε μὴν παρ' ἑτέρου δοτὸν τὸ καταφωτίζειν δύνασθαι λαχόν· ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κατὰ φύσιν ὑπάρχων τὸ φῶς μεθεκτὸς γεμὴν ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ.
Two olive-trees (αἱ δύο ἐλαῖαι) Zach. 4:3.	The kingship and the priesthood (Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret). Alternatively, the 'two peoples', Jews and Christians (Cyril of Alexandria, <i>Commentarius in XIII Prophetas Minores</i> , v. 2, pp. 330-331). (<i>Litb. II</i>). PC.39-70.4. 25-28: καὶ δύο ἐλαίας· αἱ νοοῦνται, ἥτοι ἱερουσύνη καὶ βασιλεία, ἥτοι δύο λαοί, ἡ οἰκὶ Θεοῦ, ὁ Ἰσραηλιτῶν ποτε καὶ ὁ Χριστιανῶν.	The divine teaching. Op. cit., 1.281: σεσαφηνίσται δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρότερον λόγους εἶναι μελέτης θείας, ἐλαίας ὀνομαζομένους διὰ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῶν αὐξεν καὶ τρέφειν τὸ φῶς. Op. cit., 1.284: Καὶ ὅρα εἰ ἡ περι τῶν νοητῶν καὶ τῶν χαρισμάτων τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος μελέτη ἔλαιον ἐστὶ τρυγώμενον ἐκ τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐλαίας, ἡ δὲ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ συστάσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ προνοίας τῆς ἐκ Θεοῦ ἐκ τῆς εὐωνόμου ἐλαίας πιέζεται.	The 'two peoples', Jews and pagans, who made up the Church. Op. cit., p. 331: αἱ δύο γεμὴν ἐλαῖαι, μία ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ μία ἐξ εὐωνύμων τοῦ λαμπαδίου κεῖμεναι, τοὺς δύο λαοὺς ὑποσημαίνουσι, μονονοῦχὶ καὶ ἐν κύκλῳ περιεστῶτας Χριστόν. τετίμηνται γὰρ ὡς ἡλεγμένοι τῇ τοῖαδε στάσει. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἦσαν ἐκ τῆς καλλιελαιῶ, τούτεστιν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας Συναγωγῆς· οἱ δὲ τῆς ἀγριελαιῶ μὲν ἐξέφυσαν, τούτεστι τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν πληθὺς, πληρὴ ἐκνευρισθέντες εἰς καλλιέλαιον κοινῶν γεγόνασι τῆς πίστεως τῆς ρίζης. Op. cit., p. 336: ἐκλάμφουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ λύχοι, καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων τοῦ λαμπαδίου αἱ δύο πάντως ἐλαῖαι στήνονται, τοὺς δύο λαοὺς σηματούνουσαι.

Objects and persons described by Zachariah	<i>DE TRINITATE</i>	DIDYMUS	CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA
The two branches of the olive-trees (οἱ δύο κλάδοι τῶν ἐλαίων) Zach. 4:12.	No exegesis.	<p>The partial truths and introductory teaching to the profound divine truths.</p> <p>Op. cit., 1.337:</p> <p>Ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐ δυνατὸν τὸν ἕκ μέρους γινώσκοντα καὶ προφητεῦοντα θεωρῆσαι ἐξ ὅλων τὰ στελέχη καὶ τὰ ἔσθλη τῶν ἐκκεμμένων φυτῶν, ἕκ δευτέρου ἐπερώτησιν προσάγει περὶ δύο κλάδων ἐλαίων, τούτων γὰρ μίσις γινώσκων ἔχειν δυνατὸν τὸν δι' ἐσάπτρου καὶ αἰνίγματος ἐπιβάλλοντα τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, ἵν' ἕκ τῶν μερικῶν ὠφεληθεὶς δυνήθῃ ποτε γινῶναι τίνες αἱ ἐλαῖαι τυγχάνουσιν.</p>	<p>This is only an alternative expression for the 'two peoples', Jews and pagans, who made up the Church.</p> <p>Op. cit., p. 345: δύο μὲν γὰρ ἐλαίας ὠνόμαζεν ἐν ἀρχῇ· λεπτότερον δὲ πως τῆς διανοίας τὸν ὁφθαλμὸν τοῖς ὁρωμένοις ἐνείεις, οὐκ ἔτι μὲν ἐλαίας, κλάδους δὲ μάλλον ὠνόμαζεν ἐλαίων. ἐρομένῳ δὴ οὖν εὐτέρως ἀποφαινεται λοιπὸν ὁ μακάριος ἄγγελος, καὶ φησιν. Οὗτοι οἱ δύο υἱοὶ τῆς πίστεως παρεστήκασιν τῷ Κυρίῳ πάσης τῆς γῆς· υἱοὺς δὲ πίστης, τοὺς δύο που πάντως ἔφη λαοὺς, τὸν τε Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἐθνῶν, ὅσον εἰς πίστην τὴν πνευματικὴν παρενηνεγμένους. ταύτητοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς μυζητήρσι τῶν λύχνων τεθείσθαι φησιν αὐτοὺς ὡς εὐφρανομένους τε καὶ ἐνσταταλῶντας ἐλαίῳ τῷ παρὰ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Πνεύματος χάριτι πλουσίως πιανομένους.</p>

Objects and persons described by Zachariah	DE TRINITATE	DIDYMUS	CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA
The mountain (τὸ ὄρος) Zach. 4:7.	Mountain is the devil. (<i>Lib. II</i>), PG.39.704. 35: "Ὁρος ἐνταῦθα τὸν πολέμιον καλεῖ	Mountain is the incarnated Saviour. Op. cit., 1.301: Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ μὲν τις ἐρεῖ τὰς δύο προσηγορίας ἐκ παραλλήλου κείσθαι κατὰ τοῦ ἐπιδημήσαντος Σωτήρος, Πολλὰ γὰρ γράφαται καὶ ὄρος καὶ λίθον αὐτὸν ὀνομάζουσιν. See further 1.302–312.	Mountain is the devil. Op. cit., p. 335: ἔοικε τοῖνυν ὁ λόγος μονοουχί καὶ ἐπιτιμᾶν τῷ ὄρει τῷ μεγάλῳ, τουτέστι τῷ σατανᾷ κατεξενισταμένῳ τε καὶ ἀντεξάγοντί τῷ Χριστῷ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ δυστροπίας τὴν δύναμιν. Mountain is God the Father. Op. cit., p. 336: "Ἡ τοῖνυν κατὰ τοῖνδε πινὰ τρόπον προσβαλοῦμεν τοῖς εἰρημένοις· ἡ καὶ ἐτέρως εἰ δοκεῖ. ... προσυπακούει λέγων ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατήρ· ἐγὼ τὸ ὄρος τὸ μέγα τὸ πρὸ προσώπου Ζοροβάβελ τοῦ κατορθώσαι, τουτέστιν, ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ πάντα υπεράρρουσα φύσις, ἡ θεοτρεπέσιν ὑψώμασιν εἰς τὴν ὑπέρκεινα πάντων διαίτουςα δόξαν ἡ κατὰ καιροὺς ἀρχέσειν μέλλουσα πρὸς κατορθωσιν τῶν ἐπηγγελεμένων καὶ πρὸ προσώπου Ζοροβάβελ. ... μεμνήμεθα δὲ ὅτι παρὰ τῷ σοφωτάτῳ Δανιήλ, ὡς ὄρος ἡμῖν ὠνόμασται πάλιν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατήρ.

Objects and persons described by Zachariah	<i>DE TRINITATE</i>	DIDYMUS	CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA
The stone of the inheritance (ὁ λίθος τῆς κληρονομίας) Zach. 4:7.	This is Zorobabel. (<i>Lib. II</i>), PG. 39.704.36–40: Τὸν λίθον, φησί, τῆς κληρονομίας τὸν Ζοροβάβελ, καὶ οὗ ἀντιπρόσωπος καὶ ἐναντίος ὁμοῦς. τοσαύτη πνευματικὴ χάρις, κατορθοῦντα τὰς μάχας, περιβαλεῖ, ὥς ὅλον αὐτὸν δοκεῖν αὐτόχρημα χάριν ὑπάρχειν.	This is Christ. Op. cit., 1.301: Τίς εἰ σύ, ὦ ὅρος πρὸ προσώπου τυγχάνων τοῦ Ζοροβάβελ τοῦ κατορθώσαι, καὶ τίς ὁ λίθος ὃν ἐξέσω τῆς κληρονομίας ἰσότητα χάριτος; χάριτα αὐτῆς; Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ μὲν τις ἐρεῖ τὰς δύο προσηγορίας ἐκ παραλλήλου κείσθαι κατὰ τοῦ ἐπιδημήσαντος Σωτήρος. Πολλὰ γὰρ γράφαι καὶ ὅρος καὶ λίθον αὐτὸν ὀνομάζουσιν. Cf. Op. cit., 306: 'stone of inheritance' is the folk of the pious Christians.	This is Christ. Op. cit., p. 337: οὐκ οὖν ὡς ἐξ ὅρους τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς ἀφρογυναιὸς καὶ ἔκλεκτος ἀποτιμήθεις λίθος ὁ Υἱὸς γέγονεν ἡμῖν κληρονομία. ... ἀλλ' ἐν ἰσότητι τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ὁμοίωσιν τῆς ἀρχαίας ἐκείνης χάριτος, χάρις ἡμῖν ἐτέρα δέδοται παρὰ Χριστοῦ, ὃς γέγονεν ἡμῖν, λίθος μὲν, ὥς θεμέλιος, ἦγον ἀφρογυναιὸς, κληρονομία δὲ πάλιν, γεγόναμεν γὰρ δι' αὐτοῦ κληρονόμοι Θεοῦ.

Objects and persons described by Zachariah	DE TRINITATE	DIDYMUS	CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA
The stone of tin (ὁ λίθος ὁ κασσιτέρου) Zach. 4:10.	Tin is a cohesive metal, which also serves to restoring iron and copper vessels. The author denotes the notion of restoration of the people of God in line with Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret. (<i>Lit. II</i>), PG:39:705,6–9: Κασσιτέρων δὲ λίθον εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ κασσιτέρῳ τὰ πεπονήθота σκεύη, σιδηρὰ τε καὶ χαλκὰ, θεραπεύεται καὶ ἀναπληροῦται, καὶ ἐνωτικὸς ἐστὶν ὁ κασσίτερος. The notion of tin being a unifying element is Cyril's. See text on right column.	No exegesis.	This is Christ. Op. cit., pp. 341–342: χαρήσεται γὰρ καὶ ὕψεται τὸν λίθον τὸν κασσιτέρων ἐν χειρὶ Ζοροβάβελ. κασσιτέρων δὲ λίθον ὠνόμασε τὸν Χριστόν. ... Κασσιτέρῳ τὸν, ἡγουν μολίβῳ, παρεικάζει Χριστόν, ὡς ἐκτρίκοντα τοὺς ῥύπους, ὡς ἀπαλλάττοντα τῶν περιττῶν, ὡς ἀποκαθαίροντα νοητῶς. Op. cit., p. 344: λίθος γεμὴν κασσιτέρινος, καὶ καθ' ἕτερον ἀν' νοῦτο πρόπαν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός. ὁ γὰρ τοι κασσίτερος συνάπτει πρὸς ἑνωσιν τὰ διηρημένα, κολλητικὴν ἔχων τὴν φύσιν. πέπραχε δὲ τι τοιοῦτον καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ὁ Χριστός, εἴπερ ἐστὶν ἀληθές, ὡς “εἰς ἓνα καινόν” ἄνθρωπον τοὺς δύο κτίζει λαούς, ποιῶν εἰρήνην καὶ “ἀποκαταλλάσσαν ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι τοὺς ἀφοστέρους,” εἰς τὴν διὰ Πνεύματος ἑνωσιν. ἔθεν καὶ λίθος ἀερογωνιάος ὠνόμασται, συνδέων εἰς ἑνωσιν τοὺς δύο λαούς, ὡς ἔφην. συνῆψε δὲ καὶ ἀγγέλοις τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμᾶς δι' ἑαυτοῦ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρί, τὴν μεταξὺ κειμένην καὶ πάλαι διατειχίζουσιν καθελὼν ἀμαρτίαν.

Objects and persons described by Zachariah	DE TRINITATE	DIDYMUS	CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA
The seven eyes (ἐπτὰ οὐτοὶ ὀφθαλμοί) Zach. 4:10.	The divine counsel bestowed by the Holy Spirit. (<i>Lib. II</i>), PG.38.705.5–6: Οἱ οὖν τὴν πᾶσαν κτίσιν ἐφορώντες ἐπτὰ ὀφθαλμοί, οἱ προλεχθέντες παράδοξοι χρηματισμοὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος εἰσιν.	The Cherubim, as well as any illuminated Christian. Op. cit., 1.332: 'Ἐπτὰ θεῖους ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχει ὁ ὅλος ἐξ ὅλων διαορατικὸς ὑπάρχων· ταύτη γοῦν καὶ τὰ πανάγια Χερουβεῖν οἷς ἐποχεῖται Θεός.	Either the saints or the divine superintendence. Op. cit., pp. 343–344: ἐπιφέρει δὲ τοῦτοις εὐθὺς τῆς προφητείας ὁ λόγος Ἐπτὰ οὐτοὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ Κυρίου εἰσιν οἱ ἐπιβλέποντες ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. καὶ τίνες ἂν εἴεν οὗτοι πάλιν; ἢ γὰρ τοὺς ἐπτὰ λύχνους, οὓς τεθέσται σὺν τῷ λαμπραδίῳ, κέλῳκεν ὀφθαλμοὺς Κυρίου, ἵνα νοούμεν τοὺς ἁγίους, δι' ὧν ἡ σύμπασα καταφωτίζεται γῆ, καὶ ἐπισκοπῆς ἀξιωθείσα φαίνεται τῆς παρὰ Θεοῦ· ἡγοῦν ἐκεῖνο οἰμαί που κατασημαίνειν ἐροῦμεν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἀμελήσειε τῶν ἰδίων κτισμάτων ὁ τῶν ὅλων Θεὸς καὶ Πατήρ· ἀλλ' οἶον πολλοῖς τε καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁμᾶσι τὰ πάντα περιαβρῶν, χαριεῖται τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τὸν λίθον τὸν κασιτέρνιν, τουτέστι Χριστόν, δι' οὗ γέγονεν εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ ὁ τῆς ἐπισκέψεως, ἦγοῦν ὁ τῆς ἐπιβλέψεως τρόπος.
			Further at the same point, Cyril included bishops, indeed himself, into this class: loc. cit. οὐδὲν οἶμαι τὸ ἀπεικός, ἐν ὀφθαλμῶν τάξει τοὺς ἁγίους μυσταγωγὸς τεθεῖσθαι λέγειν, ὡς τῶν ἄλλων προὔχοντα καὶ ὑπερκειμένους, ταύτητοι καὶ ἐπισκόπους ἀνομασμένους, καθάπερ ἐγώμαι.

Objects and persons described by Zachariah	DE TRINITY		CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA	
	The spiritual baptism in the name and through the teaching of the Trinitarian God. (<i>Lib. II</i>), PG. 39.708.7-9: Τὸ δὲ “ζῶν ὕδωρ,” καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἁνὼς ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκείνη ἐξελεύσεται ὕδωρ ζῶν ἐξ Ἱερουσαλήμ) Zach. 14:8.	DIDYMUS	The Holy Spirit. Op. cit., v. 2, pp. 521-522: Ἐξηγείται πάλιν ἡμῖν ἀνιγματοδῶς, ὅτι διὰ πλείστην τε ὄση καὶ ἀμφιλαφὴς ἡ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος χάσις τοῖς ἀγίοις ἐκονεργήσεται, κατ’ ἐκεῖνο μάλιστα τοῦ καιροῦ, καθ’ ὃν ἂν εἰς ἀγίαν τε καὶ ἀμήρυτον ἀνακομισθεῖεν ζῶν, τὴν ὥς ἐν αἰῶνι φημι τῷ μέλλοντι. νυνὶ μὲν γὰρ διὰ πίστεως τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν ὥς ἐν ἀράβωνος τάξει τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος πεπλουτήκαμεν· μετὰ δὲ γε τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναβίωσιν, ἀνηρημένης εἰς ἅπαν τῆς ἀμαρτίας, οὐκ ἐν ἀράβωνος ἐτι τάξει τε καὶ μέτρῳ τὸ θεῖον ἐν ἡμῖν ἔσται Πνεῦμα· πλουσίως δὲ καὶ ἀμφιλαφῶς, ὥς ἔφην, καὶ ἡδὴ τελείως τοῖς διὰ Χριστοῦ χαρίσμασιν ἐντροφήσομεν. ὕδωρ διὰ οὖν ζῶν δνομάζει τὸ Πνεῦμα, ὃ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἁνῶς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐξελεύσεσθαι φησιν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ κατοικεῖν ἐν οὐρανοῖς τὸν τῶν ὅλων Θεὸν ἢ θεόπνευστος ἔφη γραφή, εἰ καὶ ἔστι πανταχοῦ καὶ πεπλήρωκε τὰ πάντα, ταύτητοί φησι καὶ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὸ ζῶν ποῖόν ἐξελεύσεσθαι Πνεῦμα. Ὅτι δὲ ὕδασι παρεικάξιν ἔθος τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμματασι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον, αὐτὸς πιστώσεται λέγων ὁ τοῦτου Δοτήρ, τουτέστιν ὁ Υἱός.	

These tables speak for themselves, so there are only a couple of further remarks I wish to make.

Whereas Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret render the 'two olive-tress' as 'the kingship and the priesthood' (ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ ἱερωσύνη), Didymus takes this to bespeak 'the divine teaching'. He further refers to 'one of the previous exegetes' who had it that the 'two olives' betoken 'the teaching about the Son and the Holy Spirit',⁵⁷⁹ without mentioning any names. However, no such rendering can be traced in literature. Methodius of Olympus explained the 'two olives' as signifying 'the law and the prophets'.⁵⁸⁰ Later, Maximus Confessor considered the 'two olives' and offered a battery of all possible and impossible explanations as to what they stand for: (1) the two Testaments; (2) the two laws, namely the natural and the spiritual one; (3) providence/judgement; (4) the mystery of Incarnation/the mystery of passion; (5) *theoria/praxis*; (6) faith/benevolent consciousness; (7) the two peoples, Jews and Christians; (8) soul/body; (9) the two worlds, the intelligible and the material one; (10) present life/future life; (11) the inherent habit (ἔξις) of goodness/good action. None of them tallies with the one Didymus says he had once heard of.

The author of *DT* employs the rendering by Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret to the word. However, he also provides an alternative: the two olive-trees may also betoken 'the two peoples' who made up the Christian Church.⁵⁸¹ This is a telling token of the author on the one hand remaining faithful to his Antiochene patrimony, while on the other allowing also for the alternative suggested by Cyril of Alexandria.⁵⁸² This is all the more significant, since the notion of 'the two peoples' is entertained by Cassian in his *Scholia in Apocalypsin*.⁵⁸³ Oecumenius employed the idea in his own commentary on the Revelation: he mentions previous exegetes entertaining this exegesis and styles them 'saints'.⁵⁸⁴ That Oecumenius had in mind

⁵⁷⁹ Didymus, *commZacch*, 1.338.

⁵⁸⁰ Methodius of Olympus, *Symposium sive Convivium Decem Virginum*, Oration 10.6.

⁵⁸¹ *DT* (*lib. II*), PG.39.704.25–28: καὶ δύο ἐλαίας· αἱ νοοῦνται, ἤτοι ἱερωσύνη καὶ βασιλεία, ἦτοι δύο λαοί, ἡ οἰκοὶ Θεοῦ, ὁ Ἰσραηλιτῶν ποτε καὶ ὁ Χριστιανῶν.

⁵⁸² See table *supra*, p. 556. Cyril of Alexandria, *commProphXII*, v. 2, p. 331: αἱ δύο γεμῆν ἐλαΐαι, μία ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ μία ἐξ εὐωνύμων τοῦ λαμπαδίου κείμεναι, τοὺς δύο λαοὺς ὑποσημαίνουσι. *Op. cit.* p. 333: τοὺς δύο λαοὺς, ἡ τοὺς λύχνους τοὺς νοητοὺς ἐπέθηκε τῇ λυχνίᾳ. p. 336: καὶ οἱ λύχνοι, καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων τοῦ λαμπαδίου αἱ δύο πάντως ἐλαΐαι στήσονται, τοὺς δύο λαοὺς σημαίνουσαι.

⁵⁸³ Cassian the Sabaite, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, XXXI: οἱ γὰρ ἐν Χριστῷ προσεληλυθότες πάντες Ἰουδαῖοί τε καὶ Ἕλληνες συμπληροῦσιν τὸ νοητὸν τοῦτο ἔθνος.

⁵⁸⁴ Oecumenius, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, p. 129: ὅτι μὲν οὖν εἰς τοὺς δύο λαοὺς, τοὺς ἐξ Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐθνῶν, οἱ δύο κλάδοι τῶν ἐλαίων ἡρμηνεύθησαν, τοῖς ἀγίοις οὐκ ἡγνόηται.

Cyril of Alexandria is certain. Whether he had also Cassian in mind is a question which I leave moot, yet I intend to deal with this in a future work of mine treating the relation between the two commentaries on the Apocalypse.

Likewise, the author of *DT* draws on Origen, while on the whole remaining faithful to the great Antiochene doctors. Referring to the 'mountain' of Zach. 4:7, he is prompt to employ Origen's resolution: 'mountain' betokens the devil.⁵⁸⁵ This runs sheer contrary to the exegesis sustained by two eminent Alexandrians, namely, Didymus and Cyril. Didymus has it that both 'the stone of the inheritance' and 'mountain' signify 'the incarnated Saviour'.⁵⁸⁶ Cyril of Alexandria reflects on the selfsame terms⁵⁸⁷ and in contrast with Origen, he takes 'mountain' to bespeak 'God the Father'.⁵⁸⁸ It is only when Cyril comments on Habakkuk 3:6 (while also recalling Jer. 28:25), that he allows for an *ad hoc* rendering of 'mountain' denoting the devil.⁵⁸⁹ Theodore of Mopsuestia takes 'mountain' as betokening the mighty of this world, although he does not go as far as to identify 'mountain' with the 'devil' explicitly.⁵⁹⁰ This is nevertheless clearly suggested by Theodoret, since the 'nations' of this world combating against the Church in general were taken to stand for the adversary power.⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸⁵ Cf. Origen, *frJer*, 41: ἀναγωγῆς δὲ λόγῳ καὶ ὁ διάβολος ὅρος ὠνόμασται, ὡς ἐν τῷ Ζαχαρίᾳ· "τίς εἰ σύ, τὸ ὅρος τὸ μέγα τὸ πρὸ προσώπου Ζοροβάβελ," *homJer*, Homily 12.12: ὁ διάβολος ὅρος σκοτεινὸν ἔστιν, οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου οἱ καταργούμενοι ὄρη εἰσὶ σκοτεινὰ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ὁ σεληνιασμός ὅρος ἦν, καὶ σκοτεινὸν ὅρος ἦν, περὶ οὗ ἔλεγεν ὁ σωτὴρ· "ἐρεῖτε τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ". *commJohn*, XIII.16.95: εἰπὼν ὅρος μὲν τὸν διάβολον λέγεσθαι ἢ τὸν κόσμον αὐτοῦ. *frMatt*, 415: τὸ δὲ ὅρος τοῦτο εἰς τὸν διάβολον ἐκλαμβάνεται. *commMatt*, 16, 26: τὸ βαρὺ τῆς κακίας ὅρος, ὁ σατανάς. *Op. cit.*, 16, 28: ἐν ἐκάστῳ δ' οἶμαι ἀπίστῳ καὶ ἀνόμῳ ὅρος ἐπίκειται κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς ἀπιστίας καὶ τῆς ἀνομίας.

⁵⁸⁶ Didymus, *commZacch*, 1.301: Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ μὲν τις ἐρεῖ τὰς δύο προσηγορίας ἐκ παραλλήλου κείσθαι κατὰ τοῦ ἐπιδημήσαντος Σωτῆρος. Πολλὰ γὰρ γραφαὶ καὶ ὅρος καὶ λίθον αὐτὸν ὀνομάζουσιν. See further, 1.302–312.

⁵⁸⁷ Cyril of Alexandria, *commProphXII*, v. 2, p. 336: Τίς ἄρα εἰ σύ, ὁ τὰ οὕτω μεγάλα πολέμου δίχα πάντος καὶ ἀμογητὶ κατορθώσῃν ὑπισχνούμενος; προσυπακούει λέγων ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ· ἐγὼ τὸ ὅρος τὸ μέγα τὸ πρὸ προσώπου Ζοροβάβελ τοῦ κατορθώσαι, τουτέστιν, ἐγὼ εἰμι ἢ πάντα ὑπεραίρουσα φύσις, ἡ θεοπρεπέσιν ὑψώμασιν εἰς τὴν ὑπερέκεινα πάντων διάττουσα δόξαν, ἢ κατὰ καιροὺς ἀρκέσειν μέλλουσα πρὸς κατόρθωσιν τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων καὶ πρὸ προσώπου Ζοροβάβελ.

⁵⁸⁸ Cyril of Alexandria, *op. cit.* p. 336: μεμνήμεθα δὲ ὅτι παρὰ τῷ σοφωτάτῳ Δανιὴλ, ὡς ὅρος ἡμῖν ὠνόμασται πάλιν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ.

⁵⁸⁹ Cyril of Alexandria, *commProphXII*, v. 2, p. 138: ὅρος δὲ που καὶ ἐτέρωθι κατωνόμασται πάλιν ὁ σατανάς. See *supra*, p. 558.

⁵⁹⁰ Theodore of Mopsuestia, *commProphXII*, Prophet Zachariach, 7: ὅρος λέγει μέγα τοὺς ἄγαν δυνατοὺς ἐν βασιλείᾳ τε καὶ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ ὑψηλὸν πλῆθος.

⁵⁹¹ Theodoret, *commProphXII*, PG.81.1897.45–46: Ἐπειδὴ γάρ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ζοροβάβελ λίθον ὠνόμασεν, εἰκότως καὶ τὰ μυρία ἔθνη ἐκεῖνα ὅρος καλεῖ, καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ναοὺ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν κωλύσαι πειρώμενα, καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τὸ λειπομένον καταλῦσαι.

Here is, therefore, one more instance of 'Antioch' and 'Alexandria' standing not too far from each other: whereas the author of *DT* employs a clear-cut exegesis produced by Origen, he ends up with standing very close to the masters of the Antiochene lore. If there is something strange here, it is the fact that whereas Didymus' understanding of the vision of Zachariah is so different from that of *DT*, there are still scholars who strive to argue for the fanciful case of Didymus being the author of this work.

To cite one last instance, the verb χρησιμωδεῖσθαι deserves some attention. According to the Suda lexicon, it means θεολογεῖν, but it mainly means 'utter an oracle'.⁵⁹² Christian usage of it suggests quotation of a scriptural portion, mainly a prophetic one. Whereas this transpires at eighteen points of *DT*⁵⁹³ and once in the fragments made of comments on the Psalms,⁵⁹⁴ it never appears in Didymus' own works.

De Trinitate and the Scholia in Apocalypsin

Whenever mainstream Christian theology considered the term ὑπόστασις ('hypostasis') in a Trinitarian context, this has been taken to suggest an individual Person of the Trinity. The portion Heb. 1:3 ('character of his hypostasis') means the hypostasis of the Father, not that of the Trinitarian God. It was Cyril of Jerusalem who made reference to the 'divine hypostasis' (θεία ὑπόστασις) indicating the being of the Trinitarian God.⁵⁹⁵ Whether the author of *DT*⁵⁹⁶ drew on Cyril or not, I cannot say. I have no doubt, however, that in doing so he definitely was aware of both Proclus and Simplicius having entertained the notion of 'divine hypostasis' (θεία ὑπόστασις) in this sense.⁵⁹⁷ The statement in *DT* is expressive, since the author makes

⁵⁹² Cf. Plato, *Cratylus*, 396d3; 428c7; *Protagoras*, 316d8; *Apologia Socratis*, 22c2; 39c1–3; *et passim*. Aristotle, *De Mundo*, 395b28; and a couple of fragments. Lucian of Samosata, *Alexander*, 22; 25; 26; *et passim*. Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 1, pp. 40; 41; *et passim*. *Et. al.*

⁵⁹³ *DT* (*lib.* 1), 15.58; 15.72; 15.74; *et passim*.

⁵⁹⁴ *frPs(al)*, Fr. 949 (χρησιμωδῶσαν).

⁵⁹⁵ Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses ad Illuminandos* 1–18, Catechesis 6.5: εἰ ἀκατάληπτός [ἐστιν] ἡ ὑπόστασις ἡ θεία, καὶ τί σὺ περὶ τούτων διηγῇ; 6.7: βλάσφημος γὰρ ὁ λόγος καὶ θείας ὑποστάσεως ἀνάξιος.

⁵⁹⁶ *DT* (*lib.* 1), 15.5–6: ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει: "ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ᾗν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ παντοκράτωρ". Τὸ "ὁ ὢν" σημαίνει τὸ αἰεὶ ὄν τῆς θείας ὑποστάσεως καθὰ καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ ἔφαμεν. ἀόριστος γὰρ ἡ λέξις, ὅθεν ὄνομα ἑαυτοῦ ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν τὸ "ὁ ὢν".

⁵⁹⁷ Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (*lib.* 1–6), v. 1, p. 21: καὶ πρὸς τὴν θεῖαν ὑπόστασιν ἐστὶν οὐκ ἀνάρμοστον. v. 1, p. 23: ὅσοι τῆς θείας καὶ αὐλοῦ καὶ χωριστῆς ὑποστάσεως στοχάζονται καὶ

a possibly illuminating self-citation. He proposes that the participle ὁ ὢν occurring in the Apocalypse actually means ‘being always’. In other words, the specific participle is taken to denote the omnitemporality, not the atemporality, of the divine being.⁵⁹⁸ Furthermore, the author says that he has made this proposition ‘in another work’ of his (καθὰ καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ ἔφαμεν), which means that the author has written others works, too.

There are some important conclusions flowing from this statement. First, the author of *DT* subscribes to the authority of the Book of Revelation, which is not to be taken for granted, even among theologians of this late era. Besides, his statement according omnitemporality to God is virtually the same as one made in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*.⁵⁹⁹ The participle ὁ ὢν refers to the Logos being present throughout history and both instances aim at emphasizing his omnitemporal, not atemporal, being. However, in the *Scholia* there is no etymological proposition for this participle, which means that the author refers to some *other* work of his. The instances where this etymology is proposed are only a few and countable ones: they all transpire in statements considering the Logos being with the Father beginninglessly. Put in these terms, the idea shows for the first time in Athanasius,⁶⁰⁰ followed by John Chrysostom.⁶⁰¹ The third and last instance is the

πρὸς ταύτην βλέποντες τὰς τε συνθέσεις ποιοῦνται. Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 9, p. 5: ὡς καὶ Πλάτων δηλοῖ ἀπὸ τῶν φυσικῶν κινήσεων ὁρμηθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν εὕρεσιν τῆς τε αὐτοκινήτου οὐσίας καὶ τῆς νοεράς καὶ θείας ὑποστάσεως.

⁵⁹⁸ *DT* (lib. 1), 15.5–6: ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει· “ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ παντοκράτωρ”. Τὸ “ὁ ὢν” σημαίνει τὸ αἰεὶ ὄν τῆς θείας ὑποστάσεως καθὰ καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ ἔφαμεν. ἀόριστος γὰρ ἡ λέξις, ὅθεν ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν τὸ “ὁ ὢν”. The quotation is a paraphrase compiling Rev. 1:8 and 19:6. This extremely rare reference to an ‘indefinite word’ evinces a meticulous student of the famous grammarian Apollonius Dyscolus (ἀόριστος ἡ λέξις). Likewise in *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.620.19–21 (ref. to the Holy Spirit): Λείπεται τὸ Θεὸν εἶναι, ἀπὸ τε τῶν Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φωνῶν, ἀπὸ τε πάσης ἐννοίας τῶν Γραφῶν καὶ τῆς “ἐκπορεύεται” λέξεως. Ἀόριστος γὰρ οὐσα, τὸ αἰεὶ ὄν καὶ ἀχώριστον τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, ἐξ οὗ ἀρρήτως προέρχεται, θειότατα ἐνδείκνυνται. Cf. Apollonius Dyscolus, *De Constructione*, part 2, v. 2, p. 139: εἶγε μία λέξις πλείονα σημαίνουσα ἀόριστον παρεμπτόσεως αἰτία γίνεται. Op. cit. p. 169: καὶ σαφές ἐστι μία λέξις κατ’ ἀπειρῶν κειμένη ἀόριστον πρόσωπον ὑπαγορεύει, εἰς πολλὰ τῆς διανοίας τρεπομένης. This is a unique reproduction during the first millennium: the author of *DT* does not actually refer to indefinite *pronouns*, but to indefinite words in general. Of the foregoing two instances, the first points to a participle, the second to a verb.

⁵⁹⁹ Scholion IV: Τοὺς τρεῖς χρόνους περιεῖληφεν ὁ (Λ)όγος. Τοῦτο ἐπιστάμενος ὁ θεολόγος Ἰωάννης ἐνταῦθα φησὶν ὅτι ὁ σωτὴρ ἐστὶν ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος(ς). Τὸ ὢν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐνεστώτα ἀναφέρει, τὸ ἦν ἐπὶ τὸν παρελθόντα, τὸ ἐρχόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν μέλλοντα.

⁶⁰⁰ Athanasius, *Orationes Tres Contra Arianos*, PG.26.221.16–19: ὁ δὲ Θεὸς οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρωπὸς ἐστὶ· τοῦτο γὰρ εἶπεν ἡ Γραφή· ἄλλ’ ὢν ἐστὶ καὶ αἰεὶ ἐστὶ· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Λόγος αὐτοῦ ὢν ἐστὶ καὶ αἰδιδίως ἐστὶ μετὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὡς ἀπαύνασμα φωτός.

⁶⁰¹ John Chrysostom, *In Joannem (homiliae 1–88)*, PG.59.99.58–100.1: κελεύεται εἰπεῖν, ὅτι Ὁ ὢν ἀπέσταλκέ με. Τὸ δέ, Ὁ ὢν, τοῦ αἰεὶ εἶναι σημαντικόν ἐστι.

famous, as well as mysterious, text of the 'fourth oration' against the Arians.⁶⁰² Since this is definitely a text much later than Athanasius, it only remains to assume that its author is the author of *DT* himself, in other words, Cassian, who definitely entertained the notion of 'hypostasis' in the sense of 'being'.⁶⁰³ There are indeed some more points which suggest that this specific work is Cassian's product. The *Oratio Quarta Contra Arianos* is the sole one besides the three commentators of the Apocalypse (namely, Hippolytus, Oecumenius, Andreas of Caesarea), where Rev. 25:15–17 is quoted.⁶⁰⁴ Furthermore, the expression δυνατὸν ἐκλαβεῖν ('it is possible to interpret as') of the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*⁶⁰⁵ is characteristic of only a few theologians. It occurs three times in Eusebius,⁶⁰⁶ once in Theodoret and John Chrysostom,⁶⁰⁷ but a good forty times in Didymus.⁶⁰⁸ Its presence in spurious or dubious works that recur during our exploration suggests that Cassian's relation to them should be explored.⁶⁰⁹ That John Philoponus entertained the same philological pattern only tells us that this was alive in the sixth century.⁶¹⁰ The expression was operative in Palestine, since we come upon this in a catena composed in Palestine, which is not surprising to me, since I am satisfied that Cassian and the Laura of Sabas contributed to such instances of survival.⁶¹¹ Once again, the fact

⁶⁰² Pseudo-Athanasius, *Oratio Quarta Contra Arianos*, 26: Πάλιν δὲ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ εἰρημένον "ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς" δείκνυσιν τὸν υἱὸν αἰεὶ εἶναι.

⁶⁰³ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 86v: Τοῦτο γάρ, καθὼς εἴρηται, μόνῃ ἐστὶν τῇ Τριάδι δυνατὸν, ἥτις πάσῃ τῇ νοητῇ φύσει ἐνυπάρχει δι' ὅλης τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτῆς καὶ οὐσίας διήκουσα καὶ ἐρευνῶσα τὰ ἀφανῆ αὐτῆς καὶ περιέχουσα καὶ μόνῃ ὑπάρχουσα ἀπλή καὶ ἀσώματος οὐσία.

⁶⁰⁴ Pseudo-Athanasius, *Oratio Quarta Contra Arianos*, 28–29.

⁶⁰⁵ Scholion XI: οἰόμενός τις ἀδυνατ(ο)ν εἶναι περὶ ἀγγέλου ἐκλαβεῖν.

⁶⁰⁶ Eusebius, *commPs*, PG.23: 148.11&32; 785.55.

⁶⁰⁷ Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Ezechielem*, PG.81.1185.13. John Chrysostom, *De Incomprehensibili Dei Natura*, Homily 4, line 308.

⁶⁰⁸ Didymus, *Commentarii in Job* (7.20c–11), Cod. p. 216; *commEccl* (5–6), Cod. pp. 196; *commEccl* (3–4.12), Cod. pp. 87; 128; *commEccl* (9.8–10.20), Cod. p. 304; *Commentarii in Zacchariam*, 1.208; 1.212; 1.289; 1.392; 4.35; 5.20; *Commentarii in Psalmos* 20–21, Cod. pp. 19; 22; *Commentarii in Psalmos* 29–34, Cod. p. 149; *Commentarii in Psalmos* 35–39, Cod. pp. 251; 265; *frPs(al)*, Frs. 74; 96; 109; 665a; 673a; 737a; 756; 767; 896; 921; 930; 939; 983; 993; 1110; 1159; 1177; *Fragmenta in Epistulam ii ad Corinthios* (in *catenis*), p. 37; *In Genesim*, Cod. p. 57.

⁶⁰⁹ Pseudo-Athanasius, *Oratio Quarta Contra Arianos*, 28. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaiam*, 14.289. *Sermones De Moribus a Symeone Metaphrasta Collecti*, PG.32.1376.47. *Epistulae*, 163.1.

⁶¹⁰ John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Libros De Generatione et Corruptione Commentaria*, v. 14.2, p. 156; *In Aristotelis Libros De Anima Commentaria*, v. 15, p. 118; *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 16, p. 104; v. 17, p. 867.

⁶¹¹ M. Harl, *La chaîne Palestinienne sur le Psaume 118* (Origène, Eusèbe, Didyme, Apollinaire, Athanase, Théodoret), Sources chrétiennes, 189, Paris, 1972. This manuscript attributes the

that Cassian's language shows in the *Epistulae et Amphilochia*⁶¹² only suggests that this collection should be redacted.

In *DT* one can see the author's insistence on securing the New Testament message by means of the Old one. This is what Cassian does in the Scholia, in order to confirm the theological homogeneity of the Revelation with the rest of all scripture. Here, however, the author not only practises, but also proclaims his methodology: 'the ancient scripture' 'should be used not as a secondary authority',⁶¹³ and at that point he quotes the same portion from Isaiah which he employs in Scholion XXII.⁶¹⁴

The characteristic verb διαφοιτᾶν ('to permeate') reveals another notion which is present in Cassian, Caesarius, and *DT* alike. Whereas Gregory of Nyssa had used the verb at three points, this was only meant to bespeak the apostolic teaching being propagated all over the *oikoumene*.⁶¹⁵ It was Pseudo-Dionysius who first introduced the verb in order to denote the universal omnipresence of God.⁶¹⁶ This is the sense in which this is entertained in all three texts.⁶¹⁷ There is only one identified author, namely Cassian, who applied this connotation in order to adumbrate God being present throughout the universe. A couple of either dubious or spurious

comment on the Psalmic portion 118, 75 to Origen, yet another one ascribed this to Didymus, *frPs(al)*, Fr. 1110.

⁶¹² Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 162: δηλοῦται τὸ ἀναρχον καὶ ἀτελεύτητον τοῦ θεοῦ. τοῦτο γὰρ παρίστησι καὶ τὸ ὦν· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ φωνὴ μήτε πρὸ αὐτοῦ μήτε μετ' αὐτὸν εἶναι τι κυρίως καὶ ὑπάρχειν ὅλως ἐνδεικνύται, ὅπερ τὸ αἰε εἶναι καὶ αἰδίως εἶναι συνίστησιν.

⁶¹³ *DT* (*lib. 1*), 26.49: καλύβει δὲ οὐδέν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχαίας τοῦτο συστήσαι γραφῆς· δεῖ γὰρ μὴ παρέργως κεκρῆσθαι τῇ θεολογίᾳ.

⁶¹⁴ Cf. Isaiah 1:14 (ἐγενήθητέ μοι εἰς πλησμονήν) quoted in both *DT* (*loc. cit.*) and Scholion XXII.

⁶¹⁵ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Inscriptiones Psalmorum*, v. 5, p. 129; *Encomium In Sanctum Stephanum Protomartyrem I*, p. 16. *De Vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi* (of miracles by faith to Christ, which took place on several occasions), PG.46.933.20.

⁶¹⁶ Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Divinis Nominibus*, pp. 213–214: Εἰ δέ τις τὴν ταῦτο τῶν λογίων ἢ τὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης θεωνυμίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰσοῦ λαμβάνοι, ρητέον ἴσον τὸν θεὸν οὐ μόνον ὡς ἀμερῇ καὶ ἀπαρέγκλιτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντων ἐπ' ἴσης διαφοιτῶντα. Cf. the regular sense, *op. cit.* p. 144: τῶν εἰς αὐτάς ἐκ τάγαθου διαφοιτησάντων δώρων. *De Caelestia Hierarchia*, pp. 45–46: καὶ εἰς πάσας ἀναλόγως προνοίᾳ διαφοιτῶντος θεοῦ φωτός.

⁶¹⁷ Scholion XV: ἀλλὰ καὶ (οἱ) πόδες αὐτοῦ, καθ' οὓς ἐπιπορεύεται τῷ παντὶ διαφ(οι)τήσας, διὰ τοῦ χαλκολιβάνου παραβάλλονται. *DT* (*lib. 2.1–7*), 6.2,2: ἅτε αὐτὸς τὴν φύσιν πρόνοια ὑπάρχων καὶ σοφία, δι' ὧν διαπεφοιτηκυῖα, ὡς ὁ πατήρ. Likewise, he refers to the 'cursed Porphyry' who took the Holy Spirit to be the equivalent of the Plotinian universal soul 'which is present throughout the world': οὐ τὴν ἀνθρώπου δὲ ὅμως, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῷ παντὶ διαπεφοιτηκυῖαν κόσμῳ. *DT* (*lib. 2.8–27*), PG.39.761.6–7. Sundry forms of it, at seven points. Caesarius *QR*, 24: καθ' ἡμᾶς διαφοιτᾷ αὐθαίρετῳ μετριότητι σοφίαν παιδεύων βροτούς. Cf. the hackneyed sense of the verb: *QR*, 67; 102; 121; 165; 183; 209; 210 (line 511).

texts which do so besides from the foregoing ones, are strong candidates for being attributed to Cassian's pen, as sustained thus far.⁶¹⁸

It is beyond doubt that Cassian was aware of Didymus' works. He drew on Didymus' commentary on the Apocalypse and quoted a large part of them in his personal 'book', viz. Codex 573. This granted, not only is *DT* a text with remarkable similarities to the Scholia, but at points it comes up with texts which are lost. In Scholion XXVI we read: "Therefore, one should not regard the being of the Saviour as dependent upon the will of the Father. For he is not a creature".⁶¹⁹ The verb ἐξάπτειν, used in the characteristic sense of 'making something, or someone dependent on something, or someone', is one that Didymus himself had used, too.⁶²⁰ Didymus presumably quoted the Arian tenet in order to refute it, yet a fragment of his is supposed not to quote from Arian texts, but to be Didymus' own words. What *DT* reveals is that in fact Didymus quoted to the letter, which means that the verb ἐξάπτειν in this specific context originates in Arian accounts. In other words, we have a verbatim quotation revealing the real source of the usage.⁶²¹

Cassian was influenced by, and actually prone to, a construction that transpires in Theodoret and is canvassed in Scholion XXXI.⁶²² The syntax goes thus: the participle or infinitive along with the object are placed at the very beginning of the sentence, and the main verb is put almost at the end of it. It is quite telling that the same rhetorical construction appears in *DT*, too, thus suggesting that the same hand penned this text.⁶²³

⁶¹⁸ Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *In Psalmos 101–107*, PG.55.639.65–68: Ὑπάρχων δὲ ὁ Κύριος ἀσώματος οὐσία καὶ νοερά, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὲρ ταῦτα, μηδαμοῦ περατούμενος, οὐ περιγράφεται τόπω· διαφοιτᾷ δὲ τῇ δυνάμει δι' ὅλης τῆς κτίσεως. Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 315: τὴν ἀθρόαν καὶ ἅμα περὶ τὸ σύμπαν πρόνοιάν τε καὶ διαφοίτησιν.

⁶¹⁹ Scholion XXVI: ὅθεν οὐκ ἐξαπτέον τὴν ὑπαρξιν τοῦ σωτῆρος τῆς θελήσεως τοῦ πατρὸς· οὐ γὰρ κτίσμα τυγχάνει. See discussion of this in *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XXVI.

⁶²⁰ Didymus, *frPs(al)*, Fr. 1061: Εἰ δὲ πάντες οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἢ τε γῆ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ θελήσει θεοῦ εἰς οὐσίαν ἦλθεν, ἀσεβῶς σφόδρα διανοοῦμενοί τινες ἐξάπτουσι τὴν ὑπαρξιν τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς θελήσεως, ἕνα ποιοῦντες αὐτὸν τῶν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς θελήσει πατρὸς οὐσιωμένων. ἀλλὰ ἀκουέτωσαν οἱ δυσσεβεῖς ὡς τὴν κτίσιν μόνην ἐξήρτησε τῆς βουλῆσεως τοῦ θεοῦ. Op. cit. Fr. 1045: εἰ οὖν πάντα ὅσα ἠθέλησεν ἐποίησε, καθόλου ἢ ποιήσας ἐξήπτει τῆς θελήσεως αὐτοῦ. Cf. *commJob* (7.20c–n), Cod. p. 292: πολλοὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων λόγους ἐκ λόγων ἐξάπτοντες οἰονταὶ κρύπτειν τὰ ἀμαρτήματα τῇ πιθανότητι τῶν λόγων, ὑποκλέπτειν θέλοντες τὴν πεπραγμένην αὐτοῖς τὴν χαλεπότητα.

⁶²¹ *DT* (*lib. 1*), 9.16: "ἄρα ἡ γέννησις τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐξήπτει τῆς πατρικῆς θελήσεως, δημιουργικῶς ὑπαρξιν αὐτῷ παρεχούσης".

⁶²² EN XXXIa, with passages quoted. See similar instances from the rest of Cassian's works of the same style in the relevant footnote to the Greek text of Scholion IV.

⁶²³ *DT* (*lib. 1*), 19.1: Ἐν μὲν τοιγαροῦν θεότητι οἱ ἱεροφάνται τὴν ἐνδοξον τριάδα ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ τὴν θεολογίαν αὐτῆς ἐπικοινωνοῦσαν, ὅπερ νῦν εἰρήκασι περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἄλλοτε ἄλλοι περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἢ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος διαγορεύουσιν. Op. cit. 27.25: "Ὅπερ ὄνομα γινώσκων Δαυῖδ ψάλλει.

The verb πιστοῦσθαι ('to be confirmed') used by both Caesarius and the Scholia has already been discussed. To this the remarkably similar usage in *DT* should be added.⁶²⁴

Both *DT* and Scholion XXVI make the following point in almost the same terms. Once the Logos is said to have created everything there is, this does not simply mean that he is Creator: it means that he himself is not a creature, but he is God by essence.⁶²⁵ For a creature cannot substantiate a rational being. Creatures can only create inanimate idols,⁶²⁶ which are not rational beings, by using the matter that has been given to the world by God. The critical verb that is applied in both texts is οὐσιοῦν.⁶²⁷ Besides, the phraseology that aims at confirming the second and third Persons of the Trinity being the cause of creation, not the object of it, is remarkably similar.⁶²⁸

I have already suggested⁶²⁹ that the very rare epithet εὐκατάπληκτοι in *DT* constitutes an *ipso facto* affinity of this text with Scholion XXVIII enter-

⁶²⁴ *DT* (*lib.* 1), 18.64, καὶ αἱ πράξεις ὡσαύτως περὶ τούτου πιστοῦνται. *Op. cit.* 26.53: ἐπιστώσατο. *Op. cit.* 18.51: καὶ Δαυϊτικὸν γὰρ θησαύρισμα ἐν πδ' τούτῳ πιστοῦται ψαλμῷ. *Op. cit.* (*lib.* 2.1-7), 6.8.4: καὶ αὐθις διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιστολῆς πιστοῦται, γράφων. *Op. cit.* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.949.2: πιστοῦται. *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, XXIX: πιστοῦται ἡ προτέρα ὑπόθεσις τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν εἰκοσι τεσσάρων πρεσβυτέρων ἐκ τῆς προκειμένης λέξεως. *Op. cit.* XXIV: πιστώσεις δὲ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ γεγράφθαι ὡς ἑτερόν τινα ἀνάλαβε τὸν Ἰωάννην ὡσπερ τὸν Ἥλιον. Caesarius, *QR*, 218, lines 92-93: ἐκ τοῦ δράματος παραστήσαι τὸ ζητούμενον καὶ τῷ Δανιὴλ πιστώσασθαι τὸ φραζόμενον.

⁶²⁵ Scholion XX: Ἅγιος ἀληθινός. ὁ μὴ μετουσίᾳ, ἀλλ' οὐσίᾳ ὢν τοιοῦτος. αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς λόγος. *EN* XXa. The author is anxious to confirm that the Son is God by nature, not by participation to Deity. Cf. Scholion XXII: Ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ὑπάρχει οὐ διὰ τὸ πίστεως καὶ ἀληθείας μετέχειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ βέβαιος καὶ οὐσί(α) εἶναι ἀληθινός.

⁶²⁶ Scholion XXXV: ὥστε μὴ προσκυνεῖν ἔτι τὰ δαιμόνια, τὰ χρύσ(ε)α καὶ τὰ ἐξ ἐτέρας ὕλης κατεσκευασμένα ἀγάλματα δηλοῦντα ὡς προσκυνοῦσί τινες τὰ δαιμόνια τὰ χρυσὰ καὶ τὰ ἀργύρεα, χάλκ(ε)ά τε καὶ ξύλινα, ἵνα δαιμόνια μὲν νοήτ(αι) τὰ ἐφεδρεύοντα πνεύματα τοῖς ἀψύχοις μορφώμασιν, χρ(ύ)σ(εά) τε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μὴ αἰσθανόμενα δι' ὅψεως καὶ ἀκοῆς, μηδὲ βαδίζοντα(,) τὰ αἰσθητὰ ἀγάλματα· στόμα γὰρ ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσιν καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν ψαλμοῖς.

⁶²⁷ *DT* (*lib.* 1), 15.13: Τὸ "πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν" ἀποφαίνει αὐτόν, ὡς ἡδὴ ἐλέχθη, μονονουχί δημιουργόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ οὐκ ἐκτίσθη. εἰ γὰρ μηδὲ ἐν κτιστὸν χωρὶς αὐτοῦ τὸ εἶναι ἐδέξατο, παντί που δῆλον ὡς αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἐγεννήθη θεϊκῶς. καὶ γὰρ ἀμήχανον ἐκ μὴ ὄντων εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡκεῖν τὸν ὑπαρξίν τοῖς ὅλοις καὶ τοῖς λογικοῖς οὐσίωσιν καὶ ἀθανασίαν δεδωκότα. οὐδὲν γὰρ κτιστὸν οὐσιοῦν ἢ ἀπαθανατοῦν ἢ λογικοὺς ποιεῖν δύναται· ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἡδὴ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων παραχθείσης οὐσίας χρυσοῦ ἢ ἀργύρου ἢ χαλκοῦ ἢ σιδήρου ἢ ξύλου ἢ λίθου δημιουργοὶ ἀψύχον καὶ ἄλογον, ἀνδριάντα τυχόν ἢ τι ἕτερον. Cf. *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XXVI: Τοῦτο (τὸ) ὄν (οὐ) κτίζεται, ἀλλὰ τὸ κτίζο(ν) μὲν ἐστὶ· τὰ λογικὰ δὲ μετὰ τὸ οὐσιωθῆναι καὶ εἶναι δέχονται τ(ὸ) κτισθῆναι.

⁶²⁸ Scholion XXII: ἀρχὴν δὲ τῆς κτίσεως εἶπεν αὐτόν. οὐχ ὡς κτίσμα πρῶτον κτίσεως ἀρχὴ ἐστὶν αὐτῆς, (ἀλλ' ὡς) (αἱ)τία τοῦ ὑπάρχειν αὐτὴν οἷα δημιουργός(·) ἀρχὴ γὰρ ποιημάτων ὁ ποιητής, τούτῳ τῆς κτίσεως ὁ κτίστης ἐστὶν αὐτῆς καὶ ἄρχων. *DT* (*lib.* 2.1-7), 6.12.1: τὸ δὲ γε πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ γονίμῳ καὶ θρεπτικῇ καὶ ἀνεκλείπτῳ αὐτοῦ ἰσχύϊ ἐνδυναμοί, ἐπειδὴ κτίστης καὶ οὐ κτίσμα τυγχάνει.

⁶²⁹ See *supra*, p. 522.

taining the term οὐκ ἐπιεικτόν, which is synonymous with Caesarius' ἀνύπεικτον.⁶³⁰ The same goes for the phraseology implicitly confronting the Gnostic tenet of different men being inherently of sundry natures, each of which is by construction determined once and for all. In both texts, it is urged in like phraseology that a certain person 'is not of a damned nature', indeed all human nature is not definitely and *a priori* damned, which is the language of the orthodox doctrine.⁶³¹

The notion of exploring intelligible realities by means of 'division' (διαίρεσις)⁶³² has a history of its own.⁶³³ Both Cassian and *DT* deal with this in a manner evincing awareness of its implications, which no other Christian author ever did. His source is once again Proclus followed by Damascius.⁶³⁴

The text of *DT* essays to determine why the Holy Spirit should have appeared in the form of a dove during Jesus' baptism. The answer is that this animal is 'pure', because 'it has been deprived of bile'.⁶³⁵ In order to advance his case, the author avails himself of the numerology of names: the noun περιστερὰ makes up the number eight hundred and one, which in Greek numerals is written ωά. In other words, the number consists of the first and last letter of the Greek alphabet.⁶³⁶ Cassian entertains the same idea in one of his Scholia, following Christ in the Apocalypse styling himself the Alpha and Omega.⁶³⁷ As a matter of fact, in *DT* we come upon the term

⁶³⁰ Scholion XXVIII: μετὰ (τὴν) ἀνάστασιν γὰρ καὶ ἀνάληψιν ὁφθέν τὸ ἀρνίον οὐκέτι ἐσφαγμένον ὤφθη καὶ ἐπιε(ικ)τό(ν), τουτέστιν οὐκέτι ἀλλοιούμενον. Cf. the term ἀνύπεικτος used by Caesarius, *QR*, 170.14; 202.11; 213.79; 214.12; 218.199.

⁶³¹ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, XVII: Ἐπεὶ χρόνος μακροθυμίας τοῦ κριτοῦ δέδοται ἐν ᾧ μετανοῆσαι ἦν δυνατόν εἰ ἡβούλετο ἡ Ἰεζάβελ, οὐ φύσεως ἀπολλυμένης ἐστίν. *DT* (*lib.* 2.1–7), 6.9.3: οὐ γὰρ παρείδεν ἀπολλυμένην τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν· ἀλλ' ἐφοίτησεν δι' ἑαυτοῦ ὁδηγήσαν, διδάξαν πάσαν ἀλήθειαν.

⁶³² *DT* (*lib.* 2.1–7), 6.22.3: καὶ τοῦτο διὰ κρυφίων ἔχει νοητὴν διαίρεσιν. *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, XXV: ἡ τῶν νοητῶν οὐσία δηλοῦται ἐν τῇ γραφῇ πολλάκις τῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ προσηγορίᾳ· διὸ ὅταν λέγῃ θύραν ἡνεῶχθαι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, τὴν κατὰ σαφήνειαν διαίρεσιν τῶν νοητῶν ἐκλαμβάνωμεν.

⁶³³ See *RCR*, pp. 369–371, and *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, XV, EN XXVe.

⁶³⁴ Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 2, p. 77: ἀλλ' ὅπου μὲν ἡνωμένως καὶ νοητῶς, ὡς οἱ τὰ θεῖα σοφοὶ λέγουσιν, ὅπου δὲ νοητῶς μὲν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ διαιρέσεως πλείονος νοητῆς, ὅπου δὲ μετὰ παντοίας ποικιλίας νοερῶς, ὅπου δὲ αἰσθητῶς μετὰ διαστάσεως τὸ σφαιρικὸν θεωρεῖται. Damascius, *In Parmenidem*, p. 126: Καὶ ὡς αὕτη ἐπιστρέφει τὴν νοερὰν διαίρεσιν εἰς τὴν συνοχικὴν ὁλόγητα, οὕτω καὶ ἐκείνη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα συνάγει τὴν νοητὴν διαίρεσιν.

⁶³⁵ *DT* (*lib.* 2.8–27), PG.39.693.18–19. Ἐπειδὴ τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο ἀκέραιον τέ ἐστι καὶ χολῆς ἐστέρηται. See parallel texts of *DT* and Caesarius on p. 619.

⁶³⁶ *DT* (*lib.* 2.8–27), PG.39.693.19–696.3: "Γίνεσθε" γάρ, φησιν, "ἀκέραιοι ὡς αἱ περιστεραί." Εἰπερ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς συναγομένης ψήφου ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ μνημονευθέντος πτηνοῦ ἐπικουρίαν τινα δεῖ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ πορίζεσθαι, καὶ αὕτη ὑποσημαίνει πως τὸ ἀπεριγράφτον τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Ἔστι γάρ περιστέρα μίς καὶ ὀκτακοσίων ψήφου, αἵτινες δηλοῦνται διὰ τοῦ ἁλφα καὶ ω· τὰ δὲ στοιχεῖα ταῦτα ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος ὧν καθέστηκε τῶν στοιχείων.

⁶³⁷ Rev. 1:8; 21:6; 22:13. *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, VII: ὅτι ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων ὡς τὸ τέλος

ψῆφος in the specific sense of ‘number’, which was entertained by those who were prone to transfiguring Greek words into numbers, including the author of the Revelation himself. Not only is the Greek word for ‘dove’ (περιστερὰ) converted to a number,⁶³⁸ but also the author reproduces a Gnostic tenet which made the name Ἀβρασάξ a ‘holy’ one,⁶³⁹ since the letters that comprise this name make up the number three hundred and sixty five, that is, the days which comprise a year.⁶⁴⁰ I myself know of only a few authors who appear aware of this information included in *DT*.⁶⁴¹

Therefore, both *DT* and the Scholia attest to an author pretty keen on the Pythagorean play with the mysticism of numbers. Having read Didymus’ works, Cassian, the author of both the Scholia and *DT*, joined the small club of those Christians who were fascinated by this endless hallucination. In view of this, reproducing the old tenet that the fatherless and motherless ‘seven’ is a ‘perfect’ number⁶⁴² was the least of extravagance. Pretty much of this reverence for number ‘seven’ is made in the Scholia.⁶⁴³ Cassian was by no means shy to engage in such mystic contemplation: it was after all a sound doctor such as Theodore of Mopsuestia that had made this ancient saga a recurrent theme.⁶⁴⁴ Besides, both the Scholia and *DT* made much of

ἐπάγων τοῖς παρ’ αὐτοῦ γινομένοις τὸ ω εἶναι εἴρηται. καὶ πρῶτος καὶ ἔσχατος πάλιν οὐ κατὰ χρόνον, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος ἐπάγων· τὰ γὰρ ἄκρα τῶν στοιχείων ὡς ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος ἐλήφθησαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μέσα περιέχοντα. ... ὁ ταῦτα μαθὼν τὰ γράμματα, τὸ α φημί καὶ τὸ ω οὐ τὰ αἰσθητά, ἀλλ’ ἅπερ γράφει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οἶδεν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀρχὴν τῶν ὅλων καὶ τέλος τῶν ἀπάντων.

⁶³⁸ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.696.1.

⁶³⁹ Those Gnostics introduced 365 heavens, on top of which their ‘great archon’ and ‘saviour’ Abrasax was supposed to dwell.

⁶⁴⁰ The author ascribed this tenet to Basilides. *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.992.8–13: καὶ ὑπὸ Βασιλείδου ταύτην μεμαθητευμένου τὴν φρενερημίαν, καὶ προσθέντος, ὡς τξέ’ οὐρανοὶ καθεστᾶσιν, ἀγγέλων ἔχοντες ὀνόματα· ὅθεν, φησὶν, τὸ οὕτω λεγόμενον ἅγιον ὄνομα Ἀβρασάξ τξέ’ ψήφων εὐρίσκεται λογιζόμενον. The Migne text reads Ἀβρασάξ, which is wrong.

⁶⁴¹ Hippolytus, *Refutatio Omnium Haeresium* (*Philosophumena*), 7.26.6. Theodoret, *Haeticarum Fabularum Compendium*, PG.83.349.35–39. The text of Pseudo-Epiphanius, *Anacephalaeosis*, v. 1, p. 235 is interesting, since this was copied verbatim by John of Damascus (*De Haeresibus*, 24), who probably knew the real author of it. Was this author Cassian of the Laura of Sabas, where both authors spent their lives? The texts of the collection *Magica* identify Ἀβρασάξ with Hermes Trismegistus. *Magica*, *Papyri Magicae*, n. 8, line 48. Cf. op. cit. n. 4, line 331.

⁶⁴² *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.700.37–42: Ἐπτάκις δὲ εἶπε βαπτίσασθαι, ἡ ἴνα εἰδέναι ἔχοι ὁ ἄλλοε-
θνης, ὡς ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ Θεὸς τῶν ἔργων κατέπαυσε, καὶ εὐλόγησεν ἅπερ ἐν ταῖς ἑξ ἐποίησεν
(ὅθεν ἐπτάμυξον τὴ συναναγωγὴν ἐν ἡν τῶν κειμηλίων), καὶ ὡς πληρωματικός ἐστι καὶ τέλειος ὁ ἀρι-
θμός ὁ ἐπτά· ἡ μᾶλλον, ὅτι τὸ θεῖκον Πνεῦμα ἠνίξατο.

⁶⁴³ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, XIX; XXVII; XXVIII; XXXVI.

⁶⁴⁴ Theodore of Mopsuestia, *commProphXII*, Prophet Micah, 5b–6a; Prophet Zachariah 4:2b–3; 4:10c. The same idea occurs in a text that has been ascribed by different editors either to Justin or to Theodoret. Pseudo-Justin, *QetR*, 432C & Pseudo-Theodoret, *QetR*, p. 77. See

Zach. 4:10 (about the 'seven eyes which supervise over all of the earth'), and they both associate this portion with the gifts granted by the Holy Spirit.⁶⁴⁵ Scholion XXXVI identifies the 'thunders' that spoke unto John in Rev. 10:3, with the 'seven spirits' of Isaiah 11:1–3, which *DT* renders in the selfsame manner: the seven spirits are the seven ways in which the Logos is apprehended.⁶⁴⁶

Furthermore, in both texts the Son is stated as 'beginning' in the sense that he is the 'cause' for the world to exist at all.⁶⁴⁷

By suggesting that John the Evangelist was a prophet, the author of *DT* reveals important things about his own identity: he considers Rev. 21:6 ('I am the beginning and end') and unwaveringly he styles this a 'prophecy'.⁶⁴⁸ This statement introduces an interesting question. Did Christian intellectuals allow for the existence of prophets after the Incarnation? Jesus himself announced that he shall send 'prophets, wise men, and scribes',⁶⁴⁹ or 'prophets and apostles'⁶⁵⁰ to guide his disciples. Paul spoke of God who 'has set in the church first apostles, secondarily prophets',⁶⁵¹ but this seems to have appeared to authors not too strong a statement so as to speak of 'prophets' in the Biblical sense, or to put them on a par. There was good reason for such an attitude indeed: once the evolution of things until the eschatological end had been revealed by Jesus himself, what possibly was the need for additional prophets? If there was a need for ancillary clarification at all, this had already been provided by the man who spoke of 'prophets' after Christ, namely Paul. He described the process of the

tables (pp. 540; 542; 550; 554; 555; 561) on the exegesis of number 'seven' as in Zachariach 3:8–4:14, Alexandrian as well as Antiochene authors.

⁶⁴⁵ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, XXVIII. *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.705.1–6.

⁶⁴⁶ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.699.4–700.6: καὶ ὡς πληρωματικὸς ἐστὶ καὶ τέλειος ὁ ἀριθμὸς ὁ ἐπτὰ· ἢ μᾶλλον, ὅτι τὸ θεῖόν Πνεῦμα ἡνίξατο. Ἡσαΐας γὰρ τὸ παντελὲς καὶ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ἀπαράλλακτον τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ τῇ πίστει ἐγγωρουντῶς θεωρήσας, ἐπτὰ σημασίας περὶ αὐτοῦ κατέλεξεν ἐν ῥητοῖς τοιοῦσδε: "Ἐξελεύσεται ῥάβδος ἐκ τῆς ρίζης Ἰεσσαί, καὶ ἄνθος ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναβήσεται· καὶ ἐπαναπαύσεται ἐπ' αὐτὸν Πνεῦμα σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως, Πνεῦμα βουλῆς καὶ ἰσχύος. Πνεῦμα γνώσεως καὶ εὐσεβείας, Πνεῦμα φόβου Θεοῦ".

⁶⁴⁷ *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.840.39–841.1: Οὕτως οὖν λέγομεν αὐτὸν ἀρχὴν, ὡς αἴτιον καὶ Δημιουργόν. *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, VII: 'Ο τ(οι) αὐτας ὡς ἐ(στ)ι θείας θεωρ(ι)ας ἀν(η)γμένως νοήσας, (νοήσει) τὸν θεὸν λόγον εἶναι τὸ ἄλλα, ἀρχὴν καὶ αἰτίαν τῶν ἀπάντων, πρῶτον τε οὐ χρόνῳ, ἀλλὰ τιμῇ. Op. cit. XXII: ἀρχὴν δὲ τῆς κτίσεως εἶπεν αὐτόν. οὐχ ὡς κτίσμα πρῶτον κτίσεως ἀρχὴ ἐστὶν αὐτῆς, (ἀλλ' ὡς) (αἰ)τία τοῦ ὑπάρχειν αὐτὴν οἷα δημιουργός.

⁶⁴⁸ *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.840.18–20: Τρίτῃ αὐτῶν πρότασις, ἣ ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ πάντα ὑποστήσαντος Κυρίου λέγουσα προφητεία: "Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος."

⁶⁴⁹ Matt. 23:34.

⁶⁵⁰ Luke 11:49.

⁶⁵¹ 1 Cor. 12:28.

eschatological end, when the Son surrenders the kingdom to the Father and God becomes 'all in all'.⁶⁵² Nevertheless, the promised prophets appeared soon (the Acts tell us that 'Judas and Silas' were 'prophets'),⁶⁵³ actually they were held in high esteem. Why those prophets were displaced and disappeared from mainstream Christianity is a question that at present remains moot, for no convincing explanation has been afforded so far. Perhaps this disappearance was the result of rivalry and conflict between prophets and priests of primitive Christianity, which resulted in the latter eventually having taken hold of the Church. Besides, 'John' the author of the last book of the New Testament offered his vision as the last prophecy and styled this text *Revelation* rather than prophecy, even though the term *prophecy* (προφητεία) recurs in his own work.⁶⁵⁴

The question is whether subsequent Christian authors reading the term 'prophecy' in that book allowed for its author 'John the Evangelist' to be styled 'prophet'. I have canvassed the history of this text until it came to be part of the Canon and have pointed out that serious intellectuals, such as Eusebius, had grave reservations as to whether this had actually been authored by the Evangelist, or by another John.⁶⁵⁵ Nevertheless, his master Origen had avowed that John the Evangelist was indeed 'a prophet' (ὁ ἀπόστολος καὶ ὁ εὐαγγελιστής, ἥδη δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως καὶ προφητείας) on account of having seen the vision of the Apocalypse at Patmos.⁶⁵⁶ On the other hand, Chrysostom never mentions this book, nor does he appear to draw on it at all.

The author who expressly insisted on the prophetic function of John the author of the Apocalypse was Epiphanius of Salamis. Not only did he defend the idea, but also rebuked those who denied the authority of the book. His method was to revert opposing arguments against those who used them. To cite an instance: how is it possible for John to have written about the 'Church of Thyateira'⁶⁵⁷ since no such Christian community existed at the time when his book was written? Those who reject the divine inspiration of the book

⁶⁵² 1 Cor. 15:28.

⁶⁵³ Acts 15:32. Cf. 19:6, etc.

⁶⁵⁴ Cf. the term προφητεία for the content of the Book of Revelation: Rev. 1.3; 11.6; 19.10; 22.7; 22.10; 22.18; 22.19.

⁶⁵⁵ See *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Introduction.

⁶⁵⁶ Origen, *commJohn*, II.5.45: Καλῶς μέντοι γε διαγράφων τὰ περὶ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει ὁ ἀπόστολος καὶ ὁ εὐαγγελιστής, ἥδη δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως καὶ προφητείας, φησὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον ἑωρακέναι ἐν ἀνεωρότι τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐφ' ἵππῳ λευκῷ ὀχρούμενον.

⁶⁵⁷ Rev. 1:11; 2:18; 2:24.

cannot help concede that John actually was a prophet, who 'prophesied'⁶⁵⁸ the later emergence of this church. For there was no Church of Thyateira at that time, and it was not until later that a 'thriving'⁶⁵⁹ Christian community was formed in that city. Not only is Epiphanius the author who regarded John as a prophet, but it is also he who saw this prophetic function as one that was not different from those of the Old Testament.⁶⁶⁰

The idea that John was a 'prophet' was endorsed by Epiphanius' younger contemporary Gregory of Nyssa, though not in such strong terms, or extensive argument.⁶⁶¹ Consequently, it is natural that commentators of the Revelation, such as Oecumenius⁶⁶² and Andreas of Caesarea,⁶⁶³ acknowledged the prophetic rank of John.

Since the Revelation styles itself 'prophecy', those that accepted the scriptural authority of the book accepted also the prophetic function of both the text and its author. *DT* grants this verdict about the Revelation and its author draws on it by quoting the well-known wording of Revelation,⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁵⁸ Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, v. 2, pp. 306–307: ἐὰν γὰρ εἴπωσιν “οὐκ ἔνι νῦν ἐκκλησία εἰς Θυάτειρα” δεικνύουσι προπεφητευκέναι τὸν Ἰωάννην. Cf. p. 307: τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ... προσέθεσπισε προφητικῶς ἐν τῷ στόματι τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου, πρὸ κοιμήσεως αὐτοῦ προφητεύσαντος ἐν χρόνοις Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος καὶ ἀνωτάτω, ὅτε εἰς τὴν Πάτμον νῆσον ὑπῆρχεν ... ἄρα γούιν κατὰ προφητείαν ἔγραφε ... δεικνυμένου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν λόγου προφητικοῦ ὄντος ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου κατὰ ἀλήθειαν.

⁶⁵⁹ Loc. cit. ἔστιν ἐκεῖ ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ αὖξει.

⁶⁶⁰ Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, v. 2, p. 310: ὡς Ἰωάννης προφητεύει καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ προφηταί. p. 232: Πᾶς τοῖνυν προφητέων παρακολουθῶν εὕρεται, καὶ τε ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ διαθήκῃ καὶ τε ἐν τῇ καινῇ, ὡς καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει ἔλεγε “τάδε ἀπεκάλυψε κύριος τοῖς αὐτοῦ δούλοις διὰ τοῦ δούλου αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου” καὶ “τάδε λέγει κύριος”. ὁ ταῦτα δὲ λέγων ἐρρωμένην εἶχε τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ παρηκολούθει, ἰδοὺ τοῖνυν * “τάδε λέγει κύριος” καὶ “ὅρασις ἦν εἶδεν”.

⁶⁶¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Basilium Fratrem*, 1: πρῶτον ἡμῖν ἀπόστολοι τε καὶ προφῆται τῆς πνευματικῆς χοροστασίας κατήρξαντο. τὰ δύο γὰρ πάντως περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐστὶ χάρισμα, τὸ τε ἀποστολικὸν πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ τῆς προφητείας. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι: Στέφανος, Πέτρος, Ἰάκωβος, Ἰωάννης, Παῦλος. Gregory of Nyssa lists these names at another point, too: he omits John only because his account is about those apostles who died martyrs. *Orationes VIII de Beatitudinibus*, PG.44.1297.51–53: Οὕτω δέχεται τὸν σταυρὸν ὁ Παῦλος· τὸ ξίφος Ἰάκωβος· τοὺς λίθους Στέφανος· τὸν ἐπὶ κεφαλῇ ἀνασκολοπισμὸν ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος.

⁶⁶² Oecumenius, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, p. 29: τοῦτο γὰρ ἴδιον τῆς ἐντελοῦς προφητείας. p. 39: ὁ εἶπεν ἐν πνεύματι ἐγενόμην, δείκνυσιν μὴ αἰσθητὴν μηδὲ σαρκικοῖς ὤσιν ἢ ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρωμένην εἶδεν ὁπτασίαν, ἀλλὰ προφητικοῖς. p. 56: φησὶν ὁ προφήτης. p. 125: τοιγαροῦν ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν ὁ θεσπέσιος Ἰωάννης προφητεύει διὰ τε τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ τῶν καθολικῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολῶν καὶ διὰ τῆς παρούσης ἀποκαλύψεως.

⁶⁶³ Andreas of Caesarea, *Commentarii in Apocalypsin*, Prologue: ἀναπτύξαι τὴν τοῦ θεολόγου Ἰωάννου Ἀποκάλυψιν καὶ τοῖς μετὰ τὴν αὐτῆς ὁπτασίαν χρόνοις ἐφαρμόσαι τὰ προφητευθέντα. loc. cit. τοῖς ἄλλοις προφήταις. loc. cit. τὰ προφητευθέντα γενήσεται. Logos 1.1.1b–2: προφητικῶς γὰρ ἔώρακεν. Logos 10.28.10.7: πληρωθῆναι τὰ προφητευθέντα. *et passim*.

⁶⁶⁴ Rev. 1:4; 1:8; 4:8. *DT* (lib. 1), 15.5–6: ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει· “ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος

which not many authors did.⁶⁶⁵ Exploration of this point shows once again that this author was a pupil of Gregory of Nyssa. He allows for the prophetic function after Christ, yet in a modified sense: prophecy is now associated with the apostolicity of devout Christians. To him Zachariah was ‘the last prophet’ (τῷ ὑστάτῳ προφήτῃ),⁶⁶⁶ still ‘the entire people of Christians do prophesy’.⁶⁶⁷

The author associates this prophetic function of the apostles with their martyrdom, which they incurred only because they foretold what was and is going to happen ‘during the ensuing as well the last days’ (ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους προειπόντας πολλὰ τῶν μελλόντων καὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων καιρῶν). Like Gregory of Nyssa, he mentions Stephen, James, Peter and Paul. Explaining Matt. 11:11 (Luke 7:28), he reasons that it was ‘John the apostle’ that Jesus styled ‘greater’ than John the Baptist, on account of his apostolic rank. For it is written, ‘has set in the church first apostles, secondarily prophets’.⁶⁶⁸ This is the ground on which prophets after Christ are distinct from pseudo-prophets such as Montanus and his women prophetesses, namely, Priscilla and Maximilla.⁶⁶⁹ The author records the Montanist argument appealing to Matthew 23:34, and argues that it was Jesus who announced that he would send prophets after him.⁶⁷⁰ However, he remarks that Jesus had

κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ παντοκράτωρ”. Τὸ “ὁ ὢν” σημαίνει τὸ αἰεὶ ὄν τῆς θείας ὑποστάσεως καθὰ καὶ ἀλλοχοῦ ἔφαμεν. ἀόριστος γὰρ ἡ λέξις, ὅθεν ὄνομα ἑαυτοῦ ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν τὸ “ὁ ὢν”.

⁶⁶⁵ Cf. the rest of authors, who quote the language of Revelation 1:4; 1:8; 4:8: ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ᾄων καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. Hippolytus, *Contra Haeresin Noeti*, 6.2. Origen, *frPs*, Psalm 23:10; *excPs*, PG.17.116.25. Athanasius, *De Synodis Arimini in Italia et Seleucia in Isauria*, 49.2; *Orationes Tres Contra Arianos*, PG.26.33.42–43; 329.17; *Epistulae Quattuor ad Serapionem*, PG.26.609.41–42. Basil of Caesarea, *Adversus Eunomium* (libri 5), PG.29.677.41. Gregory of Nazianzus, *De Filio* (orat. 29), 17. Cyril of Alexandria, *commProphXII*, v. 2, p. 94; *De Sancta Trinitate Dialogi I–VII*, pp. 453; 568. *GlaphPent*, PG.69.432.1; *Thesaurus de Sancta Consubstantiali Trinitate*, PG.75.37.11–12. Ephraem Syrus, *Sermo in Secundum Adventum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi*, p. 13; *Sermo de Communi Resurrectione*, p. 59; *Sermo in Pretiosam et Vivificam Crucem*, p. 141. Didymus, *commZacch*, 1.153; *frPs* (al), Fr. 215. Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Divinis Nominibus*, p. 123.

⁶⁶⁶ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.708.1–2: Τί οὐ καὶ ἄλλο συνωδὸν τι καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐνδείξομαι, ὑπὸ ἐξηγητῇ Ζαχαρίᾳ τῷ ὑστάτῳ προφήτῃ, ἵν’ ἔτι καὶ μάλλον θαυμάζωμεν;

⁶⁶⁷ *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.848.28–29: Κατ’ ἐμὲ δὲ ἰδικώτερον τὸ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἡμῶν γένος προφητεύει.

⁶⁶⁸ 1 Cor. 12:28. *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.885.27–33: Ἐλεγε δὲ περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, τοῦ χρόνοις μὲν μικροτέρου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου, τῇ δὲ ἀξίᾳ τῆς ἀποστολῆς μείζονος. “Ἐθετο γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ,” ὡς Παῦλος γράφει, “πρῶτον ἀποστόλους, ἔπειτα προφῆτας.”

⁶⁶⁹ The author in the main, but not entirely, writes after Origen, *Fragmenta Ex Commentariis In Epistulam i ad Corinthios*, 74. Cf. Hippolytus, *Refutatio Omnium Haeresium* (*Philosophumena*), 8.19.1; 10.25.1. Theodoret, *Haeticarum Fabularum Compendium*, PG.83.404. George Monachus, *Chronicon* (lib. 1–4), p. 451. Also, *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 490.

⁶⁷⁰ *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.988.26–47. The sole parallel to this Montanist argument appears in

further declared that those sent by him should be killed and crucified. This is the correlation Gregory of Nyssa had made, too.

Following this analysis, we can trace the author of *DT* further into the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*.

In Scholion III, mere reading of Rev. 1:3 styling this text a 'prophecy' results in its author John being a 'prophet'.⁶⁷¹ However, since the author has a specific view of what to be a prophet means, especially after the Christ's advent, he returns to the point later. He considers retrospectively the point of the New Testament (Matt. 23:34; Luke 11:49) that *some* of the saints will be prophets: not only after the Incarnation, but also prior to this, prophets were only part of the entire group of saints. This means that, whereas a prophet had to be a holy man, not all of the holy men were prophets. Which in turn suggests that prophets were only those among holy men who were specially assigned with announcing the will of God to his people. In other words, to be a holy man, a 'saint', is a property that is superior to being a prophet. This is precisely the thesis of *DT*: when Paul spoke of God who 'has set in the church first apostles, secondarily prophets',⁶⁷² the adverb 'secondarily' (ὕστερον) means that 'prophets' are not peer to the apostles, but were placed sub par to the apostolic (that is, 'saintly') rank.⁶⁷³

During exploration and discussion of Cassian's *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, I have pointed out specific expressions and ideas transpiring in *DT*, which are not common among authors. I wish to sum up the most characteristic of them, which show both texts having been penned by the same author.

1. The expression 'to avow in gratitude' (εὐγνωμόνως ὁμολογεῖν) is common in both texts.

Scholia in Apocalypsin, Scholion I: Οὐ μάχεται τῷ λεχθέντι ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτήρος πρὸς τοὺς γνωρίμους, οὐκέτι καλῶ ὑμᾶς δούλους, ἀλλὰ φίλους· τὸ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὁμολογούμενον περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς εἰ(ς) δοῦλοι τοῦ κυρίου. ... ἀλλ' οὖν αὐτοὶ εὐγν(ώ)μονες ὄντες ὁμολογοῦσιν ὡς τυγχάνουσι δοῦλοι, ἄξιον (κ)αὶ μέγιστον ἡγούμενοι θεὸν δεσπότην ἔχειν.

DT (*lib.* 3), PG.39.949.22–24: εὐγνωμόνως ὁμολογοῦντας ὡς παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ ὑπαρξίς ἐστιν, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν πάλιν ἡ ἀνάλυσις.

Pseudo-Didymus, *Dialexis Montanistae et Orthodoxi*, pp. 456. The relation of this text to Cassian's pen should be explored.

⁶⁷¹ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, III: καὶ ἐκ τῆς προκειμένης λέξεως μανθάν(ο)μεν ὡς προφήτης Ἰωάννης πρὸς τ(ῶ) εἶναι ἀπόστολος καὶ εὐαγγελιστής· σύζυγος γὰρ ἡ προφητεία προφήτη.

⁶⁷² 1Cor. 12:28.

⁶⁷³ 1Cor. 12:28. *DT* (*lib.* 3), PG.39.885.27–33: Ἐλεγε δὲ περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, τοῦ χρόνους μὲν μικροτέρου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου, τῇ δὲ ἀξίᾳ τῆς ἀποστολῆς μείζονος. "Ἐθετο γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ," ὡς Παῦλος γράφει, "πρῶτον ἀποστόλους, ἔπειτα προφῆτας."

2. Following Aristotle's definitions, both works entertain the notion of 'beginning', in the sense of 'something caused to be what it is'.

Scholion VII: 'Ο τ(οι)αύτας ὡς ἐ(στ)ι θείας θεωρ(ι)ας ἀν(η)γμένως νοήσας, (νοήσει) τὸν θεὸν λόγον εἶναι τὸ ἄλφα(,) ἀρχὴν καὶ αἰτίαν τῶν ἀπάντων(,) πρῶτον τε οὐ χρόνῳ, ἀλλὰ τιμῇ.

Scholion XXII: ἀρχὴν δὲ τῆς κτίσεως εἶπεν αὐτόν. οὐχ ὡς κτίσμα πρῶτον κτίσεως ἀρχὴ ἐστὶν αὐτῆς, (ἀλλ' ὡς) (αἰ)τία τοῦ ὑπάρχειν αὐτὴν οἷα δημιουργός· ἀρχὴ γὰρ ποιημάτων ὁ ποιητής, τουτέστιν τῆς κτίσεως ὁ κτίστης ἐστὶν αὐτῆς καὶ ἄρχων.

DT (lib. 3), PG.39.840.30–31–841.1: 'Αρχὴ γάρ, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν πέμπτῳ τῶν Μετὰ τὰ φυσικά, λέγεται πολλαχῶς (*Metaphysica*, 1022a; Cf. *De Anima*, 415b). ... Οὕτως οὖν λέγομεν αὐτὸν ἀρχὴν, ὡς αἴτιον καὶ Δημιουργόν. ... (PG.39.841): Δηλοῖ γὰρ ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ τὸ αἴτιον αὐτὸν εἶναι, ὡς ἀναρχον, καθὰ ὁ Θεὸς Πατὴρ τῆς πάντων συστάσεως. Ὁ γὰρ ὢν ἀρχὴ οὐκ ἔχει τὸν προϋπάρχοντα, ὡς ὁ ὕστατος οὐκ ἔχει τὸν ὕστατον.

3. In Scholion XIV, Cassian refers to 'the mindless Jews' (τοὺς ἀγνώμονας Ἰουδαίους).⁶⁷⁴ The term ἀγνώμων and its derivatives are practically absent from Didymus,⁶⁷⁵ whereas in his work there is no instance of this referring to the 'Jews' at all. Used in relation to the 'Jews', this expression makes a distinct mark in certain authors, including Theodoret.⁶⁷⁶ In *DT* the adjective has the sense of 'mindless' rather than 'ungrateful',⁶⁷⁷ and the same goes for this Scholion.

⁶⁷⁴ Cf. *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XIV, EN XIVa.

⁶⁷⁵ This appears only at one point, in an irrelevant context. Didymus, *commEccl* (5–6), Cod. p. 153 (μισθὸς ἀγνωμονηθείς ἐργάτου), which means 'ungrateful' rather than 'mindless'.

⁶⁷⁶ Athanasius, *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG.27.116.51. Pseudo-Athanasius, *Quaestiones in Scripturam Sacram*, PG.28.725.20. Gregory of Nazianzus, *In Sanctum Pascha* (orat. 45), PG.36.661.8; *In Theophania* (orat. 38), PG.36.329.13. Amphilochius of Iconium (fourth cent. AD), *In Mulierem Peccatricem*, line 220. Severianus of Gabala (fourth cent. AD), *De Caeco Nato*, PG.59: 550.54 & 552.24. John Chrysostom, *In Genesim* (homiliae 1–67), PG.53: 243.28; 366.41; 367.41; 374.10; 528.63; *Adversus Judaeos* (orationes 1–8), PG.48.869.18; *Contra Eos Qui Subintroductas Habent Virgines*, 8; et passim. Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80.916.34; *intProphXII*, PG.81.1741.11. Basil of Seleucia, *Sermones XLI*, pp. 176, 240, 248. Procopius of Caesarea, *De Bellis*, 2.12.5. Procopius of Gaza, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, pp. 1825, 2220. Hesychius of Jerusalem (fifth cent. AD), *In Sanctum Andrean* (homilia 7), 3. Also, *DT (lib. 1)*, 27.38; *DT (lib. 2.1–7)*, 7.8.3. Of all the instances where the idea occurs, more than one half is Chrysostom's (no less than 35 instances).

⁶⁷⁷ *DT (lib. 1)*, 27.38: ἔστω δὲ ἴλεω ἡμῖν τοιαῦτα λέγειν πολῶσιν διὰ τὴν ἄλλων ἀγνωμοσύνην. Op. cit. (*lib. 2.1–7*), 7.8.3: τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ χωρίου ἐκόντες ἐν τῇ διαμάχῃ τοῦ λόγου παραλελοίπασιν οἱ ἀγνώμονες.

4. Acts of God specifically styled 'divine works' (τὰ θεϊκὰ ἔργα)⁶⁷⁸ is a phraseology apparently originating in Athanasius.⁶⁷⁹ Only a couple of authors employed this,⁶⁸⁰ and its recurrence in the Pseudo-Macarian writings should not pass unnoticed.⁶⁸¹ This is virtually absent from Didymus' work, where there is only one instance owing to the catenist's phrasing.⁶⁸² In *DT*, however, this is clearly present.⁶⁸³

5. The related expression 'divine gifts' (τὰ θεϊκὰ χαρίσματα) brings us upon a telling passage of *DT*. This language happens to be remarkably similar to the one of Scholion XVII. The author extols the man-loving Holy Spirit, who did not overlook 'human nature, as if this were wretched already' (ἀπολλυμένην τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν).⁶⁸⁴ Scholion XVII (which dismisses the Docetist tenet allowing *any* human being to be ruined irredeemably) comments that Jezebel 'has been granted some further time in order to repent', which means that 'she is not of a destroyed nature' (οὐ φύσεως ἀπολλυμένης ἐστίν).⁶⁸⁵

6. The expression αἱ θεῖαι φωναί,⁶⁸⁶ referring to 'the divine voices' emerging from the wisdom of different portions of Scripture, appears in a considerable number of instances, yet in a limited number of authors. Of these, Gregory of Nyssa applies it profusely, whereas Eusebius used it modestly,

⁶⁷⁸ Cf. *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XVIII, EN XVIIIa.

⁶⁷⁹ Athanasius, *Orationes Tres Contra Arianos*, PG.26.437.32: διὰ τί μὴ καὶ ἐκ τῶν θεϊκῶν ἔργων ἐπιγινώσκουσι τὸν ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ Λόγον. In *Illud: Qui Dixerit Verbum in Filium*, PG.26.673.6: ἔργα δὲ θεϊκὰ θεωροῦντες. *Orationes Tres Contra Arianos*, PG.26.400.4: καὶ τὰ θεϊκὰ βλέποντας αὐτοὺς ἔργα τοῦ λόγου. The same passage appears in a spurious work ascribed to Athanasius, *Sermo Major (collatio cod. Laurentiani gr. 4.23)*, Fr. 101.

⁶⁸⁰ Basil of Caesarea, *Adversus Eunomium (libri 5)*, PG.29.732.1: Τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν θεϊκῶν ἔργων τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα δοξάζεσθαι. Eusebius, *De Theophania (fragmenta)*, Fr. 6: μετὰ δὲ αὐτάρκη διδασκαλίαν ἐπειδὴ ἔδει καὶ θεϊκὸν ἔργον προστιθέναι τοῖς λόγοις ὡφέλιμον τοῖς ὁρώσι.

⁶⁸¹ Pseudo-Macarius, *Sermones 64 (collectio B)*, Homily 28.1.6: ἔργα θεϊκὰ τοῦ πνεύματος. Op. cit. Homily 4.30.8: ἐργάζεσθαι ἔργον θεϊκόν. *Sermones 1-22; 24-27*, Homily 4.1: ἐργάζονται γὰρ ἔργον θεϊκόν. Op. cit. 8.3: εἰς τὸ ἔργον τὸ θεϊκὸν ἀόκνως καὶ σπουδαιοτέρως ἐργάζεται. *Homiliae 7 (collectio HA)*, Homily 55.2: ἀλλ' ἵνα ὁ λόγος αὐτῶν θεϊκὸν ἔργον ἐπιτελέσῃ, ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων οἰκοδομῶν.

⁶⁸² Didymus, *frPs(al)*, Fr. 662a: θεϊκῶν γὰρ ἔργων ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ γινομένων.

⁶⁸³ *DT (lib. 2.1-7)*, 5.26: τὰ θεϊκὰ ἔργα ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρρήτου τριάδος ὁμοφρόνως γίνεται. *DT (lib. 2.8-27)*, PG.39.748.26: ἐπὶ θεϊκῶν ἔργων.

⁶⁸⁴ *DT (lib. 2.1-7)*, 6.9.3: φιλάνθρωπον τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὴν Σοφίαν, οὕτω λέγουσαν: "φιλάνθρωπον γὰρ πνεῦμα σοφίας, καὶ οὐκ ἀθώωσει δίκαιον." οὐ γὰρ παρείδεν ἀπολλυμένην τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν: ἀλλ' ἐφοίτησεν δι' ἑαυτοῦ ὁδηγήσαν, διδάξαν πᾶσαν ἀλήθειαν, ἀνακαινίσαν ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὰ θεϊκὰ χαρίσματα δωρησάμενον.

⁶⁸⁵ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XVII: Ἐπεὶ χρόνος μακροθυμίας τοῦ κριτοῦ δέδοται ἐν ᾧ μετανοήσαι ἦν δυνατὸν εἰ ἡβούλετο ἡ Ἰεζάβελ, οὐ φύσεως ἀπολλυμένης ἐστίν.

⁶⁸⁶ Cf. *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XXIII, EN XXIIIa: ἐκ τούτων τῶν θείων φωνῶν.

to be followed by Theodoret.⁶⁸⁷ In Didymus the expression does not show, but it does appear in *DT*.⁶⁸⁸ The opening of that Scholion is a text by Cassian himself, probably influenced by Gregory of Nyssa.

7. The expression about something or someone having ‘no share in the Holy Spirit’ (τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος ἄμοιρος)⁶⁸⁹ is rare. By all appearances Irenaeus must have used this, if Basil’s testimony is accurate.⁶⁹⁰ A catenist recording Origen applied the same idiom, too.⁶⁹¹ I would not be surprised if the person to have Origen recorded in catenae was Cassian himself, who also did so rendering Theodoret⁶⁹² and others, and was later followed by his Sabaite brother John of Damascus.⁶⁹³ The real source for Cassian to employ this was no doubt John Chrysostom, who appears to have made this a fairly recurrent theme, although most relevant instances originate in catenae-fragments.⁶⁹⁴ In Didymus the phrase

⁶⁸⁷ Origen, *Cels*, II.2; II.72. There is casual usage at one point, in each of Clement of Alexandria, Basil of Seleucia, Procopius of Gaza, Ephraem Syrus, and Olympiodorus the deacon of Alexandria. Attribution to Athanasius is spurious, apart from one point addressing the emperor. Usage ascribed to John Chrysostom is mostly spurious. Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 1.1.130; 2.1.298; 3.4.6; 3.9.62; *Antirrheticus Adversus Apollinarium*, v. 3.1, p. 189; *et passim*, amounting to more than sixty instances. Basil of Caesarea, *Adversus Eunomium* (libri 5), PG.29.601.6; *Homiliae in Hexaemeron*, 2.7; *Homiliae Super Psalmos*, PG.29.253.33, *et passim* (five instances). Eusebius, *De Ecclesiastica Theologia*, 3.6.4; *DE*, 6.19.2, *et passim* (nine instances). Theodoret, *HE*, p. 117; *intPaulXIV*, PG.82.737.40; *Historia Religiosa* (Philotheus), Vita 3.2; *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, p. 126; *Eranistes*, pp. 209; 220; *De Providentia*, PG.83.612.4; *Catenae* (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Epistulam ad Hebraeos* (*catena Nicetae*) (*e cod. Paris. gr.* 238), p. 597.

⁶⁸⁸ *DT* (lib. 1), 18.18: Εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε, γινώριμον ὑμῖν καὶ ἐκ θείας φωνῆς αὐθις τὸ κινούμενον ποιήσω. *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 2.2: 7.3.13: οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν θείων φωνῶν τούτων ὀλιγωροῦντες.

⁶⁸⁹ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XXIII, EN XXIIIc.

⁶⁹⁰ Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* (liber 5), Fr. 9 (*apud* Basil of Caesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto*, 29.72): διὰ τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἀγνῆς ἀναστροφῆς συντηρεῖν τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἄμοιροι τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος γενόμενοι ἀποτύχωμεν τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν.

⁶⁹¹ Cf. Origen, *frLam*, Fr. 83: τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, στερεὰν τε οὖσαν καὶ σκοτεινὴν καὶ πνεύματος ἄμοιρον ἁγίου.

⁶⁹² Theodoret, *intPaulXIV*, PG.82.133.19 & *Catenae* (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Epistulam ad Romanos* (*typus Monacensis*), p. 237: Ἐρημοὶ γὰρ εἰσι τῆς τιμῆς τῆς τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος, ἄμοιροι τυγχάνοντες χάριτος.

⁶⁹³ Pseudo-Cyril of Alexandria, *De Sancta Trinitate*, PG.77.1128.52–53 (the same portion in John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei*, 7): Καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἡμέτερος λόγος οὐκ ἄμοιρός ἐστι πνεύματος.

⁶⁹⁴ John Chrysostom, *De Baptismo Christi*, PG.49.367.47: Εἰ τοίνυν μήτε Πνεύματος ἁγίου ἄμοιρος ἦν ἡ σὰρξ ἐκεῖνη. In *Acta Apostolorum* (*homiliae 1–55*), PG.60.36.2: Ἀλλως δὲ καὶ Πνεύματος ἁμμοιρος ἦν ἔτι. *frJf*, PG.64.881.42 *apud* *Catenae* (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Acta* (*catena Andreae*), p. 15: Ἐως μὲν οὖν Πνεύματος ἄμοιροι οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἦσαν, κλήρω τὰ πράγματα ἐπέτρεπον. In *Acta Apostolorum* (*homiliae 1–55*), PG.60.16.50 & *Catenae* (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Acta* (*catena Andreae*), p. 2: Τί οὖν; ἱστορία μόνον τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐστὶ καὶ Πνεύματος ἄμοιρος ὁ λόγος; *Catenae* (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Acta* (*catena Andreae*), p. 14: ἄλλος δὲ καὶ Πνεύματος ἄμοιρος ἦν. Cf. an occasional instance in Epiphanius of Salamis,

does not occur, yet it does so in *DT*,⁶⁹⁵ which suggests Cassian once again.

8. Verb-forms such as the participle διαπεφοιτηκυῖα in *DT*⁶⁹⁶ (not occurring in Didymus, who does not use the term διαφοιτᾶν at all)⁶⁹⁷ should be noticed. For the verb διαφοιτᾶν is used also in the Scholia in order to make the selfsame point, namely, God's presence into the world,⁶⁹⁸ which is also avowed by Cassian's ascetic texts.⁶⁹⁹ The form διαπεφοιτηκυῖα, as well as cognates virtually expressing similar notions, transpires in authors such as Alexander of Aphrodisias expounding views of Chrysippus,⁷⁰⁰ as it does in other authors, almost all of whom are involved in the vocabulary of the Scholia.⁷⁰¹

9. In Scholion XXIV, we come upon the Past tense infinitive συγκαθεσθῆναι⁷⁰² of the verb συγκαθέζομαι ('sit alongside someone'), which is extremely

De Mensuris et Ponderibus, lines 71–71: ὥσθ' ὑπολαμβάνειν ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἄμοιρους αὐτοὺς γεγενῆσθαι πνεύματος ἁγίου.

⁶⁹⁵ *DT* (*lib.* 2.1–7), 6.2.2: “πνεῦμα κυρίου πεπλήρωκεν τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ τὸ συνέχον τὰ πάντα γνῶσιν ἔχει φωνῆς” ἀντὶ τοῦ περιέλαβεν τὴν ἀόρατον καὶ ὁρατὴν κτίσιν, τὴν νοητὴν καὶ αἰσθητὴν, καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν πάντων ἐστὶν ἄμοιρον τῆς αἰδίου ἐπιστάσεως αὐτοῦ.

⁶⁹⁶ *DT* (*lib.* 2.1–7), 6.2.2: ἅτε αὐτὸς τὴν φύσιν πρόνοια ὑπάρχων καὶ σοφία, δι' ὧν διαπεφοιτηκυῖα, ὡς ὁ πατήρ. *Op. cit.* (*lib.* 2.8–27), PG.39.761.7 (ref. to the 'soul', but not the 'world-soul' of Plotinus. At this point the author refers to 'the cursed Porphyry' who had mistaken the Holy Spirit for the Neoplatonic 'world-soul'): οὐ τὴν ἀνθρώπου δὲ ὅμως, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῷ παντὶ διαπεφοιτηκυῖαν κόσμῳ.

⁶⁹⁷ Instead, Didymus used the verb φοιτᾶν, in order to describe sojourn in this life, with reference either to Jesus [*commZacch.* 2.37 (φοιτήσαντα); *frPs(al)*, Fr. 407 (φοιτήσεως); Fr. 484 (φοιτήσας); Fr. 962 (φοιτήσεως); Fr. 973 (πεφοίτηκε)], or to any man [*frProv*, PG.39.1636.14 (φοιτώντα)].

⁶⁹⁸ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XV: ἀλλὰ καὶ (οἱ) πόδες αὐτοῦ, καθ' οὓς ἐπιπορεύεται τῷ παντὶ διαφ(οι)τήσας, διὰ τοῦ χαλκολιβάνου παραβάλλονται.

⁶⁹⁹ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 86^v: Τοῦτο γάρ, καθὼς εἴρηται, μόνῃ ἐστὶν τῇ Τριάδι δυνατόν, ἥτις πάσῃ τῇ νοητῇ φύσει ἐνυπάρχει δι' ὅλης τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτῆς καὶ οὐσίας διήκουσα καὶ ἐρευνώσα τὰ ἀφανῆ αὐτῆς καὶ περιέχουσα καὶ μόνῃ ὑπάρχουσα ἀπλῇ καὶ ἀσώματος οὐσία. *Op. cit.* p. 87^r: Ἐκ τούτων γάρ προφανῶς μαρτυροῦμεν μηδὲν ὑπάρχειν ἀσώματον εἰ μὴ τὸν Θεὸν μόνον, καὶ αὐτὸν δύνασθαι ἐρευνᾶν τὰ ἀπόκρυφα καὶ διήκειν τὰ βάθη τῆς καρδίας καὶ γινώσκειν πάσας τὰς νοερὰς οὐσίας.

⁷⁰⁰ Chrysippus, *Fragmenta Logica et Physica*, Fr. 473 (*SVF*, II.155.34, *apud* Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De Mixtione*, p. 218); Fr. 1044, (*SVF*, II.308.10, *apud* Alexander of Aphrodisias, *op. cit.* p. 225). Cf. Posidonius, *Fragmenta*, Fr. 352.

⁷⁰¹ Plutarch, *De Garrulitate* (502b–515a), 505F4; *Adversus Colotem* (107d–127e), 1108D5; *Fragmenta*, Fr. 134. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, 5.14.133.9; *Fragmenta*, Fr. 23. Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De Mixtione*, pp. 218; 225. Origen, *commJohn*, VI.39.194; VI.39.202. Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis*, 3.118.12. Gregory of Nyssa, *De Vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi*, PG.46: 929.31; 944.12&41. Cyril of Alexandria, *De Sancta Trinitate Dialogi I–VII*, p. 507; *In Isaia*, PG.70.548.5.

⁷⁰² *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XXIV.

rare.⁷⁰³ In the sense entertained in this Scholion it appears only in Cyril of Alexandria⁷⁰⁴ (or his catenist, who might well have been Cassian himself) and in *DT*.⁷⁰⁵ However, the notion is in fact Origen's, who was the first that used the two verbs, συγκαθέζεσθαι and συμβασιλεύειν, in juxtaposition.⁷⁰⁶

10. According to Scholion XXX, angels that have been assigned with tutoring humans will be eventually put to judgement as to whether they carried out their duties properly.⁷⁰⁷ There is an implicit reference to 1 Cor. 6:3, about men who 'shall judge angels', which was quoted by certain authors (Origen, Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria, Didymus, Theodoret, John Chrysostom, Julian the Arian, Cosmas Indicopleustes, John Philoponus, Procopius of Gaza, Photius). However, according to these authors, the specific 'angels' that are put to judgement are in fact 'daemons'. There are only three instances where this 'judgement' is taken to apply to heavenly powers. The author of *DT*⁷⁰⁸ once again follows Origen, who conceded the idea by the end of his life,⁷⁰⁹ in antithesis to earlier exegeses of his. In Didymus there

⁷⁰³ A literal sense of this occurs in Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, 13.84. *Acta Thomae*, 69. John Chrysostom, *In Genesim (homiliae 1–67)*, PG.53.382.43. Palladius (fourth–fifth cent. AD), *Historia Lausiaca*, Vita 59.1. The instance in Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *In Psalmum 100*, PG.55.635.49, runs in the sentiment of this Scholion.

⁷⁰⁴ Cyril of Alexandria, *Thesaurus de Sancta Consubstantiali Trinitate*, PG.75.344 [Catenae (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Epistolam ad Hebraeos*, p. 331]. ὥρα γὰρ ὁμολογεῖν καὶ συγκαθεσθῆναι δύνασθαι τῷ Θεῷ τοὺς Ἀγγέλους καὶ συμβασιλεύειν αὐτῷ, ... οὐδὲν ἄρα καλῶς καὶ ἀγγέλους δύνασθαι συγκαθεσθῆναι τῷ Θεῷ, εἰ καὶ μή τις αὐτῶν ἡξιώθη τοῦ πράγματος. ... ὁ μὲν γὰρ δεσπότης, τὰ δὲ δοῦλα τυγχάνει. οὐχ ὁμογενὴς ἄρα τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἐστὶν ὁ τῷ Πατρὶ συμβασιλεύων καὶ συγκαθήμενος.

⁷⁰⁵ *DT (lib. 2.8–27)*, PG.39.685: Νόει οὖν, τί ἐστὶν τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ἃτε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ναόν, ἡμᾶς, τῷ ὑψίστῳ Θεῷ συγκαθεσθῆναι, καὶ συνδοξασθῆναι, καὶ συμβασιλεύσαι ποιεῖ, καὶ ὅτε μένει ἐπὶ τὸν μονογενῆ Θεόν· καὶ εἰ ὁσίως λέγουσιν αἰρετικοὶ μὴ συγκαθέζεσθαι αὐτό, καὶ συμπροσκυνεῖσθαι, καὶ συμβασιλεύειν τῷ Θεῷ Πατρὶ. Μὴ ὁμοίως δὲ ἡμῶν, τῶν κτιστῶν, καὶ ἐν τοσαύτῃ ἀγαθῶν ἔργων γυμνότητι τηλικαυτὰ ἐλπίζόντων, νοηθεῖν τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ συγκαθέζεσθαι, καὶ συνδοξάζεσθαι, καὶ συμβασιλεύειν τῷ Θεῷ· ἀλλ' ὥς Πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ φύσει Θεὸς καὶ Βασιλεὺς καὶ αἰδίδιος συγκαθεζόμενος, καὶ πλήρης ἀχράντου δόξης ὑπάρχων.

⁷⁰⁶ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, EN XXIVa.

⁷⁰⁷ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XXX. καὶ δοκεῖ ἐν τούτοις προστάσ(σ)εσθαι ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ κρίνεσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἐγκεχειρισμένων τὰ ἀνθρώπ(ι)να δυνάμεων, ἵνα δύν(η)ταί τις παραστήσαι (εἰ), διὰ τὴν τινος αὐτῶν ἀμέλειαν καὶ παράλειψιν τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων, ἐν ἀμαρτήματι ἢ αἰτίᾳ γέγονεν.

⁷⁰⁸ Angels can grant men neither spiritual rebirth, nor deification, nor sanctification, and they do not pass judgement: on the contrary 'they are subject to judgement'. *DT (lib. 2.1–7)*, 4.5: οὐκ ἀναγεννῶσιν ἡμᾶς, οὐ θεοποιοῦσιν, ἀμαρτίας οὐ συγχωροῦσιν, οὐ ζωοποιοῦσιν, οὐ δημιουργοῦσιν, οὐχ ἀγιάζουσιν, οὐ κρίνουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κρίνονται. "ὑμεῖς" γάρ, φησιν, "καὶ ἀγγέλους κρίνεῖτε" (Cf. 1 Cor. 6:3).

⁷⁰⁹ Origen, *commMatt*, 10.13.

are contradictory statements, but Cyril of Alexandria complies.⁷¹⁰ This is all Christian literature had to say with reference to the point made in this Scholion.

11. In the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*,⁷¹¹ I have discussed how Cassian understands the verse of Psalm 76:19 (φωνῇ τῆς βροντῆς σου ἐν τῷ τροχῷ), which he quotes in Scholion XXXVI. The same scriptural portion is quoted in *DT* and the author applies to it the same exegesis, which is significant since this had appeared as too bizarre a passage to C.H. Turner, a previous editor of the Scholia. Despite his own conjectural restoration of the text, C.H. Turner concluded that he 'cannot translate it as it stands'. He then opted for a facetious remark, which is indicative of a certain sentiment at approaching this specific text:

"What is the relation of 'wheel' and 'thunder'? I can only answer by recalling that one I knew well, who always loved thunder, used to call it 'the noise of the chariot-wheels of God upon the mountains'. Only in the movement of the wheel can the resemblance to thunder be found. But how the 'great words' come in I cannot say, unless the movement of the wheel is parallel to the utterance of the thought. I do not pretend that the emendation I offer is more than an attempt to get the idea of the passage: it is not near enough to the *ductus litterarum* to claim to restore the exact wording."⁷¹²

However, the notion of 'wheel' is par excellence one that fits neatly into Origen's thought, particularly his philosophy of history. His main tenet about recurrent worlds could quite expectedly make the cosmic 'cycles' analogous to a 'wheel'. A cosmic period ends with a Judgement and it is at that moment that the 'voice' of God is most clearly heard (indeed like a 'thunder'), once the crucial cosmological and existential consequences of the divine Judgement are taken into account. The 'thunder', betokening the 'voice' of God, is indeed most loudly heard upon a 'cycle' of a cosmic period being complete, that is, upon the end of it, which is the beginning of a next cycle. It is all but a coincidence that the ensuing Scholion XXXVII deals with the issue of Judgement.

In this sense, the notion of 'rolling' expresses the volatile and precarious things of history. 'Wheel' (τροχός) is the *medium* through which the knowledge of God is imparted to human beings. What actually is this medium?

⁷¹⁰ Cyril of Alexandria, *GlaphPent*, PG.69.361.

⁷¹¹ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, EN XXXVIa.

⁷¹² C.H. Turner, "Document: Origen Scholia in Apocalypsin", *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxv, pp. 1–16, 1923. p. 13.

What else could it possibly be other than *space-time*?⁷¹³ God acts and speaks to rational creatures within the spatio-temporal reality. This is the ‘wheel’, whose volatility and precariousness Origen expressed by sustaining the notion of the dramatic character of time.⁷¹⁴ The ‘voice’ of God is heard within history, for there is nowhere else that God speaks.⁷¹⁵ In order to manifest Himself and to administer his will within history, God makes use of that which is available within this world: the mutable and evading things that make up human life in its historical course. It is through this ‘wheel’ of evasive historical things and situations that God makes himself known ‘through a glass darkly’. This is also made clear at another point, where τροχός is taken to bespeak divine judgement and punishment.⁷¹⁶ By the same token, ‘wheel’ denotes the ‘divine fire’.⁷¹⁷ Since the reasons of God’s action are ineffable, it is rather natural for the ‘wheels’ seen by Ezekiel to have been rendered as ‘the divine mysteries’.⁷¹⁸

In view of this, there should be no difficulty in accepting the catenist-reference of Origen’s exegesis of Psalm 76:19: rendering ‘wheel’ as either ‘human life, according to Ezekiel’, or as ‘this aeon’ or ‘this sensible world’.⁷¹⁹ This is simply an illustration expressing Origen’s philosophy of history.

It could have been easier for Turner to understand this portion of Scholion XXXVI, had he read the Suda *Lexicon*, where an *ad hoc* lemma explains this verse of David.⁷²⁰ The intervention of God into history is understood from a Hebraic point of view, pointing to the crossing of the Red Sea and to

⁷¹³ I have canvassed this in *COT*, pp. 332–337; *PHE*, pp. 135–144.

⁷¹⁴ *COT*, pp. 370–371. Cf. Didymus, *frPs(al)* (‘wheel’ suggesting ‘volatility’), Fr. 841.

⁷¹⁵ *PHE*, pp. 379; 399.

⁷¹⁶ Origen, *expProv*, PG.17.213.15–18, commenting on Prov. 20:26 (λικμήτωρ ἀσεβῶν βασιλεὺς σοφός καὶ ἐπιβαλεῖ αὐτοῖς τροχόν). The comment goes thus: Λικμήτωρ ἀσεβῶν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστὶν· ἐπιβαλεῖ δὲ τοῖς ἀσεβέσιν ὥσπερ λέων θήρας· τροχὸς δέ, ἄλυνος χωρίζων τὰ ἄχυρα ἀπὸ τοῦ σίτου· ἢ τροχὸν ἐπιβαλεῖ τὴν ἀναπόδοτον τιμωρίαν.

⁷¹⁷ Origen, *frPs*, 49, 3, ‘wheel’ denotes the ‘divine fire’: Πάντα καὶ ὁ μακάριος ἐθεάσατο Δανιήλ· Ποταμὸς γάρ προσεῖλκε ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ φλόξ πυρός, καὶ τροχὸς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον.

⁷¹⁸ Origen, *Dial*, 28, ‘Ἰεζεκιήλ βλέπων τὰ Χερουβίμ, βλέπων τοὺς τροχοὺς, τὰ ἀπόρρητα μυστήρια. Cf. *selEz*, PG.13.804.3.

⁷¹⁹ Origen, *frPs*, 76:18–19: διὸ καὶ τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν υἱὸν βροντῆς ἐπεκάλεσε. Τροχὸν δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπων τὸν βίον, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ‘Ἰεζεκιήλ ἔστι μαθεῖν.’ Ἄλλος δὲ φωνὴν ἐν τῷ τροχῷ, ἥνικα ἐνέδησε τοὺς ἄξονας τῶν αἰγυπτίων ἁρμάτων. *selPs*, PG.12.1540.40–42: ‘Ὁ τροχὸς ἢ τὸν αἰῶνα σημαίνει τοῦτον, ἢ τὸν κόσμον τὸν αἰσθητόν.

⁷²⁰ Suda, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter tau, entry 1074: Τροχός· Δαβίδ· φωνὴ τῆς βροντῆς σου ἐν τῷ τροχῷ. περὶ τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης· φησὶ γάρ ἡ ἱστορία, ὅτι νότου πνεύσαντος διηρέθη τὸ πέλαγος, τοῦ δὲ ἀέρος συστρεφομένου καὶ τῶν νεφῶν συνισταμένων ὁ ἄνεμος τίκεται. Cf. *op. cit.* Alphabetic letter phi, entry 656.

God's miraculous action. The sea was made a whirlpool to both the death of the Egyptians and the salvation of the Jewish people, which is also a point alternatively made in the foregoing passage from the commentary on Psalms attributed to Origen. Thus, the crossing of the Red Sea and God's action related to these events were understood by means of this notion of 'wheel' (τροχός).

The fact that Suda included this lemma is of some importance. If anything, it reflects a particular interest in that verse of the Psalms in Christian Antiquity. This exegesis had been produced by Christian authorship, namely Theodoret: the text of the Suda lemma is in fact a quotation from Theodoret.⁷²¹ This means that when Cassian was writing this Scholion, he had a clear grasp of what the notion of 'wheel' meant and duly put it into use. Theodoret was the author who bequeathed his account to the Suda lexicon, and to other lexica, but in the meantime other authors such as Cassian took this up. As a matter of fact, Theodoret was a favourite authority to lexicographers, not only on theology, but also on Greek grammar and syntax:⁷²² his treatise *On the Providence* was availed of not for theological reasons, but simply for the sake of confirming an authoritative syntax in Greek.⁷²³

This portion of Psalm 76:19 did not attract the attention of many Christian authors. Those who dealt with this, however, are by no means minor ones: Athanasius of Alexandria, Basil of Caesarea, Olympiodorus the deacon of Alexandria. Even the recently identified mysterious figure of Julian, the fourth century Arianist, was concerned with producing an exegesis to this passage. Above all however, it was Eusebius of Caesarea who dealt with it and furnished illuminating accounts of it. No author other than Eusebius did ever produce such a comprehensive explanation of the notion of 'wheel', which appeared unintelligible to modern scholars.⁷²⁴ According to Eusebius, 'wheel' denotes 'human life' (ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος), which is an incessant

⁷²¹ Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80.1481.16–20: Νότου γάρ, ὡς φησὶν ἡ ἱστορία, βιαίου πνέοντος, διηρέθη τὸ πέλαγος· τοῦ δὲ ἀέρος συστρεφόμενου, καὶ τῶν νεφῶν συνισταμένων, ὁ ἀνεμος τίττεται.

⁷²² Cf. *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 443: Θαρσεῖς: Ἀπὸ τοῦ Ταρσεὺς ἐτυμολογεῖται, καθὼς παρὰ Θεοδωρήτῳ ἀνέγνυν.

⁷²³ Lexica Syntactica, *Lexicon Syntacticum*, Alphabetic letter alpha, p. 18, lemma 70: ἀνέχομαι, ὅτε σημαίνει τὸ καταφρονῶ, ὡς τὸ “ἀνέχομαι σου τοῦ θράσους” καὶ παρὰ τῷ Θεοδωρήτῳ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῆς προνοίας λόγοις ἀεὶ γενικῇ. Op. cit. Alphabetic letter alpha, p. 25, lemma 323: ἀφαιροῦμαι σε χρημάτων καὶ χρήματα· καὶ παρὰ Θεοδωρήτῳ, λόγῳ ἔκτῳ Περὶ προνοίας: “τὸν πλοῦτον ὁ ληστής μόνον ἀφαιρεῖται τὸν κεκτημένον”, ἀλλὰ καὶ “ὁ συκοφάντης ἀφείλετο σε τῶν δεσμῶν”.

⁷²⁴ Eusebius, *commPs*, PG.23.897–900. See quotation in *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, EN XXXVla.

course, indeed a ‘wheel’ which ‘does not cease to rotate’ (ἄπαυστον τὴν στροφὴν ποιούμενος). He remarks that ‘the Holy Scripture knows of wheel as a receptacle’ (καὶ ἡ θεία Γραφή τὸ περιέχον τροχὸς οἶδε). In view of this, the author of the Scholion has it that ‘once you grasp the meaning of *wheel*, then you shall also grasp the meaning of *thunder*’. In other words, ‘thunder’ is the voice of God heard within the historical process.

My claim, therefore, is that the author of this Scholion knew of the foregoing analysis by Eusebius, and he undoubtedly was aware of Origen’s accounts in the first place. This is all the more probable, since a point of *Cels* (where Origen refers to ‘thunder’) employs the word μεγαλοφώνων⁷²⁵ in apposition with βροντή,⁷²⁶ the word used at that point of Scholion XXXVI. The author of *DT*, whom I identify with Cassian himself, entertains this exegesis expressly.⁷²⁷

De Trinitate and Cassian

DT takes the term ἀρχὴ of Job 40:19 (LXX) as suggesting that the devil was the first creature made by God. This is an echo of Origen’s doctrine. Once the Actual Creation came to pass following Providential Creation, corporeality came to existence, too, and the adverse power was the first to appear in corporeal form.⁷²⁸ One would wonder why *DT* is so persistent in making this point.⁷²⁹ My own surmise is that *DT* has it so because it was also John Philoponus who had furnished an exegesis along the same line, yet in the opposite direction: the devil is the beginning of God’s incorporeal, not corporeal

⁷²⁵ The characteristic term μεγαλοφωνία was discussed in EN XXVκ.

⁷²⁶ Origen, *Cels*, VI.77: καὶ εἴ τινας εἰσὶν ἐκ λόγων τὴν γένεσιν λαβόντες μεγαλοφώνων, οἵτινες οὐδὲν ἀποδέουσι νοητῆς “βροντῆς”.

⁷²⁷ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.684.6–8: διὰ δὲ τῆς βροντῆς τὴν πανταχοῦ φθάσασαν καὶ μετὰ φόβου ὑποδεχθεῖσαν χάριν τοῦ βαπτίσματος αἰνίττεται: διὰ δὲ τοῦ τροχοῦ, τὸν ἄστατον καὶ ἀλλόκοτον βίον.

⁷²⁸ Origen, *commJohn*, I.17.96: Ὑπολάβοι γὰρ ἂν τις τῶν ἐν γενέσει τῇ τοῦ κόσμου τυγχάνοντων “ἐν ἀρχῇ” πεποιηθῇ “τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν”· βέλτιον δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὸ δεύτερον ῥητόν, πολλῶν ὄντων τῶν ἐν σώμασι γεγενημένων πρῶτον τῶν ἐν σώματι τὸν καλούμενον εἶναι δράκοντα, ὀνομαζόμενον δὲ που καὶ “μέγα κήτος”, ὅπερ ἐχειρώσατο ὁ κύριος. See further, op. cit. I.17.97–98; XX.22.182. *deOr*, 26, 5.

⁷²⁹ *DT*, (lib. 1), 17.2: ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑποδείξομεν τὰς θείας παρατιθέμενοι γραφὰς τὸ πρῶτον κτίσμα τοῦ θεοῦ οὕτω γεγενῆσθαι: πρῶτον κτίσμα ἐπαρθέν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐρρίφη ὡς ἀστραπή, καθὰ αὐτὸς ὁ κτίσας καλῶς καὶ ὕστερον δικαίως ῥίψας ἐν εὐαγγελίῳ ἐθεώρησεν· ... ὥστε τὸν διάβολον πρῶτον κτίσμα εἶναι λέγει· ἑαυτὸν ποιήσαντα ἐγκαταπαίττεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγίων ἀγγέλων διὰ τὸ ἀνόσιον αὐτοῦ καὶ κακόβουλον τῆς προαιρέσεως. Op. cit. (lib. 2.1–7), 6.1: πρῶτον κτίσμα ὁ σατανᾶς τυγχάνει. Op. cit. (lib. 3), PG.39.804.47–48: τὸ πρῶτον κτίσμα ὁ διάβολος ἐδείχθη ἐν τῷ Ἰώβ.

creation.⁷³⁰ It is remarkable that the same idea appears in the collection *Epistulae et Amphilochia* currently ascribed to Photius, but I have suggested that it bears too much on Cassian. The notion that 'in the beginning' God created an 'incorporeal and intelligible nature' (ἀσωμάτου καὶ νοεράς φύσεως δημιουργίαν) is coupled with 'the darkness' of the Genesis betokening 'the devil', whereas 'abyss' bespeaks 'the evil powers, under his authority' (τὸν ἀρχέκακον διάβολον ὑπολάβοι, ἄβυσσον δὲ τὰς ὑπ' αὐτὸν πονηράς δυνάμεις).⁷³¹

Besides, all three texts (Cassian, Caesarius, *DT*) make pretty much of Isaiah 14:12 (*How is Lucifer fallen from heaven?*), adumbrating Lucifer as having fallen from the heaven and having drawn the third part of the stars⁷³² down along with his fall.⁷³³ Moreover, Cassian's ascetic writings take for granted that the 'devil' was created 'in the beginning'.⁷³⁴

DT maintains the doctrine of angels being corporeal, though incorporeal they may appear with respect to us.⁷³⁵ I have canvassed this point and argued that both Cassian⁷³⁶ and Caesarius⁷³⁷ advance this doctrine. Likewise, both,

⁷³⁰ John Philoponus, *De Opificio Mundi*, pp. 27–28: εἰ γὰρ τῆς τῶν ἀγγέλων ἦν ὁ διάβολος τάξεως, εἴρηται δὲ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ τοῦ Ἰωβ περὶ αὐτοῦ· "τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀρχὴ πλάσματος κυρίου, πεποιημένον ἐγκαταπαίζεσθαι ὑπὸ ἀγίων ἀγγέλων", πῶς οἶόν τε καὶ ἀρχὴν εἶναι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γενομένων σὺν τῷ κόσμῳ γενόμενον, καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἀρχῇ ποιῆσαι τὸν θεὸν οὐρανὸν τε καὶ γῆν; δῆλον οὖν ὡς οὐρανὸς μὲν καὶ γῆ τῶν αἰσθητῶν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τῶν ἀοράτων ἐστὶν ἀρχή, περὶ ᾧ τῆς γενέσεως οὐδὲν εἴρηται Μωϋσεῖ. Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, pp. 103^v–104^r. Likewise, p. 106^r: "Ὅτι περ οὐκ ἐστὶν αὕτη τῆς παραβάσεως ἐκεῖνης, ἦτοι πτώσεως ἢ ἀρχῇ ἢ Γένεσις σαφῶς δηλοῖ.

⁷³¹ Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 16, lines 36–41.

⁷³² Rev. 12:4.

⁷³³ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 105^{r-v}. *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, XXXVIII. Cf. Caesarius, *QR*, 44 & 167. *DT* (*lib.* 2.8–27), PG.39.765.37–768.2: ὁ μὲν ἐχθιστος Σατάν τοῦ ἄνω φωτὸς καὶ τῆς τῶν δοκίμων ἀγγέλων ἐταιρίας ἐξέπεσεν. καὶ εἰς τοὺς ζοφωδεστάτους ταρταραίους μυχοὺς κατωλίσθησεν.

⁷³⁴ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 117^v: Τοῖνυν καὶ ὁ διάβολος κατὰ τοῦτο, ὅτι περ πνεῦμά τι ἐστὶν καὶ καλὸς ἐκτίσθη ἐξ ἀρχῆς, πατέρα οὐκ ἄλλον εἰ μὴ τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ἐν ἀγαθοῖς δημιουργήσαντα αὐτὸν ἔχει.

⁷³⁵ *DT* (*lib.* 2.1–7), 4.3: οἱ οὖν ἄγγελοι, φησὶν, οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἄγιοι καὶ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ; ἐκεῖνοί εἰσιν ἀπὸ θεοῦ, καθ' ὃ προστάξει αὐτοῦ γεγόνασιν, ὡς πάνταν ἄγιοι δὲ μετὰ τὸ ἁγιασθῆναι, ὡς οἱ ἄνθρωποι· πνεύματα δέ, καθὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀσώματοι. Cf. *supra*, p. 397, n. 124; p. 488, n. 254.

⁷³⁶ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 84^v–85^r: Καὶ γὰρ μόνῃ τῇ θεότητι, ἥτις καὶ μόνῃ ἀσώματος καὶ ἀπλῇ τῇ φύσει ἐστὶν, τοῦτο δυνατόν ὑπάρχει. Op. cit. 86^v: Τοῦτο γάρ, καθὼς εἴρηται, μόνῃ ἐστὶν τῇ Τριάδι δυνατόν, ἥτις πάσῃ τῇ νοητῇ φύσει ἐνυπάρχει δι' ὅλης τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτῆς καὶ οὐσίας διήκουσα καὶ ἐρευνῶσα τὰ ἀφανῆ αὐτῆς καὶ περιέχουσα καὶ μόνῃ ὑπάρχουσα ἀπλῇ καὶ ἀσώματος οὐσία. Op. cit. 87^r: Ἐκ τούτων γὰρ προφανῶς μαρτυροῦμεν μηδὲν ὑπάρχειν ἀσώματων εἰ μὴ τὸν Θεὸν μόνον. *De Panareto*, p. 113^r: Οὐκοῦν ἡ θεία γραφὴ αὐτοὺς ὀνομάζει ἀγγέλους κατὰ τὴν ἔξιν τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἀσώματων φύσιν.

⁷³⁷ Caesarius, *QR*, 47: Ἀσώματοι μὲν οἱ ἄγγελοι καθ' ἡμᾶς, σώμα δὲ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, ὡς ἄνεμος ἢ πῦρ ἢ ἀήρ· σώματα γὰρ ὑπάρχουσιν λεπτὰ καὶ αἴϋλα, ἔξω τῆς ἡμετέρας παχύτητος. See Appendix I, p. 397.

DT and Cassian's texts entertain the notion of knowledge possessed by nature (ἔμφυτον γνῶσιν),⁷³⁸ as well as the one of 'supreme virtue'.⁷³⁹

DT makes reference to 'truth which is pleasing to God', by means of a specific philological structure,⁷⁴⁰ and likewise Cassian refers to 'humiliation and obedience' which was pleasing to a certain monk, using the selfsame uncommon diction.⁷⁴¹

There are points where Cassian's liabilities to Aristotle are plain. My assumption is that Cassian took a special interest in studying the Neoplatonists, and he drew on them following his acquaintance with Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite. The author of *DT* mentions Aristotle by name, indeed in a manner evincing direct knowledge of his writings.⁷⁴² This is also what he does in effect, when he recognises Aristotelian modes of syllogism in Eunomius' arguments.⁷⁴³ The points where he puts his knowledge of Aristotle into use are perhaps the more telling ones. Although he does not mention Aristotle by name, he hints at his theory by declaring himself confident that

⁷³⁸ *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 7.8,5 (lines 20 & 28). εἰ δέ τινα ἔμφυτον γνῶσιν εἶχον. Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 114': Καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ καὶ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μωϋσῆς, πῶς ἡδυνήθησαν οὗτοι πάντες πρὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου εὐαρεσθῆσαι Θεῷ, εἰ μὴ ἡ φύσις εἶχεν τὴν ἔννομον καὶ ἔμφυτον γνῶσιν;

⁷³⁹ *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 6.5: τὴν ἀκροτάτην ἀρετὴν. *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.800.44: πάσης τελείας ἀρετῆς. Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 5^v: τελειοτάτην ἀρετὴν. Op. cit. p. 11^r: δι' ὧν πρὸς τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνελθεῖν δυνάμεθα, *OctoVit*, p. 27^r: τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην τελείως κεκτήσθαι. Op. cit. p. 29^r: τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς ἀγνείας τελείως κτήσασθαι. Op. cit. p. 56^r: πρὸς τελείωσιν ἀρετῆς. *ScetPatr*, p. 63^v: περὶ τελειότητος ἀρετῆς. Caesarius, *QR*, 190: περὶ τελείας ἀρετῆς. 191: τελειότης ἀρετῆς. Also, loc. cit. and 212.40: ἡ παντελής ἀρετή.

⁷⁴⁰ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.737.41–42: τὴν Θεῷ φίλην ἀλήθειαν.

⁷⁴¹ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 14^v: τὴν αὐτῷ φίλην ταπεινώσιν τε καὶ ὑποταγήν. Cf. one more instance of parallel structure, *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.876.14: τῇ ἡμῖν συντρόφῳ ἐχρήτο διαλέκτῳ. Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 68^v: μεταβαλόντες ἐκ θείας προνοίας τὴν σύντροφον ἀγριότητα εἰς φιλανθρωπίαν. Cassian writes having in mind an Aristotelian structure, which had been taken up by Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, and John Chrysostom (τῇ συντρόφῳ φωνῇ = the language one is brought up together with, viz. the mother-tongue): Aristotle, *Fragmenta Varia*, Category 7, treatise title 39, Fr. 291 *apud* Claudius Aelianus (sophist, second–third cent.), *De Natura Animalium*, 9.6. Cf. Origen, *Cels*, III.6: καταλιπόντας αὐτοὺς τὴν Αἴγυπτον μεμισηκέναι καὶ τὴν σύντροφον φωνήν. Gregory of Nyssa, *Dialogus de Anima et Resurrectione*, PG.46.120.19–20: τῇ δὲ συντρόφῳ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν κεχρημένα φωνῇ. John Chrysostom, *In Joannem* (homiliae 1–88), PG.59.87.56–58: πρὸς τὴν συνηθεστέραν καὶ σύντροφον αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέχειν μάλλον φωνήν.

⁷⁴² Cf. the author quoting the opening of Aristotle's *Metaphysica*, 980a21. *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.776.12–14: "Ὅτι γὰρ πάντες ἄνθρωποι κατὰ φύσιν τοῦ γινώσκειν ὀρεγόμεθα, δηλοῖ τοῦτο, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης. Also, when he deals with the different meanings of 'beginning' (ἀρχή), he correctly states that Aristotle canvasses the issue 'in the fifth book of *Metaphysics*'. *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.840.30–31: Ἀρχὴ γάρ, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν πέμπτῳ τῶν Μετὰ τὰ φυσικά, λέγεται πολλαχῶς. *Metaphysica*, 1022a. Cf. *De Anima*, 415b.

⁷⁴³ *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 3.30: καὶ Ἀριστοτελικὴ δῆθεν δεινότητι καὶ τῇ ἐν λόγοις τέχνῃ, ὡς Εὐνόμιος, περιστρέφειν τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ συσκιάζειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

time proper is a 'measure',⁷⁴⁴ and subsequently couches his account of the issue so as to conform to the Christian theory of time having a beginning.⁷⁴⁵ By doing so, the author simply advises us that he had read Aristotle's *Physics*, too.

At the time when Cassian was writing *DT*, he was under the spell of Proclus and the sixth-century Neoplatonist doctors, which was probably the result of his acquaintance with the Areopagite. This, however, does not mean that he disowned his Aristotelian background and education, which he felt he did not have to do: during that period, Neoplatonists (who were also Aristotelian commentators, at the same time) had come to believe that the differences between Plato and Aristotle were not as profound as they had been thought to be during the previous centuries. Aristotle was to them no less of an authority than Plato was. Which is why, unlike Proclus, they engaged in composing commentaries on the Stagirite's works. The question of where the seven Neoplatonist masters went⁷⁴⁶ after they had decamped to Syria and subsequently decided to abandon the court of the Persian king Chosroes II in c. 532, is moot. Following my discussions both in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin* and in this book, I have come to believe that Simplicius went to Nisibis, where it would have been possible for him both to teach and have a vast Aristotelian library available to him at the famous school of the city. Perhaps, after this, he settled in Constantinople.

Besides, we have identified striking analogy between Cassian's text and the commentary Simplicius wrote on Epictetus' *Enchiridion*.⁷⁴⁷ It is indeed by the end of this treatise that Simplicius mentions with gratitude the consolation he had found in his ethical contemplation while living under tyrannical oppression. This probably suggests that he composed this treatise after his persecution, living once again under the domain of the Byzantine throne.⁷⁴⁸ The conclusion of Simplicius' treatise, in my view, is revealing: He offers a prayer to 'the Father and Lord of the reason within us', using the characteristic vocative Δέσποτα accorded by Antiochene Christians to God, as well as to Christ in particular. Coming upon a pagan author addressing a

⁷⁴⁴ Cf. *COT*, pp. 181–186.

⁷⁴⁵ *DT* (*lib. 1*), 15.41: ὥσπερ γάρ οὐκ ἔστι χρόνος ἀγέννητος, οὕτως οὐδὲ κτίσις ἀχρονος, ἀλλ' ἔχει μέτρον τὸν χρόνον· σὺν αὐτῇ γὰρ καὶ ὁ χρόνος γέγονεν.

⁷⁴⁶ 'Damascius of Syria, Simplicius of Cilicia, Eulamius of Phrygia, Priscianus of Lydia, Hermias and Diogenes of Phoenicia, and Isidore of Gaza'. Cf. Agathias, *Historiae*, pp. 80–81.

⁷⁴⁷ *RCR*, pp. 11–12; 246; 374–375. Also, *supra*, pp. 352; 485; 495.

⁷⁴⁸ Simplicius, *Commentarius In Epicteti Enchiridion*, p. 138: Ταῦτα εἶχον τοῖς τὰ Ἐπικτήτου μεταχειριζόμενοις πρὸς σαφήνειαν τῶν εἰρημένων συμβαλέσθαι κατὰ δύναμιν· εὐχαριστῶν καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ προφάσει τῆς περὶ τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους διατριβῆς, ἐν προσήκοντι καιρῷ μοι γινομένην τυραννικῆς περιστάσεως.

prayer within his philosophical treatise is all but an ordinary instance. This only seems to me a compliment to his Antiochene Christian friends, who had offered him not only shelter but also their libraries, and to whom he had just extended his gratitude.⁷⁴⁹ Nisibis, therefore, is the spot where a personal acquaintance of Simplicius with Cassian must have taken place—and this friendship might well have carried on in Constantinople. In addition, one should wonder whether the following is mere coincidence: both Simplicius and *DT* quote the same verse from Homer, which anyway has been quoted by less than a handful of intellectuals.⁷⁵⁰ This takes me to an alternative surmise, which I have already suggested: It may have been the case that both Simplicius and Damascius returned to Constantinople and were offered shelter at the monastery of the Akoimatoi. The Antiochene tone that I have pointed out in their writings may have been the result of their association with the Akoimatoi, who were a spiritual colony of Antioch in the capital. Whether either Damascius or Simplicius could be identified with Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite is a hypothesis I am suggesting, but not yet ready to advance fully. However, I would be not surprised if one day it turned out that this is actually the case.

In a study which deals with liturgical matters, Paul Gavrilyuk pointed out several unique features being in common between the Dionysian Corpus and the fifth century *Ordo* recorded in the *Euchologion Berberini Gr.* 336. This study surmises that ‘Dionysius would have been attached to a male monastery’ in Constantinople, still he goes no further: “Since there were

⁷⁴⁹ Simplicius, op. cit. p. 138: Εὐχὴν δὲ ἐπὶ τέλει τοῖς παροῦσιν οἰκείαν προσθείς, ἐπ’ αὐτῇ καταπαύσω τὸν λόγον. Ἰκετεύω σε, Δέσποτα, ὁ πατήρ καὶ ἡγεμὼν τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν λόγου, ὑπομνησθῆναι μὲν ἡμᾶς τῆς ἐαυτῶν εὐγενείας, ἧς ἡξιώθημεν παρὰ σου· συμπράξει δὲ ὡς αὐτοκινήτοις ἡμῖν, πρὸς τε κάθαρσιν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων παθῶν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὑπερέχειν καὶ ἄρχειν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὡς ὀργάνοις κεχρησθαι κατὰ τὸν προσήκοντα τρόπον· συμπράττειν τε καὶ πρὸς διόρθωσιν ἀκριβῆ τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν λόγου, καὶ ἔνωσιν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰ ὄντως ὄντα, διὰ τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας φωτός. Καὶ τὸ τρίτον καὶ σωτήριον· ἰκετεύω, ἀφελεῖν τελέως τὴν ἀχλὺν τῶν ψυχικῶν ἡμῶν ὁμμάτων, Ὅφρ’ εὖ γινώσκωμεν (κατὰ τὸν Ὅμηρον Cf. *Ilias*, V.128) ἡμὲν Θεόν, ἥδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα.

⁷⁵⁰ Homer, *Ilias*, V.128: Ὅφρ’ εὖ γινώσκεις Θεὸν ἥδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα. Cf. (with minor paraphrasing variations) *DT* (*lib.* 2.8–27), PG.39.728.12. Simplicius, *Commentarius in Epicteti Enchiridion*, p. 138. Only the following authors quoted this verse during the first millennium, to be followed later by Eustathius of Thessaloniki: Pseudo-Plato, *Alcibiades ii*, 150d9. Aristonicus of Alexandria (grammarian, first cent. BC–first cent. AD), *De Signis Iliadis*, V.128. Lucian of Samosata, *Charon sive Contemplantes*, 7. Maximus of Tyre (sophist, second cent. AD), *Dialexeis*, 8.5b. Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, 11.113.2; *Stromateis*, 1.28.178.1. Asclepius of Tralleis, *Commentaria in Nicomachi Geraseni Pythagorei Introductionem Arithmeticae*, 1.31. David of Alexandria (Neoplatonist, sixth cent.), *Prolegomena Philosophiae*, p. 79. Pseudo-David et Pseudo-Elias, *In Porphyrii Isagogen Commentarium*, Praxis 23, p. 47. Furthermore, in a poem by Empress Eudocia of Athens (fifth century).

more than fifty such monasteries in the area of Constantinople during this period, it would be difficult to pin down Dionysius' location with great precision". The study is perceptive, but not as conclusive as its author would have wished it to be. The real problem in that study with respect to Dionysius is that is weavers on the pseudo-dilemma 'Constantinople or Antioch?', though ostensibly he essays to eschew it, still without any evidence. 'Dionysius' allusions to the creed do not permit his location conclusively to Antioch to the exclusion of Constantinople'; although 'it would be argued that the evidence for Constantinople provided here is insufficient to exclude Antioch from consideration', in fact 'no definitive case *against* Antioch can be made based on the evidence presented in this paper. Indeed Antioch should not be excluded'.⁷⁵¹ The reason of this inconclusive wavering is that the author was not aware of Rudolf Riedinger's insightful resolutions, which my present work aspires to advance further. Beyond the general influence of Antioch on liturgical practices of Constantinople from John Chrysostom onwards, the Akoimatoi were Antioch *within* the capital itself.

Returning to the main issue, the conclusion is that although Cassian was writing under the sway of Proclus and of the sixth-century Neoplatonists, his Aristotelism should not elude us. Which is why some telling points of his work are worth discussing.

There are some Christian authors who spoke of all created nature as being 'good' only 'by participation' (κατὰ μετοχήν) in the divine being.⁷⁵² The idea is part of the Platonic legacy that Aristotle had inherited,⁷⁵³ and was subsequently made pretty much of by Proclus:⁷⁵⁴ he laid stress on the notion of *eros* (ἔρως), which appears at this point of *DT* in connection with the issue.

⁷⁵¹ Paul L. Gavrilyuk, "Did Pseudo-Dionysius Live in Constantinople?", *Vigiliae Christianae* 62 (2008), pp. 511; 513–514. I certainly do no doubt that the works of Dionysius 'surfaced during the Christological disputes' of 520–553, 'especially during the meeting held in Constantinople between the Chalcedonians and the non-Chalcedonians in 532', (p. 506).

⁷⁵² *DT* (*lib.* 1), 18.40: ἡ γὰρ κτίσις, φησίν, κατὰ μετοχήν τὴν ἀγαθότητα ἔχει, ἀπομιμουμένη πρὸς δύναμιν τὴν ἑαυτῆς, εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν, τὴν ἔμφυτον καὶ τελείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαθότητα καὶ δι' αὐτῆς σωζομένη. καὶ ἔστιν ὑπαρξίς τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀγαθοῦ τὸ μετέχειν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ, προσκολλωμένην αὐτῷ τῇ ὑπακοῇ καὶ τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔρωτι. *DT* (*lib.* 2.1–7), 6.8.1: ἡ κτίσις ἔχει τὸ ἀγαθόν, μεταδόσης αὐτῇ τῆς ἐν μιᾷ θεότητι τριάδος, τῆς οὔσης αὐτὸ τὰγαθόν. καὶ ἔστι δεύτερον τὸ κατὰ μετοχήν ἔχειν τι πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μέτρον ἀγαθὸν τοῦ φύσει αὐτὸ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ ἀμέτρητον ἀγαθὸν ὑπάρχειν. Cf. Pseudo-Athanasius, *De Sancta Trinitate* (*dialogi* 1; 3; 5), PG.28.1136.23–26. Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 1.1.276–277. Cyril of Alexandria, *Thesaurus De Sancta Consubstantiali Trinitate*, PG.75.528.33–39. Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 63.

⁷⁵³ Aristotle, *Ethica Eudemia*, 1217b.

⁷⁵⁴ Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, pp. 364–365.

Cassian is at pains to reassure that however hard a monk is disturbed by adverse and tempting thoughts, there is no way for daemons to take essential hold of his existence. 'Thoughts' in which a monk might possibly indulge, or give in to, is the sole point of a man and daemons coming close to each other. The notion of two different persons clinging together and essentially adhering to each other is applicable only the Persons of the Trinity, according to Cassian.⁷⁵⁵

When the same point is made in *DT*, we can only recognise the same pen having authored the passage: a daemon tempts and exhorts to sin by means of instilling 'thoughts' into a man, trying to make him subservient to devilish action. The case of a daemon either 'participating' in a human soul (μετεχόμενος), or 'invading' and 'occupying' it (ἐπιβατεύων), is ruled out.⁷⁵⁶ The argument is that 'no created being can either participate or possess any human in essence'. It is only by reason of 'habit', which may be either 'good or wicked', that a daemon would take hold of a person.⁷⁵⁷ Advancing this proposition, the author actually employs Aristotle's own language. Though the term actually originated in Platonic patrimony,⁷⁵⁸ it was Aristotle who made the notion of 'habit' (ἔξις) a cardinal notion of his ethics.⁷⁵⁹ The idea

⁷⁵⁵ Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 84^v: Οὐκ ἔστιν θαυμαστόν εἰ πνεῦμα πνεύματι ἀνεπαισθήτως συζεύγνυται καὶ ἀοράτως προσεγγίζων ὑποβάλλει τὰ (ἥ)δοντα καὶ τέρποντα τὴν ψυχὴν· ἔστι γὰρ μεταξύ τῶν πνευμάτων κατὰ τὸ νοερὸν τε καὶ νοερὸν ὁμ(οί)ωσις καὶ συγγένεια, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ὅρος ἀποδίδεται περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων νοερᾶς οὐσίας. Ὅθεν καὶ συνάπτεσθαι ἀλλήλοις δύναντ(αι) διὰ τῶν λογισμῶν. Τῷ δὲ τρόπῳ ᾧ ὑπολαμβάνεται ἐνοῦσθαι αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις, ὥστε ἕτερον τοῦ ἐτέρου εἶναι δεκτικὸν κατ' οὐσίαν, ἀδύνατον. *Op. cit.* p. 86^v: Οὔτε γὰρ οὕτως ὥσπερ τῇ παχείᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ ὕλικῇ σαρκὶ τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα συμμίσγνυται καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ταύτῃ ἐνδύεται, οὕτως καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ἐνοῦτ(αι), ὡς νομίζειν εἶναι πνεῦμα πνεύματος δεκτικόν. Τοῦτο γάρ, καθὼς εἴρηται, μόνῃ ἐστὶν τῇ Τριάδι δυνατόν.

⁷⁵⁶ *DT (lib. 1)*, 20.11: Πρὸς οὓς ῥητέον, ὡς οὐ μετεχόμενος οὐδὲ τῇ ψυχῇ ὥσπερ ἐπιβατεύων, ἀλλὰ φενακίζων καὶ κακοβουλίας καὶ παλίμβολον τρόπον ἐνεργαζόμενος καὶ πάρεργον ποίων τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πονηρίας πληροῖ τὸν μὴ προσέχοντα τῷ "μὴ δῶης εἰς σάλον τὸν πόδα σου, καὶ οὐ μὴ νυστάξει ὁ φυλάσσων σε".

⁷⁵⁷ *DT (lib. 1)*, 20.4: οὐδὲν δὲ κτιστόν, ὅσον ἀπὸ γραφῶν συνηθείας, μετουσίας τρόπον μετέχεσθαι δύναται ἢ πληροῦν οὐσιωδῶς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ μόνῃ τῶν τῆς ἕξεως τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἢ τῆς φαύλης. *DT (lib. 2.8-27)*, PG.39.673.36-39: διδάσκει, ὡς τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ πνευματικὸν γεννᾷ, καὶ λέγεται πνευματικὸς ἐκ τῆς ἕξεως, καθὰ ὁ ἐξ ἀνθρώπου τεχθεὶς καλεῖται ἄνθρωπος. *DT (lib. 3)*, PG.39.801.45-804.2: τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀναστοιχειοὶ ἡμᾶς εἰς εἰκόνα τὴν πρώτῃν, καὶ διὰ τῆς μετουσίας αἵτιον ἡμῖν υἰοθεσίας καὶ τοῦ γίνεσθαι θεοῦς ἐστίν, καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν κτιστῶν τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ἔχει τὸ υἰοποιεῖν ἢ θεοποιεῖν. By contrast, the attributes accorded to the Logos in Heb. 1:3 are not mere 'habits', they are essential properties of his. *DT (lib. 1)*, 15.46: ταῦτα δὲ ὑπάρχει ὁ μονογενής, οὐ καθάπερ ἔξις ἢ ἐπιτηδεσιότης, ἀλλ' οὐσιωδῶς, καθὰ προεῖρηται.

⁷⁵⁸ Cf. Plato, *Leges*, 790e9: καὶ ἔστι δέγματα δι' ἔξιν φαύλην τῆς ψυχῆς τινα.

⁷⁵⁹ Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, 1146a: εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρησται αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι, φαύλη ἢ καλὴ οὐσα ἔξις μὴ ἀκολουθεῖν, ὥσθ' ἢ ἐγκράτεια οὐ πάσα σπουδαία. *Op. cit.* 1151a28: φανερόν δὲ ἐκ τούτων ὅτι ἢ μὲν σπουδαία ἔξις, ἢ δὲ φαύλη. *Topica*, 144a: "Ἐτι εἰ τὸ γένος ὡς διαφορὰν εἴρηκεν, οἷον τὴν

is a tacit confirmation of the tenet that God is not the author of evil: it is only human free will indulging in bad habit that gives rise to sin, on which Origen's catenists laid a great deal of emphasis.⁷⁶⁰ Some Christian authors advanced this principal thesis (which is both Platonic and Christian alike) by means of this Aristotelian nomenclature.⁷⁶¹ The best account of this was offered by the fourth-century philosopher/bishop Nemesius of Emesa, who used this language expounding the (relevant) idea of banning ontological existence to evil: 'evil' is not actually 'power' (δύναμις), it is only a 'habit' (ἔξις); which is why it is possible for anyone to turn evil habits into good ones by means of persistent exercise. The distinction between 'power' and 'habit' is crucial to Nemesius: the former (δύναμις) is part of the natural constitution of the world (hence it stems from the divine creative act), whereas the latter (ἔξις) is 'brought in from outside' (ἐπεισάκτους), therefore they are actually alien to creation proper.⁷⁶²

Beyond these accounts, there is one work in which the distinction between either 'good' or 'bad' habit and its implications recurs over and over again: this is the anonymous commentary on Aristotle's *Ethica Nicomachea*,

ἀρετὴν ἔξιν ἀγαθὴν ἢ σπουδαίαν· γένος γὰρ τάγαθὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐστίν. ἢ οὐ γένος τάγαθὸν ἀλλὰ διαφορά, εἴπερ ἄλληθες ὅτι οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ταὐτὸν ἐν δύο γένεσιν εἶναι μὴ περιέχουσιν ἄλληλα. οὐτε γὰρ τάγαθὸν τὴν ἔξιν περιέχει οὐθ' ἢ ἔξις τάγαθόν· οὐ γὰρ πᾶσα ἔξις ἀγαθόν, οὐδὲ πᾶν ἀγαθὸν ἔξις. Cf. Aspasius (second cent. AD), *In Ethica Nichomachea Commentaria*, p. 137: καὶ φανερόν ὅτι ἢ μὲν ἀκρασία φαύλη ἔξις, ἢ δ' ἐγκράτεια σπουδαία. Op. cit. p. 144: αἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔξεων κινήσεις καὶ γενέσεις ἀγαθαί, αἱ δὲ τῶν φαύλων φαύλαι.

⁷⁶⁰ Origen, *homJob* (*fragmenta in catenis; typus II*) (e codd. Marc. gr. 21, 538), PG.17.81.16–18: Οὐ πρότερον ὠνόμασεν ἁμαρτίαν, εἴτα τὴν κακίαν· ἀλλ' ὁρῶν τὴν κακίαν τὴν φαύλην ἔξιν, εἴτα μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς φαύλης ἔξεως ἁμαρτανόμενα, ἅπερ εἶπεν ἀναριθμήτους εἶναι ἁμαρτίας. selEz (*fragmenta e catenis*), PG.13.813.44–45: κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναγωγὴν, τὴν ἀνακαινισθεῖσαν διὰ τῆς παιδείας ἔξιν ἀγαθὴν φύσιν λέγει.

⁷⁶¹ Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*, PG.26.852.25–27: ἢ γὰρ προθυμία τῆς ψυχῆς, πολλὸν χρόνον ἐμμείνασα, ἔξιν ἀγαθὴν ἐνείργαζτο ἐν αὐτῷ. Ephraem Syrus, *In Illud: Attende Tibi Ipsi* (*capita xii*), 6: 'Ο δὲ προσέχων ἑαυτῷ, ἔξιν ἀγαθὴν ἀναλαβών. Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannem*, v. 1, p. 415: καὶ οὐχὶ τοῖς ἐκθιγλύνεσθαι πεφυκόσιν εἰς ἔξιν οὐκ ἀγαθὴν. v. 2, p. 246: καὶ πρὸς ἔξιν μεθίστησιν ἀγαθὴν. expPs, PG.69.916.27–28: πρὸς ἀγαθὴν καὶ φιλάρετον ἔξιν τε καὶ ζῶν. Maximus Confessor, *Mystagogia*, 24: ἢ τὴν περὶ τῶν καλῶν ἔξιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν. *Quaestiones et Dubia*, 1.78: δι' ἔξεως ἀγαθῆς καὶ πράξεως. John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, PG.96.141.4–5: ὁ μὲν χρόνος φαύλην ἔξιν εἰς ἀσέβειαν ἑαυτῷ ἐργάσεται. Op. cit. PG.96.488.31–32: Εἰ δὲ μεταβολὴν αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο λαμβάνει κρείττονος καὶ μακαρίας ἔξεως. Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 366: ἐναυλίζεται δὲ ἡσυχία καὶ ἀταραξία, ἀφ' ὧν ἐγγίνεται ἔξις ἀγαθὴ τῇ ψυχῇ.

⁷⁶² Nemesius of Emesa (bishop and philosopher, fourth cent.), *De Natura Hominis*, 40: εἴπερ οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ κακία δύναμις ἀλλ' ἔξις, οὐχ ὁ τὴν δύναμιν δοὺς αἴτιος ἡμῖν τῶν κακῶν, ἀλλ' ἡ ἔξις ἢ παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ δι' ἡμῶν καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς προσγινομένη. ἐξὴν γὰρ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔξιν ἐκ τῆς γυμνασίας κατήρασθαι καὶ μὴ τὴν φαύλην. διαφέρει δὲ δύναμις ἔξεως τῷ πάσας μὲν τὰς δυνάμεις φυσικὰς εἶναι, τὰς δὲ ἔξεις ἐπεισάκτους· καὶ τῷ τὰς μὲν δυνάμεις ἀδιδάκτους εἶναι, τὰς δὲ ἔξεις ἐκ μαθήσεως καὶ ἔθους προσγίνεσθαι.

which we came upon while exploring the authorship of the *Scholia in Apocalypsin* (Scholia I and X).

Anonymi in Aristotelis *Ethica Nicomachea*, *In Ethica Nicomachea Paraphrasis*, p. 25: διὰ τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἔξιν, ἣτις ἐστὶν ἀρετὴ. p. 27: πᾶσα ἔξις ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοίας ἐνεργείας τίκεται, ἀγαθὴ μὲν ἀγαθῆς, φαύλη δὲ φαύλης. διὰ τοῦτο οὐ δεῖ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἕξεως ἐνέργειαν ἀπλῶς αἰτίαν λέγειν ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴν οὐδὲ τῆς κακῆς ἀπλῶς ἐνέργειαν ἀλλὰ κακὴν. p. 33: τί μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἀρετὴ τῷ γένει, εἴρηται· ἔστι γὰρ ἔξις. δεῖ δὲ μὴ μόνον ἔξιν αὐτὴν εἶναι λέγειν, ἀλλὰ προστιθέναι τὸ τοιάδε τις, τουτέστιν ἀγαθὴ· ἢ γὰρ κακία ἔξις ἐστὶ πονηρά. p. 52: ἀπὸ τῆς ἕξεως τῆς πονηρᾶς ἢ ἄγνοια γίνεται τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἢ γνῶσις τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ. p. 132: ἐπιθυμεῖ γὰρ καὶ προαιρεῖται τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἕξεως. p. 151: ὅθεν φανερόν, ὅτι ἡ μὲν ἐγκράτεια σπουδαία ἔξις ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ ἀκρασία φαύλη. p. 155: ἐστὶν ὅτι καὶ φύσις πᾶσα καὶ ἔξις καὶ πᾶσα κινήσεις καὶ γενέσεις, ἡ μὲν ἔσται ἀπλῶς ἀγαθὴ, ἡ δὲ τι. ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κακοῦ. κινήσεις γὰρ καὶ γενέσεις καὶ ἔξεις αἱ μὲν φαύλαι ἀπλῶς, αἱ δὲ τι, καὶ τῶν φαύλων τινί. p. 158: ἡ δὲ εὐδαιμονία καὶ τὸ ἄριστον ἐνέργεια ἐστὶν ἕξεως ἀγαθῆς. p. 159: οὐδὲ πάντα τὴν αὐτὴν ἔξιν ἔχει ἡ τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν· πάντα δὲ ἡδονὴν διώκουσιν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὴν, τὰ δὲ φαύλην.

Anonymi in Aristotelis *Ethica Nicomachea*, *In Ethica Nicomachea VII Commentaria*, p. 413: καὶ φησιν ὅτι εἰ τοῦ ἐγκρατοῦς ἐπιθυμίαι ἀγαθαὶ εἰσι, λοιπὸν ἡ ἔξις, ἥτοι ὁ λόγος ὁ κωλύων μὴ ἀκολουθεῖν τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ, φαύλη ἐστὶ καὶ λοιπὸν ἄρα πᾶσα ἐγκράτεια σπουδαία ἐστίν, ἥτοι ἀγαθὴ. ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ἐγκράτεια, ἥ ἔχει τὸν λόγον κωλύοντα μὴ ἔπεσθαι ταῖς αἰσχαῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, ἐστὶ χρηστὴ, ἥ δὲ ἔχει τὸν λόγον κωλύοντα ἔπεσθαι ταῖς αἰσχαῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, φαύλη ἐστίν. p. 440: φανερόν οὖν ὅτι ἡ μὲν, ἥτοι ἡ ἐγκράτεια, ἔξις σπουδαία, ἥτοι ἀγαθὴ ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ, ἥτοι ἡ ἀκρασία, φαύλη ἐστὶν ἔξις. p. 447: ὁ γὰρ φύσιν ἔχων καὶ ἔξιν ἀπλῶς, ἥτοι ἀγαθὴν, κινεῖται καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀπλῶς ἀγαθόν, τὸ δὲ τι ἀγαθὸν ἀκολουθεῖ τῇ τοιάδε φύσει καὶ ἔξει καὶ τῇ τοιάδε κινήσει. τῷ γὰρ ἔχοντι φύσιν θηριώδη καὶ ἔξιν καὶ κίνησιν ἡ νοσώδη οὐ ζητεῖται τὸ κυρίως ἀγαθὸν ἀλλὰ τὸ τι ἀγαθόν, ἥτοι τὸ φαινόμενον.

The notion of communicating 'by means of participation' (μετουσίας τρόπω) originates in Didymus⁷⁶³ and influenced Cassian himself. The expression was ascribed to Origen, probably by a Sabaite catenist.⁷⁶⁴ It shows in

⁷⁶³ Didymus, *commZacch*, 2.333: "Ἀμπελος δὲ οἰστικὴ τοῦ ἰδίου καρποῦ ἡ πνευματικὴ θεωρία τῆς ἀληθείας ἐστίν, καὶ ἡ κατ' αὐτὴν πεποιωμένη λογικὴ οὐσία, ἐκπεφυκυῖα ἐκ τῆς ἀμπέλου τῆς ἀληθινῆς μετουσίας τρόπῳ. *comPs* 29–34, Cod. p. 156: εἰ δὲ ἕκαστος τῶν κολλωμένων τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν γίνεται πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅταν πολλοὶ ὦσιν οἱ κολλώμενοι αὐτῷ, τρόπῳ μετουσίας οἱ πάντες ἐν πνεύμα γίνονται.

⁷⁶⁴ Origen, *frJohn*, II: αὕτη ἡ ζωὴ τὰ λογικὰ ὠφελῆσαι βουλομένη σχέσιν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὰ ἀνεδέξατο, ἐπὶ τὸ ζῆν αὐτὰ προσλαβόντα αὐτὴν μετουσίας τρόπῳ.

spuria ascribed to Pseudo-Macarius (they often happen to be the same texts in Greek translations of Ephraem),⁷⁶⁵ and it was Cyril of Alexandria who made much of it.⁷⁶⁶ The term 'participation' (μετουσία) has been ascribed to Aristotle, still it does not transpire in the *Metaphysics*, as we now have it.⁷⁶⁷ An instance similar to the present context appears only in Philo, later followed by Plutarch, and Middle-Platonists such as Albinus and Numenius, to become a hackneyed technical term in Late Antiquity, with Alexander of Aphrodisias, Plotinus, Porphyry, and later Neoplatonists.

Cassian applied the notion confidently yet moderately,⁷⁶⁸ not simply because he normally followed Gregory of Nyssa, but also because the Cappadocian was fascinated by this and made an incredibly abundant (excessive, one might say) use of it, amounting to nearly three hundred instances.

⁷⁶⁵ Ephraem Syrus, *Institutio Ad Monachos*, p. 319 (the same text is ascribed to Pseudo-Macarius, *Epistula Magna*, p. 249): Τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς μετουσίας καὶ μεταλήψεως τοῦ Πνεύματος ἀκριβῶς ὑπεσημειώσατο, ἐν πληροφορίᾳ γενομένοις κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν, φησί, τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς πιστεύοντας. Greek translations of Syriac texts were carried out at the Laura of Sabas, such as those by monks Abramius and Patricius.

⁷⁶⁶ Cyril of Alexandria, *Thesaurus De Sancta Consubstantiali Trinitate*, PG.75.45.14–19: Αὐτὸς γάρ φησι περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος: “Ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λαμβάνει.” Τίνος οὖν ἄρα μετέχει; Λέγεται λέγειν, τοῦ Πατρὸς. Καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς μετουσίας τρόπος; ἢ τί τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐξίόν καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ γινόμενον, ἵνα καὶ μετέχηται. *In Joannem*, v. 1, p. 87: ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος, ὃς ἦν ἐν Θεῷ καὶ Πατρί, καὶ ζωὴ καὶ φῶς, οὐ τινῶν μὲν ὧν ἀνά μέρος, ἐτέρων δὲ οὐκέτι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τινὰ μετουσίαν ἄρρητον τρόπον, ὡς σοφία καὶ σύνεσις. v. 2, p. 233: ἐπὶ γὰρ μετουσίᾳ τῶν ὑπὲρ νοῦν ἀγαθῶν λήψονται τὴν ἀνάστασιν κατὰ τοῦτον οἶμαι τὸν τρόπον τὸν τῆς οἰκειότητος λόγον ἥκειν μὲν ἐπὶ πάντας πονηροὺς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς. v. 3, p. 133: τελειοὶ δὲ δι’ ἁγιασμοῦ τοῦ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν, τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως κοινωνοὺς διὰ τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος μετουσίας ἀναδεικνύς, καὶ μεταχαλκεύων τρόπον τινὰ τὴν ἀνθρώπου φύσιν εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων δυνάμιν τε καὶ δόξαν. *De Sancta Trinitate Dialogi I–VII*, p. 533: πνευματικὴν λαχοῦσα τὴν ἀναμόρφωσιν, καὶ τῆς θείας αὐτοῦ φύσεως κεκλημένη πρὸς μετουσίαν διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος.

⁷⁶⁷ Aristotle, *Fragmenta Varia*, Category 5, treatise title 29, Fr. 188, *apud* Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, p. 84: ἔτι τὰ ὅμοια ἀλλήλοις τοῦ αὐτοῦ τινὸς μετουσίᾳ ὅμοια ἀλλήλοις εἶναι. Aristotle, loc. cit., *apud* Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, p. 85: ἐπεὶ ἔθεντο τὰ ὅμοια τοῦ αὐτοῦ τινὸς μετουσίᾳ ὅμοια εἶναι.

⁷⁶⁸ Cassian the Sabaite, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, XIX: ἐπίστησον, μὴ τὰ ζ' πνεύματα αἱ μετουσίαι τοῦ πνεύματος ὦσιν. XX: Ἄγιος, ἀληθινὸς ὁ μὴ μετουσίᾳ, ἀλλ' οὐσίᾳ ὧν τοιοῦτος. *DT (lib. 2.1–7)*, 2.26: δίδεται δὲ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, οὐ κατατομῆς μερισμοῖς, ἀλλὰ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς μετουσίας. *Op. cit.* 3.27: οὕτως ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν γενητῶν τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἅγιον καὶ δυνατόν κατὰ τὸ τέλειον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μετουσίαν. *Op. cit.* (quoting Hermes Trismegistus), 3.28: “ἄδύνατον ἐν γενέσει εἶναι τὰ ἀγαθόν, ἐν μόνῳ δὲ τῷ ἀγενήτῳ. ὥσπερ δὲ μετουσία πάντων ἐστὶν τῇ ὕλῃ δεδομένη, οὕτω καὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ.” *Op. cit.* 7.8,10: μετουσίας δὲ τῆς τῶν φιλοτιμουμένων ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὖ ἀγαθῶν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. *Op. cit. (lib. 2.8–27)*, PG.39.700.25–26: καὶ ἀπολαύουσι τῆς τοῦ σωτηρίου Πνεύματος μετουσίας καὶ υἰοθεσίας. *Op. cit. (lib. 3)*, PG.39.832.16–18: καὶ ἀξίωσαι ἡμᾶς διαιωτικῶς ἀπολαύειν τῆς τοῦ ἁνῶς ἀπόνου φωτὸς μετουσίας προθέμενος.

By contrast, his Nazianzen namesake indulged in this in no more than ten instances, and Basil acted likewise, at least in his undisputed works. Chrysostom hardly fancied μετουσία. Following the prolific use by Proclus,⁷⁶⁹ it was natural for the Areopagite to make pretty much of it. Once again, the *Quaestiones Et Responsiones Ad Orthodoxos* should be paid some attention. As already said, this has been ascribed to both Justin and Theodoret, but Cassian is the most likely author of it.⁷⁷⁰

The author's point is, therefore, that man's essence cannot be overtaken by anything or anyone that is created and stands outside himself. In effect he draws on a consideration of John 10:29 by Origen, reassuring that it is impossible for 'those who have been handed over' to God 'by the Son' to be 'snatched out of the Father's hands'. Taking a step further, he maintains that all that could happen to a man is prevalence of 'either good or evil habit' within him (ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῶν τῆς ἑξέως τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἢ τῆς φαύλης).⁷⁷¹

The expression 'propensity to knowledge' (ἔφεσις γνώσεως)⁷⁷² is used to urge that the cause for the soul to be subject to passion is its cohabitation with the body, as well as its own 'deliberate choice' (προαίρεσιν), which is concurrent with the desire to know. The former is the Platonic/Pythagorean thesis, the latter is a version of the Biblical desire for 'knowledge of good and evil', which was the sin that resulted in expulsion from Paradise. Despite this double entendre, however, the author's vocabulary is a distinctly Greek one. For ἔφεσις γνώσεως had reached the author through Proclus, and anyway was part of the technical philosophical vocabulary of both Alexander of Aphrodisias and Plotinus.⁷⁷³

De Trinitate is the sole Christian text to apply a mathematical principle to theology: two quantities which are equal to a third one, have to be equal to each other. This definition recurs in Heron of Alexandria (first

⁷⁶⁹ But Simplicius entertained the term and the concomitant notion at no less than twenty points, whereas Damascius used this only once.

⁷⁷⁰ Pseudo-Justin, *QetR*, p. 417B.

⁷⁷¹ *DT* (lib. 1), 20.4.

⁷⁷² *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.773.41–44: Ψυχὴ καθ' αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ νοητῷ ἀπαθὴς ὑπάρχουσα, τοῦ παθαί-νεσθαι ποτε αἰτίαν ἔχει τὸ σῶματι συνεῖναι, καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτῆς προαίρεσιν, ἥτουν τῆς γνώσεως τὴν ἔφεσιν.

⁷⁷³ Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, p. 15: εἰ γὰρ δι' ἀγνοίαν ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν αὐτῶν, δῆλον ὡς γνώσεως ἐφέσει. This passage was reproduced by Asclepius of Tralleis, *In Aristotelis Metaphysicorum Libros A–Z Commentaria*, p. 19. Plotinus, *Enneades*, III.8.7: ἡ ἔφεσις γνώσεως. Proclus, *In Platonis Alcibiadem I*, 212: τὰ δὲ προκειμένα ταῦτα μετὰ τὴν κάθαρσιν εἰς ἔφεσιν αὐτὸν ἀνεγείρει τῆς γνώσεως.

century mathematician and engineer):⁷⁷⁴ he ascribed this to Aristotle,⁷⁷⁵ though we know that this was one of Euclides' fundamental premises.⁷⁷⁶ The definition recurs in Galen⁷⁷⁷ and Alexander of Aphrodisias.⁷⁷⁸ Proclus quoted this principle abundantly in relation to its father Euclides,⁷⁷⁹ but it was another instance in his work that caused our author to apply this to metaphysics, indeed into Trinitarian theology. Proclus propounded the bold thesis urging that 'all axioms which pertain to equal and unequal things should be applied to the order of gods' (Πάντα οὖν ὅσα λέγεται νῦν ἀξιώματα περί τε τῶν ἴσων καὶ ἀνίσων, ἐφαρμοστέον τῇ τάξει ταύτῃ τῶν θεῶν). For 'there are many powers, either ones which correspond to each other and concur towards the same good end, or others that are different in excellence or inferiority' (ἐπεὶ γάρ εἰσι καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ πολλὰ δυνάμεις, αἱ μὲν ἀλλήλαις σύστοιχοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἀνατεινόμεναι, αἱ δὲ διαφέρουσαι κατὰ τε ὑπεροχὴν καὶ ὕφεσιν). All 'these powers need to be classified' (ἐκείνας μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἰσότητα χαρακτηρίζεσθαι ῥητέον). Proclus goes on, 'the good is the measure for each and everyone' of those powers (τὸ γὰρ ἀγαθὸν μέτρον ἐκάστων). Therefore, 'of them, those that are united with this selfsame good are measured by the same measure and are equal to each other' (τὰ γοῦν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀγαθῷ συνηνωμένα τῷ αὐτῷ μέτρῳ μεμέτρηται καὶ ἔστιν ἴσα ἀλλήλοις). By contrast, one should accept that 'those powers which do not belong to the same order have made unequal progress on this account' (τὰ δὲ γε μὴν ἀσυστοίχους ἀλλήλαις κατὰ τὸ ἄνισον πεποιήσθαι τὴν πρόοδον θετέον), wherefore we say that 'some of them are superior, whereas others are inferior' (ἐπειδὴ τὰς μὲν ὑπερέχειν, τὰς δὲ ὑφείσθαι λέγομεν).⁷⁸⁰ This is how Euclidean Geometry was assigned with doing service to philosophy

⁷⁷⁴ Heron of Alexandria, *Definitiones*, 134.2; 137.7.

⁷⁷⁵ Op. cit. 136.6: 'Ἀξιωμα ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην, ὅταν μὲν καὶ τῷ μανθάνοντι γνώριμον ᾗ καὶ καθ' αὐτὸ πιστὸν τὸ παραλαμβάνόμενον εἰς ἀρχήν, οἷον τὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ἴσα καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἴσα. As a matter of fact, the definition thrived among Aristotelian commentators during all ages: Ammonius of Alexandria, Syrianus, Themistius, Asclepius of Tralleis, Eustratius of Nicaea, Sophonias. Once again, we come upon the same anonymous commentary: *In Ethica Nicomachea Paraphrasis*, p. 15.

⁷⁷⁶ Euclides, *Elementa*, Book 1.1; 1.2; 1.13; 11.30.

⁷⁷⁷ Galen, *De Optima Doctrina*, v. 1, p. 51; *De Methodo Medendi Libri xiv*, v. 10, pp. 34; 36; *Institutio Logica*, 1.3; 1.5; 16.6.

⁷⁷⁸ Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, pp. 130; 175; 188; 265; 441; 597; 634; 646; 664; *In Aristotelis Analyticorum Priorum Librum i Commentarium*, pp. 22; 344; *In Aristotelis Topicorum Libros Octo Commentaria*, p. 14.

⁷⁷⁹ Proclus, *In Primum Euclidis Elementorum Librum Commentarii*, pp. 76; 182; 183; 184; 193; 195; 196; 209; 296; 299; 434.

⁷⁸⁰ Proclus, *In Platonis Parmenidem*, pp. 1204–1205.

twelve centuries before Baruch Spinoza set out to carry out a similar, if more extensive, enterprise, this time not in metaphysics, but in ethics.

No doubt the author of *DT* was fascinated by Proclus' boldness. And since the entire treatise had made fascination its first priority, Proclus' venture was employed forthwith. The aim was to rebut Arius and Eunomius, on the one hand, and Macedonians, on the other. Hence the author set out to prove that all the Persons of the Trinity are equal to each other. The Spirit is equal to the Father; the Spirit is equal to the Son; furthermore, the Father and Son are equal to the Spirit. It follows, therefore, that the Son is equal to the Father: 'for those who are equal to someone, are equal to each other'. Enthralled as the author was by this positivism, he applied this at two different points.⁷⁸¹ He believed after all that Greek erudition (including Greek science) was his strong point contributing to the polemics of Christian orthodoxy. This is one more striking similarity between *DT* and the tract by Caesarius, which followed immediately, after the author was (or, felt) free from the stigma of heresy.

Gregory of Nyssa is certainly followed at points where there can be no Neoplatonic parallel idea,⁷⁸² such as the notion of the Father begetting the Son 'indivisibly' from his own essence (ἐκ πάσης τῆς οὐσίας αὐτὸ γεννᾷ ἀδιαστάτως).⁷⁸³ Cyril of Alexandria also expressed the same concept in like terms.⁷⁸⁴

⁷⁸¹ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.725.22–29: Εἰ δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁμότιμον τῷ Πατρὶ, ὡς ἀποδείδειται, ὁμότιμον δὲ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, ὡς ὡμολόγηται· δῆλον, ὅτι τὴν ἴσῃν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἔχουσι σχέσιν αἱ θεαὶ ὑποστάσεις. Τὰ γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ ἴσα, καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἴσα πάντως ἐστίν· ἴσος δὲ ὁ Υἱὸς τῷ Πατρὶ, ἴσων δὲ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τῷ Υἱῷ· δῆλον, ὅτι ὁμοίως ἴσων ἐστὶ καὶ τῷ Πατρὶ. *DT* (lib. 3), PG.39.804.14–19: Εἰ, ἅπερ νῦν εἴρηται περὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἡ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἄλλοτε περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἀναγέγραπται, ἀμήχανον, ἀδύνατον, μὴ εἶναι ἀπαραλλάκτως τῆς μιάς αὐτοτελοῦς θεότητος, καὶ θελήσεως, καὶ δόξης τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. Τὰ γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ ἴσα, φασί, καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐστὶν ἴσα.

⁷⁸² Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 3.7.29: χρόνου δὲ μὴ ὄντος, ᾧ καὶ τέλος τοῦ τόκου καὶ ἀρχὴν σημειούμεθα, μάταιον ἂν εἶναι τέλος καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀδιαστάτου γεννήσεως ἔννοεῖν. John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei*, 8, quoting from Pseudo-Cyril of Alexandria, *De Sancta Trinitate*, PG.77.1136.36: ἐκ Πατρὸς γεννηθεὶς ἀχωρίστως καὶ ἀδιαστάτως. Likewise, John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei*, 14; 49; *Contra Jacobitas*, 78; *Contra Manichaeos*, 8; *Homilia in Transfigurationem Domini*, PG.96.572.48; *Homilia in Sabbatum Sanctum*, PG.96.605.7, using the adverb ἀνεκφοιτητήτως in the same context as *DT* does. See discussion in *RCR*, pp. 361–362.

⁷⁸³ *DT* (lib. 1), 10.4: εἰ δὲ τὸ φῶς οὐ προσλαμβάνει ἔξωθεν τὸ ἀπαύγασμα, ἀλλ' ἐκ πάσης τῆς οὐσίας αὐτὸ γεννᾷ ἀδιαστάτως, οὐδ' ὁ θεὸς ἐπεκτῆσατο ἔξωθεν τὸν υἱόν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ὑποστάσεως ἐγέννησεν ἀδιαστάτως. Op. cit. (lib. 1), 15.76: ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν μὴ τὸν υἱὸν λόγον καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἀνάρχως τε καὶ φύσει εἶναι ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ. ἅμα γὰρ πατήρ—συγχωρηθῇ δὲ τὸ οὕτως εἰπεῖν—ἀδιαστάτως ὁ μὲν ἐγεννήθη, τὸ δὲ ἐξεπορεύθη. Op. cit. 32.37: τοῦ πατρὸς, παρ' οὐ φυσικῶς καὶ ἀδιαστάτως γεγέννηται. Op. cit. (lib. 3), PG.39.792.3–5: Εἰ ἄτρεπτος ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατήρ, οὐθ' ὕστερον, οὕτε παθητῶς ἐγέννα, ἀλλ' ὡς φῶς τὴν αὐγὴν ἀπαθῶς καὶ ἀδιαστάτως ἀσώματος γάρ.

⁷⁸⁴ Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannem*, v. 1, p. 190; *Thesaurus De Sancta Consubstantiali Trinitate*, PG.75: 80.1–7; 113.32–34. Pseudo-Macarius, *Sermones* 64 (collectio B), Homily 37.1.5.

One can notice the confusion with respect to the notions of 'essence' (οὐσία) and 'hypostasis' (ὑπόστασις). Both Cassian⁷⁸⁵ and *DT*⁷⁸⁶ treat the two terms as synonyms. This is also evident in the catena -fragments ascribed to Origen⁷⁸⁷ and to Didymus.⁷⁸⁸

It is also worth recalling the contracted form ἐσθότε for ἔστιν ὅτε ('sometimes'),⁷⁸⁹ which is extremely scarce in Greek literature, and occurs in both Cassian and *DT*. The Greek text should also be recalled: both Cassian and *DT* (and they alone) reproduce a magnificent rhetorical style which Nestorius had used by styling God ἀκατάσχετος ('unrestrained God').⁷⁹⁰

DT entertains the idea of all three Trinitarian Persons being 'exactly like in respect of divinity' (τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον τῆς θεότητος), or 'in essence' (τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον τῆς οὐσίας),⁷⁹¹ or 'in nature' (τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον τῆς φύσεως), which has been discussed in relation to Caesarius. The author also uses the term ἰσοσθενής ('equally powerful') alongside τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον τῆς θεότητος,⁷⁹² in order to describe the three Persons in relation to each other, which Caesarius also does.⁷⁹³ It should be pointed out that although Didymus used

⁷⁸⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 86^v: Τοῦτο γάρ, καθὼς εἴρηται, μόνῃ ἐστὶν τῇ Τριάδι δυνατὸν, ἥτις πάσῃ τῇ νοητῇ φύσει ἐνυπάρχει δι' ὅλης τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτῆς καὶ οὐσίας διήκουσα. Op. cit. p. 85^v: εἰς τὴν ὑπόστασιν, ἦτοι οὐσίαν, αὐτὴν τῆς ψυχῆς. Op. cit. p. 103^v: Μὴ γένοιτο οὖν ἵνα τὸν Θεὸν ὁμολογήσωμεν ποτε δημιουργήσαντά τι καθ' ὑπόστασιν κακόν.

⁷⁸⁶ *DT* (*lib. 1*), 10.4: εἰ δὲ τὸ φῶς οὐ προσλαμβάνει ἐξωθεν τὸ ἀπαύγασμα, ἀλλ' ἐκ πάσης τῆς οὐσίας αὐτὸ γεννᾷ ἀδιαστάτως, οὐδ' ὁ θεὸς ἐπεκτέσαστο ἐξωθεν τὸν υἱόν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ὑποστάσεως ἐγέννησεν ἀδιαστάτως.

⁷⁸⁷ Cf. Origen, *fJohn*, CXXI; CXXIII.

⁷⁸⁸ Didymus, *fPs(al)*, Frs. 393; 396; 939; 10061; 1160. Nevertheless, Didymus himself allowed room for multiple senses of the term 'hypostasis'. *compPs* 35–39, Cod. p. 275: τὸ τῆς ὑποστάσεως ὄνομα πολλὰ σημαίνει. ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος δὲ δύο σημεινομένων χρειά. λέγεται ποτε ἡ οὐσία ὑπόστασις· ὡς ὅταν λέγεται ὁ υἱὸς "χαρακτὴρ τῆς θεοῦ ὑποστάσεως", τῆς θεοῦ οὐσίας καὶ ὑπάρξεως. λέγεται δὲ ὑπόστασις καὶ ἡ τελεία ὑπομονή. p. 277: δυνατὸν δὲ ὑπόστασιν λέγειν ἀντὶ οὐσίας. καὶ ἡ ὑπόστασις μου τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς, τοῦ λογικοῦ ζῶου παρὰ σοῦ ἐστίν.

⁷⁸⁹ See *RCR*, p. 178. See Greek text, p. 88^v.

⁷⁹⁰ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 59^v. Cf. Nestorius, *Sermones*, Sermon 4, *apud* ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum anno 431*, 1,1,6, p. 12: καὶ (εἰ) μεμένηκεν ὁ θεὸς λόγος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀκατάσχετος καὶ τῆς σφαγῆς οὐ κεκοινώνηκε τῇ σαρκί. So in op. cit. p. 99. Beyond this, the epithet is employed only by *DT* (*lib. 2*, 1–7), 6.8,5: ἡ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος ἐκχυσις, ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι, ἡ ἀκατάσχετος καὶ ἄφθονος ἐπιφοίτησις αὐτοῦ. See endnote 23, p. 223.

⁷⁹¹ *DT* (*lib. 1*), 36.4: τὸ ἰσότημον καὶ ἰσοσθενὲς καὶ ὁμοούσιον. Op. cit. (*lib. 3*), PG.39.781.6–7: τὸ ὁμότιμον καὶ ἰσοσθενὲς τῆς ἀγίας Τριάδος. Op. cit. PG.39.804.6–8: τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα μνημονεύεται ἄρα ὡς ἰσότημον καὶ ἰσοσθενὲς τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Μονογενεῖ, Θεὸς ἐστίν.

⁷⁹² Caesarius, *QR*, 3.11&63.

⁷⁹³ Caesarius, *QR*, 126.21; 131.7.

the term ἱσοσθενής, he attached to this a sense which is only literal and completely irrelevant to any Trinitarian bearing.⁷⁹⁴

The form ἴδον for εἶδον appears at six points of *DT*,⁷⁹⁵ but never in Didymus' work. They are all scriptural quotations, which means this is how the Biblical text was available to the author, or indeed reproduced by him. The same goes for Cassian's text of Revelation which accompanies the Scholia in Codex 573. The form is as old as the Homeric texts, and only a few authors employed this. Whereas in Origen there is only one Homeric quotation and Nazianzen employed it casually in the Homeric language of his *Cantica*, this idiomatic spelling occurs only as a exception in texts by Theodoret, Chrysostom, and Cyril of Alexandria,⁷⁹⁶ or followers of Cassian's vocabulary,⁷⁹⁷ or indeed Sabaite ones.⁷⁹⁸ Such instances, where grammatical forms of Cassian's own 'Book' (Codex 573) occur, may well bespeak a Sabaite scribe,⁷⁹⁹ or an Antiochene one, all the more so since ἴδον makes a distinctive mark in the *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*.⁸⁰⁰

⁷⁹⁴ Didymus, *commZacch*, 2.258; *Contra Manichaeos*, PG.39: 1097.23 & 1104.20; *frPs(al)*, Fr. 49.

⁷⁹⁵ *DT* (*lib.* 2.1–7), 6.6.5; op. cit. (*lib.* 2.8–27), PG.39.656.12; op. cit. PG.39: 685.5; 717.1; op. cit. (*lib.* 3), PG.39: 884.27; 889.8.

⁷⁹⁶ John Chrysostom, *In Epistolam ii ad Corinthios*, PG.61.447.32. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *In Poenitentiam Ninivitarum*, PG.64.432.20. Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Ezechielem*, PG.81: 820.35; 820.45; 829.13; 832.47; 833.1; 836.25; 836.44; 841.32; 844.9; 848.14; 852.34; 881.16; 884.8; 884.28; 884.36; 893.14; 896.49. Cyril of Alexandria, *commProphXII*, v. 2, pp. 302; 347; 354; 356; 519; *In Isaiam*, PG.70: 88.20; 172.55; 180.18; 253.25; 441.25; *Ad Optimum Episcopum*, PG.77.365.44; *Commentarii in Lucam* (*homilia 3 et 4*) (= *In Occursum Domini* [*Homilia Diversa 12*]), PG.77.1045.44.

⁷⁹⁷ Romanus Melodus, *Cantica*, Hymn 9.16; 13.30; 28.5. Ἀκάθιστος Ὕμνος. 9.1. Theodore Studites, *Sermones Catecheseos Magnae*, Catechesis 34, p. 96. Scripta Anonyma Adversus Judaeos, *Dialogus Timothei et Aquilae*, 25.2; 54.17; *Dissertatio Contra Judaeos*, 1 (lines 160; 168; 242); *Dissertatio Contra Judaeos*, 3 (lines 621; 624; 756); 4 (line 76); 5 (lines 301; 449); 6 (line 398); 10 (lines 7; 19; 124); 11 (line 409); 12 (line 70; 71; 75; 83; 84; 593). Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, 29 (line 51); 40 (line 37); 43 (line 73); 95 (lines 23 & 56); 101 (line 53); 119 (lines 27 & 43).

⁷⁹⁸ Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, 29 (line 51); 40 (line 37); 43 (line 73); 95 (lines 23 & 56); 101 (line 53); 119 (lines 27; 43).

⁷⁹⁹ See *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XXVII, and note to the Greek text. The form ἴδον, normally appearing throughout, is replaced by the hackneyed εἶδον only once, which is because, at that point, another scribe took over from scribe Theodosius. This unknown scribe took over from Theodosius at the fifth line of Codex-page 264', starting with writing Scholion XXVII. This confirms that the writing ἴδον is owing to scribe Theodosius, who reappears on Codex-page 270'. On that very page, reverting to Theodosius' handwriting, the form ἴδον reappears.

⁸⁰⁰ *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, *Canones Septembris*, 30.37.8; *Canones Novembris*, 17.35.8; 20.39.7; *Canones Decembris*, 22.46.7; 23.47.4.

For all his staunch defense of Nicaea, never did Didymus make a specific reference to the followers of Arius by means of the elegant and poetic expression οἱ τοῦ Ἀρείου ὑπασπισταὶ ('the defenders of Arius'), which attracted some later authors. However *DT* did,⁸⁰¹ and so did Caesarius⁸⁰² and the Sabaite monks Cyril of Scythopolis⁸⁰³ and John of Damascus.⁸⁰⁴ The expression had been sanctioned by the minutes of Ephesus quoting Cyril of Alexandria's texts,⁸⁰⁵ and the synod had been convened nearly forty years after Didymus was dead. The term ὑπασπιστής shows in the *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*,⁸⁰⁶ along with the collection of epistles allegedly written by Photius, but they are unlike him and regularly reproduce Cassian's vocabulary, not Photius'.⁸⁰⁷

The distinction of 'spirit' (πνεῦμα) meaning either the natural wind, or the Holy Spirit, was drawn by the Cappadocian brothers, Gregory⁸⁰⁸ and Basil.⁸⁰⁹

⁸⁰¹ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.613.37–39: τὴν ἐπιδεχθεῖσαν πίστιν ὀρθῶς δεχόμεθα· εἰ δ' ἂν δὲ καὶ μὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἠκολούθησας ἐν μέρει τοῖς Ἀρείου ὑπασπισταῖς, οὓς μὴδὲ λέγειν ἡμᾶς εἴη.

⁸⁰² Caesarius apud Catenae (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Joannem* (catena integra) (e codd. Paris. Coislin. 23 + Oxon. Bodl. Auct. T.1.4), p. 370: Σχόλιον Καισαρίου Ἀδελφοῦ θεολόγου. Φασὶν οἱ τοῦ Ἀρείου ὑπασπισταὶ, ὅτι ...

⁸⁰³ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, p. 9 (a contrario: the 'defenders of orthodoxy'): τῶν τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως ὑπασπιστῶν ἐλαυνομένων καὶ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν καταδυναστευόντων. The author is very keen on this expression, indeed he uses it at a certain point mentioning Cassian himself. *Vita Cyriaci*, p. 231: τὸν νῦν ἡγούμενον ἀββᾶν Κασσιανὸν Σκυθοπολίτην ὄντα τῷ γένει ὀρθόδοξόν τε ὄντα καὶ βίῳ καὶ λόγῳ κεκοσμημένον. καὶ τότε μόλις ἰσχύσαμεν τοὺς Ὁριγένους ὑπασπιστάς ἀποκρούσασθαι. Op. cit. p. 231: καὶ αὐτοῦ σπουδάσαντος ἡγούμενον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ αἰρέσεως ὑπασπιστὴν καταστήσαι ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ λαύρᾳ. Op. cit. p. 231: τῆς Ὁριγένους λύμης ὄντα ὑπασπιστὴν. *Vita Sabae*, p. 127: διεδέξαντο μὲν τινὲς μοναχοὶ τῆς Διοσκόρου καὶ Εὐτυχούς μακρίας ὑπασπισταὶ. Op. cit. p. 181: διωχθέντων τῶν Ὁριγένους ὑπασπιστῶν. *Vita Joannis Hesychoe*, p. 221: κατὰ τῶν Ὁριγένους καὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Μομφουεστίας δογματῶν τε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν.

⁸⁰⁴ Pseudo-John of Damascus, *Passio Sancti Artemii*, PG.96.1257.1–7: ὁ τοῖς καλοῖς βασκαίων διάβολος, ἀλλ' ἡγείρε ζάλην καὶ τάραχον διὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ οικείων ὑπασπιστῶν. Ἀρειος γὰρ ὁ τῆς μακρίας ἐπώνυμος, τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἐκκλησίας ὑπάρχων πρεσβύτερος, δεινῶς τε ταύτην ἐτάραξε, δόγμα κινήσας παράνομον καὶ πάσης βλασφημίας ἀνάμεστον.

⁸⁰⁵ ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesuum anno 431*, 1, 1, 3, p. 96; 1, 1, 4, p. 29.

⁸⁰⁶ *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, *Canones Semptembris*, 30.35. *Canones Octobris*, 7.7.3; *Februarii*, 11.15.4; 21.25.1.6; 29.30.7. *Canones Aprilis*, 18.23.6.

⁸⁰⁷ Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 312 (ref. to Asterius of Antioch, the fourth-century Arian): ὁ τῆς Ἀρείας λύσεως ὑπασπιστής. Cf. George Monachus, *Chronicon* (lib. 1–4), p. 526: ἀληθῶς ψεῦδος τοῦτο ὑπάρχει καὶ ἀνάπλασμα τῆς Ἀρειανικῆς καὶ ἀθέου αἵρέσεως καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀπιστίας καὶ ἀσεβείας κακοσύνημα βουλομένων τῆς οικείας αἵρέσεως ὑπασπιστὴν ἀποδείξαι τὸν μέγαν Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀρειανῶν αὐτὸν δῆθεν βαπτισθῆναι ἀναπλαττόντων. *Chronicon Breve* (lib. 1–6) (redactio recentior), PG.110.645.26–28: τῆς οικείας αἵρέσεως ὑπασπιστὴν ἀποδείξαι τὸν μέγαν Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀρειανῶν δῆθεν αὐτὸν βαπτισθῆναι ἀναπλαττόντων.

⁸⁰⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *De Mortuis Non Esse Dolendum*, v. 9, pp. 35–36: ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐναερίου πνεύματος τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ τε καὶ ἀγίου πνεύματος εἶναι τὴν κοινωνίαν.

⁸⁰⁹ Basil of Caesarea (suggesting that the 'matter' of angels is either 'airy wind' or 'immaterial fire'), *De Spiritu Sancto*, 16.38: οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν οὐρανίων δυνάμεων, ἡ μὲν οὐσία αὐτῶν, ἀέριον

The idea was taken up during and after the sixth-century, apparently for no obvious reason. It would be surmised, however, that there was a good reason for this to happen, which was the ample use Macedonians had made of Scriptural portions referring to 'spirit'. The way for orthodox theologians to rebut the attack was to make the distinction between portions referring either simply to 'airy wind' or to the Holy Spirit. This is actually the differentiation which both *DT*⁸¹⁰ and Caesarius⁸¹¹ advance. Once again, the collection *Analecta Hymnica Graeca* runs parallel to our author and presents us with the uncommon expression *ἀέριον πνεῦμα*.⁸¹²

During the same period, John Philoponus and the Areopagite joined the party.⁸¹³ Philoponus actually took the 'homonymy' (τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν) of the term 'spirit' seriously,⁸¹⁴ whereas Pseudo-Dionysius went a step beyond, urging that it is not fortuitous that this word is a homonym: the natural wind is called 'spirit' because it betokens the divine character of the 'heavenly minds'; therefore this is a 'form and *typos*' of divine action.⁸¹⁵ Later still,

πνεῦμα, εἰ τύχοι, ἢ πῦρ ἄλλον, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· “Ὁ ποιὼν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα” διὸ καὶ ἐν τόπῳ εἰσί, καὶ ὁρατοὶ γίνονται, ἐν τῷ εἶδει τῶν οἰκειῶν αὐτῶν σωμάτων τοῖς ἀξίοις ἐμφανιζόμενοι. *Adversus Eunomium (libri 5)*, PG.29.728.45–47: Ζῶν τὸ Πνεῦμα δεικνύσι τὸ ζωοποιεῖν, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· Ζωὴ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ τῶν οὐρανίων δυνάμεων ἀποτελεσματικόν. Τοῦτο αὐτὸ μετὰ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ δοξαζόμενον. Οὐτε γὰρ προφορᾷ δημιουργεῖ ῥημάτων Θεός, κὰν ἀνθρωπινωτέρως ὀνομάζεται λόγια Θεοῦ προφορικά ῥήματα· οὔτε πνεύματος ἀερίου προχύσει κοσμοῦνται οἱ οὐρανοί. Πνεῦμα γὰρ τῷ ζῶντι Λόγῳ συντεταγμένον εἰς τὸ δημιουργεῖν, ζῶσα δυνάμις, καὶ θεία φύσις.

⁸¹⁰ *DT (lib. 3)*, PG.39.952.39–953.4 (quoting Amos 4:13): “Κτίζων πνεῦμα” δεικνύσι διὰ πάντων τούτων. ὥς εἰς τὸ ἀέριον ὁ λόγος ἀποτείνεται. Σπανίως γὰρ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ δίχα τοῦ συνάπτεσθαι αὐτῷ τῷ, ἁγίον, ἢ τῷ, τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἢ τὸ ἄρθρον, ἢ τὴν μετοχὴν αὐτοῦ· ... “Κτίζων” δὲ “Πνεῦμα” εἶπε, διὰ τὸ ἐπιγίνεσθαι τὸ ἀέριον, ὅταν καιρὸς καλῇ.

⁸¹¹ Caesarius, *QR*, 14.19 (quot. Psalm 118:31): τὸ στόμα μου, φησὶν, ἡνοίξα καὶ εἴλκυσα πνεῦμα οὐκ ἀέριον δέ, ἀλλὰ τὸ θεῖον. 102.9: τῇ τοῦ ἀερίου πνεύματος διαφοιτήσει. 112.32–33: εἰ γὰρ τὸ ἀέριον πνεῦμα ἀμφοῖν ξυνυπάρχει, πολλῶ μᾶλλον τὸ θεῖον ἐκατέρω τμήματι συνέσται ἀδιαίρετον ὑπάρχον καὶ ἄποσον.

⁸¹² *Analecta Hymnica Graeca, Canones Junii*, 14.6.6: ἐνέπλησεν χειμάρρου ποτὲ οὐκ ὄμβρος οὐ πνεῦμα ἀέριον.

⁸¹³ John Philoponus, *De Opificio Mundi*, pp. 19–20: τὸ γάρ· “ὁ ποιὼν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα” οὐ τὸ παρ’ ἡμῖν πῦρ καὶ τὸ ἀέριον πνεῦμα δηλοῦν ἐθέλει, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τούτου τοὺς δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνου τῶν ἀγγέλων ἔχειν τὴν γένεσιν, ὥς εἶναι τοὺς μὲν ἄερια σώματα τοὺς δὲ πύρια. Furthermore, Philoponus suggests (op. cit. p. 64) that ‘the preposition ἐπάνω (‘above’) repeated twice’ in Genesis 1:2, is probably a double entendre, denoting the Spirit being above ‘the air of the abyss, that is, above the waters’ (ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου εἶναι, τουτέστιν τῶν ὑδάτων).

⁸¹⁴ John Philoponus, op. cit. p. 236: Καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ὁμοίως· οὐχ οἷον τὸ ἀέριον τὸ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐκπνεόμενον, ἀλλ’ ὁμοίως καὶ αὐτὸ θεῖαν οὐσίαν φησὶ τὴν δημιουργικὴν δυνάμιν ἔχουσαν. πολλὸς δὲ ἐστὶ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ λόγος. Op. cit. p. 277: καλῶς δὲ τῷ “πνοήν” προσέθηκε τὸ “ζώης”, διὰ τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν τοῦ ἀερίου πνεύματος, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἄζων.

⁸¹⁵ Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Caelesti Hierarchia*, pp. 55–56: Εἴποι δ’ ἂν τις τῆς τοῦ

Maximus Confessor set out to supply an interpretation of John 3:8 ('the spirit bloweth where it listeth'), in order to determine 'which spirit this is said about' (περὶ ποίου λέγει πνεύματος;). Although he knows of 'certain ones' who 'think that the Lord said this about the airy wind', he resolves that the portion suggests 'the Holy Spirit'.⁸¹⁶

This discussion naturally faded once Macedonianism ceased to be a threat to orthodoxy. It was Photius however (or, whoever the author of the *Epistulae et Amphilochia* was) who revisited this issue later, only to express an unexpected dissent. The 'spirit' of Gen. 1:2 could not have been 'the divine spirit', even though the scriptural text is unusually clear on this point: it states πνεῦμα θεοῦ, which is impervious to debate and was so received by Gregory of Nyssa⁸¹⁷ as well as by all subsequent authors. The objection is that once the 'airy spirit' (ἀέριον πνεῦμα) is taken to denote the Holy Spirit (τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα), this could entail that the 'indescribable' Holy Spirit would have been diminished by 'introduction of a certain description' (περιγραφὴν τοῦ ἀπεριγράπτου συνεισάγει) along with the account concerning the rest of the primary creatures (καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτισμάτων), such as the earth, water, etc. "It would be improper for theology to allot to the Most Holy Spirit, that is, the uncreated and blessed nature, a spatial place at the beginning of creation." The author knows though that the scriptural text allows for no debate. He therefore opts for putting up with the text rather than sanctioning it: "And if the Syriac language wishes to have it that it was the Most Holy Spirit that moved upon the face of the waters", "we are not going to blame them. Suffice it that, in those old times and as much as they could, they were aware of the fact that the Most Holy Spirit is a being and power that generates life and creation".⁸¹⁸

By 'Syriac language', the author (which I contend to be Cassian, not Photius) actually refers to the Hebrew text and the Jews. Why is it then that he speaks of 'Syriac language'? The answer to this is as old as Origen: since the times of Herodotus, the name 'Syria' was applied to Judaea, and so

ἀερίου πνεύματος ἀνεμιαίαν ἐπωνυμίαν καὶ τὸ θεοειδὲς τῶν οὐρανίων νοῶν ἐμφαίνειν. Ἐχει γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο θεαρχικῆς ἐνεργείας εἰκόνα καὶ τύπον.

⁸¹⁶ Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones et Dubia*, 188: Τινὲς μὲν περὶ τοῦ ἀερίου πνεύματος λέγειν τὸν κύριον νομίζουσιν, ἔμοι δὲ μάλλον φαίνεται ὅτι περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος λέγει.

⁸¹⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *Apologia in Hexameron*, p. 81.

⁸¹⁸ Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 16: Ἰσως δὲ οὐκ ἂν εἴη θεολογίας ἐπάξιον ἐν τῇ κτίσει καταβολῇ τῇ ἀκτίστῳ καὶ μακαρίᾳ φύσει, ἥτοι τῷ παναγίῳ πνεύματι χώραν ἐκνέμειν. εἰ δὲ καὶ Σύρα γλῶσσα τὸ πανάγιον πνεῦμα τοῖς ὕδασιν ἐποχείσθαι βούλεται καὶ οἷον ἐπφάζειν ταῦτα καὶ ζωογονεῖν, οὐκ ἂν καταγοιήν· ἀρκεῖν γὰρ ἐκείνοις εἰδέναι τῶς τὸ πανάγιον πνεῦμα, ὅθεν ἂν καὶ δύναιτο, ζωογόνου τε καὶ δημιουργικῆς ὑπάρχειν οὐσίας καὶ δυνάμεως.

was the name 'Syrian' to Palestinians. Here is how Origen explains the LXX gloss in Job 45:17b: "This man is described in the Syriac book as living in the land of Ausis",⁸¹⁹ Posterity treasured this exegesis of Origen. The Antiochene John Malalas (fifth–sixth century) styles him 'the much-learned Origen' and subsequently records his explanation.⁸²⁰ George Monachus (ninth century) likewise mentions 'the most wise and learned Origen' while recording his words.⁸²¹ Julian the Arian (fourth century), whose vocabulary plays a remarkable role in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, is the author who was most accurate in reproducing Origen's own words, and he is the only one of those who drew on the Alexandrian on this point that did not mention Origen by name.⁸²²

There is further evidence, however, that the relevant parts of the *Amphiloquia* are in fact the product of Caesarius'/Cassian's pen. For despite the unanimous approval of the idea that the Holy Spirit was present 'in the beginning', and did what Genesis 1:2 relates, the foregoing account has a remarkable parallel which transpires in Caesarius. Chapter 53 of his work deals with 'the issue about the air' (περὶ ἀέρος); the ensuing one (chapter 54) is 'about the spirit that moved upon the abyss' (περὶ τοῦ ἐπιφερομένου ὕδατος τῇ ἀβύσσῳ). To the former question by his inquisitive disciples, Caesarius' reply is that the air was made by God, which is attested by Genesis 1:2 and Amos 4:13. The latter is the argument of *DT*, as we saw a moment ago.⁸²³ Moving to the next question, Caesarius' interlocutors become more aggressive: Genesis 1:2 does not refer to 'spirit' meaning 'air'

⁸¹⁹ Origen, *homJob (fragmenta in catenis)*, pp. 390–391: Συριακὴν νῦν τὴν Ἑβραίων διάλεκτον καλεῖ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Συρίαν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ Σύρους οἱ πολλοὶ τοὺς Παλαιστινοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν· καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ὁ ἱστοριογράφος φησί· Περιτέμνονται δὲ Ἴνδοι, καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ Ἀραβες καὶ οἱ ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Σύροι· τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὕτω καλοῦσιν.

⁸²⁰ John Malalas, *Chronologica*, p. 12: εἰ μὴ διὰ τῆς Ἑβραϊκῆς καὶ μόνης. ταύτην γὰρ τὴν γλῶσσαν καὶ Συριακὴν λέγουσιν, ὡς ὁ πολυμαθὴς οὕτω μαρτυρεῖ Ὀριγένης, ἐρμηνεύων ἐκ τῆς Συριακῆς βίβλου καὶ ἐξῆς Συριακὴν εἰπὼν τὴν Ἑβραίων διάλεκτον, ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Συρίαν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ Σύρους οἱ παλαιοὶ τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ὀνόμαζον.

⁸²¹ George Monachus, *Chronicon (lib. 1–4)*, pp. 53–54: εἰ δὲ τινες ἀμαθῶς ἀντιλέγουσιν, οὐ τὴν Ἑβραϊκὴν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Συριακὴν πρώτῃ εἶναι γλῶσσαν, ἀκούετωσαν τῆς ἐρμηνείας τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ πολυμαθοῦς Ὀριγένης εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ Ἰῶβ, ἥ φησιν· οὕτως ἐρμηνεύεται ἐκ τῆς Συριακῆς βίβλου. καὶ φησιν· Συριακὴν ἔφη τὴν Ἑβραϊάν διάλεκτον, ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ Συρίαν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ Σύρους οἱ παλαιοὶ τοὺς Παλαιστινίους ὀνόμαζον. So in *Chronicon Breve (lib. 1–6) (redactio recentior)*, PG.110.96.29–36.

⁸²² Julian the Arian, *Commentarius in Job*, pp. 311–312: εἶπεν τὴν πατρίδα, ἐσήμανε τὸ ἔθνος. Συριακὴν δὲ νῦν τὴν Ἑβραϊάν διάλεκτον καλεῖ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Συρίαν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ Σύρους οἱ πολλοὶ τοὺς Παλαιστινοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν. καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ὁ ἱστοριογράφος φησί· περιτέμνονται δὲ Ἴνδοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Ἀραβες καὶ οἱ ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Σύροι, τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καταλέγων. At no point of his work did Julian mention Origen's name.

⁸²³ See *supra*, note 812, quotation of *DT (lib. 3)*, PG.39.952.39–953.4 (quoting Amos 4:13).

(οὐ περὶ τοῦ ἀέρος λέγει), they contend. For 'there is nothing apart from the Holy Spirit which can be styled 'spirit of God' (πνεῦμα θεοῦ)', which is what Gen. 1:2 does. Caesarius reluctant concession to his pupils' point is in essence the same as the one in the foregoing letter from the *Amphilochia*: "I feel awe at having to count the Uncreated conjointly with creation. However, since I do not wish to rebut the [scriptural] saying, I concede it. Nevertheless, I interpret this in a manner befitting God: by *moving upon the water* [I understand] that he [viz. the Spirit] offers warmth by brooding upon eggs like a hen, and by conferring a certain vital power upon the waters. Those waters were so warmed, that they became able to produce the infinite species of fishes."⁸²⁴

Caesarius associates 'air' with waves of hot wind, which he actually does over and again in his work. Hardly would he have done so, had this 'dialogue' really taken place at Constantinople. The waves of Bosphorus are not so hot, especially during winter. The author would have entertained this invariable impression that 'air' always means 'hotness'⁸²⁵ only because he lived in Palestine. This is all too evident, since he adds that 'the sun during noon is so hot that we are unable to bear its hotness and try to find a way' under a shadow.⁸²⁶ These are words that only one who lives under the Middle-East aggressive sun would have written.

Therefore, it is stunningly plain that the same person wrote both the Epistle 16 of *Epistulae et Amphilochia* and Question and Reply 54 of Caesarius', and this person is Cassian himself. Both texts are reluctant to take the scriptural portion of Gen. 1:2 as it stands, even though this portion is unambiguous. Faced with the unequivocal explicitness of this, both texts half-heartedly opt for a metaphor, since it is deemed dreadful to count the Holy Spirit as being present among all those that were created in the beginning. Therefore, the Holy Spirit was present only as a sort of Giver of vital force to the waters, in the same sense that a mother hen performs the life-giving hatching, by brooding her incubated children. Even the vocabulary is the selfsame one: Epistle 16 has it ζωογονεῖν, Caesarius writes ζωογονίαν. The

⁸²⁴ Caesarius, *QR*, 54: Δέος μοι τῇ κτίσει συνκαταριθμήσαι τὸ ἄκτιστον· πλὴν ὁμως οὐκ ἀναίρων τὸ εἰρημένον δέχομαι καὶ τοῦτο εἰκότως καὶ θεοπρεπῶς νοοῦμενον, ἐπιφέρεσθαι τοῖς ὕδασι πρὸς ζωογονίαν αὐτὰ συνθάλλοντος δίκην ἐπωαζούσης ὄρνιθος, ζωτικὴν τινα δύναμιν ἐνιέντος τοῖς ὑποθαλπομένοις ὕδασι πρὸς τὸ ἐκβράσαι τὰ ἄπειρα τῶν ἰχθύων γέννη.

⁸²⁵ Caesarius, *QR*, 69.29–30: τὸ ἀμειδές τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ τῇ γῇ πρὸς καρπογονίαν συνομιλῶν, συνθάλων αὐτὴν καὶ ἐκκαλούμενος τὰ σπέρματα εἰς φυήν. 139.97: τὸν δὲ ἀέρα διὰ παντὸς διήκοντα αὐτῆς [sc. τῆς ξηρᾶς] καὶ συνθάλλοντα.

⁸²⁶ Caesarius, *QR*, 69.24–26: μεσεμβρινὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν [sc. τὸν ἥλιον] διίπεύοντα τὸν οὐρανὸν πολλάκις καὶ ἀποδιδράσκειν πειρώμεθα, τὸ φλογώδως αὐτοῦ [sc. τοῦ ἡλίου] μὴ φέροντες.

epistle has it ἐπώζειν, Caesarius writes ἐπωζούσης. The epistle has it ζωόνου δυνάμεως, Caesarius writes ζωτικὴν τινα δύναμιν. The epistle has it ἴσως δὲ οὐκ ἂν εἴη θεολογίας ἐπάξιον ἐν τῇ κτίσεως καταβολῇ τῇ ἀκτίστῳ καὶ μακαρία φύσει, ἥτοι τῷ παναγίῳ πνεύματι χῶραν ἐκνέμειν, Caesarius writes, δέος μοι τῇ κτίσει συνκαταριθμῆσαι τὸ ἄκτιστον. The epistle has it τὸ πανάγιον πνεῦμα, which is an expression recurring in Caesarius.⁸²⁷ In the *Epistulae et Amphiloquia* the adverb θεοπρεπῶς recurs and denotes words and actions befitting God. Caesarius employs the adverb at this point, too.⁸²⁸ In short, we have the same author, writing on the same topic, making the same point, in the selfsame terms.

I have already canvassed the meaning of the term διατύπωσις as applied by Cassian.⁸²⁹ I have urged that the notion suggests an author who could hardly be earlier than a late fifth-century one. Whereas the term διατύπωσις means 'regulations', as well as 'tutoring',⁸³⁰ the noun τύπος in this specific sense means 'basic principles', and the verb τυποῦσθαι means 'to be instructed, or trained' according to these principles.⁸³¹ I have also maintained that this specific sense is neither typical nor too old, and it was mainly monastic circles and constitutions that employed this vocabulary, which actually came to be a technical monastic one. *DT* applies the same word-stock,⁸³² which is only one more indication of its author being a senior figure of a Palestinian religious community.

Furthermore, the Origenistic theme about creation longing for 'our ancient fatherland' (ἀρχαίαν πατρίδα) occurs in both Caesarius and *DT*, whereas this is absent from Didymus.⁸³³

⁸²⁷ Caesarius, *QR*, 3.15; 14.8; 127.28; 197.29.

⁸²⁸ Caesarius, *QR*, 44.24; 54.6; 209.11 & 18. Cf. Photius (?), *Epistulae et Amphiloquia*, 1; 36; 43; 49; 137; 182; 187; 191; 213; 284 (four instances); 288; 299; 314; 315.

⁸²⁹ See *RCR*, ch. 3, pp. 197–198. Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 1^r: Περὶ διατυπώσεως καὶ κανόνων ... γνωρίσαι σοι τὰς κανονικὰς διατυπώσεις τῶν κοινοβίων. Op. cit. p. 5^v: Ταύταις δὲ ταῖς διατυπώσεσι καὶ διδασκαλίαις. Op. cit. p. 8^v: τὸ τοσοῦτον διετύπωσαν. Op. cit. p. 9^r: τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις κλίμασι παραδεδομένων διατυπώσεων. *OctoVit*, p. 22^v: τὸν περὶ διατυπώσεως κοινοβίων συντάξαντες λόγον. *ScetPatr*, p. 56^v: περὶ τῆς διατυπώσεως κοινοβίων.

⁸³⁰ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, 73^r: τῇ διδασκῇ καὶ διατυπώσει. Op. cit. 78^r: καὶ τῇ τούτου διδασκῇ τυποῦται καὶ κανονίζεται πῶς δεῖ ἀποκρίνεσθαι Θεῷ ... Τοῦτον βούλεται τῇ διατυπώσει καὶ διδασκῇ τοῦ γέροντος παιδαγωγείσθαι.

⁸³¹ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 5^r: τυπωθεὶς διὰ τούτου πρὸς ταπεινώσιν καὶ μακροθυμίαν. Op. cit. p. 6^r: ὁ πρὸς ἀρετὴν τυπούμενος.

⁸³² *DT* (*lib.* 2.1–7), 6.6.2: τοιγάρτοι ὁ δυνατὸς εἰπεῖν τε καὶ τύπους ἐκθέσθαι πίστewς Παῦλος. Op. cit. (*lib.* 2.8–27), PG.39.624.14–15: ἐκείνους δέ, πάντων εἰς γνῶσιν φέρειν τυποῦντας.

⁸³³ *DT* (*lib.* 2.8–27), PG.39.697.48–47: καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἀποδέχεσθαι χάριν, καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀπολαμβάνειν πατρίδα. Caesarius, *QR*, 121.12: καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν τοῦ παραδείσου ἐπιζητούσα πατρίδα. Origen, *selPs*, PG.12.1584.33. Pseudo-Athanasius (= Cassian?), *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem*, PG.28.620.26. Basil of Caesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto*, 27.66; *Homilia dicta in Laci-*

For all the defects of its theology, *DT* is informed about the notion of the Son having been 'born', and of the Spirit 'proceeding' from the Father. The author knows that these are two different modes of the Father being the origin and cause of the two Hypostases, and essays to lay stress on the difference.⁸³⁴ The same goes for Caesarius' text.⁸³⁵ By contrast, the extant works by Didymus appear to be entirely uninformed of the question: the verb ἐκπορεύεσθαι is not used at all, not even as a mere quotation of John 15:26,⁸³⁶ except in the Latin translation *De Spiritu Sancto* by Jerome.⁸³⁷

Cassian was above all a monk and a scholar. He was not the sort of theorist that would embark on abstruse abstractions, in the manner Origen and the Cappadocians did. It was a certain need to defend himself against the stain of heresy that forced him to compose this unorganized and anxious tract. Nevertheless, we can see the monk behind some of his statements: when he styles his pupils 'angels', this reminds us of Cassian allowing for the designation 'angel' to be accorded to humans, once they become people of God.⁸³⁸

sis, PG.31.1456.13. John Chrysostom, *De Cruce et Latrone* (*homilia* 1), PG.49: 401.16; 409.38; *De Futurae Vitae Deliciis*, PG.51.350.49–50. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *In Pentecosten* (*sermo* 1), PG.52.805.58; *Interpretatio in Daniele Prophetam*, PG.56.227.1; *In Genesim* (*sermones* 1–9), PG.54.625.22; *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG.55: 214.22; 273.3; 337.7; 348.19; *In Joannem* (*homiliae* 1–88), PG.59.152.5; *Contra Ludos et Theatra*, PG.56.264.9. Romanus Melodus, *Cantica*, Hymn 39.12. John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei*, 8.5. Theodore Studites, *Μεγάλη Κατήχησις*, Catechesis 58, p. 413. Michael Psellus, *Orationes Hagiographicae*, 1 (line 8); *Epistulae*, 5 (line 14). Michael Glycas, *Proverbia*, 8 (line 163); *Quaestiones in Sacram Scripturam*, 11, p. 143; *Analecta Hymnica Graeca, Canones Martii*, 6.10.9.

⁸³⁴ *DT* (*lib.* 1), 9.3; ἀλλ' οὐ γεννητικῶς ὁ υἱὸς οὐδ' ἐκπορευτικῶς. 9.4; 15.76: ἀδιαστάτως ὁ μὲν ἐγεννήθη, τὸ δὲ ἐξεπορεύθη. 9.7; 35.1: ἀλλ' ὅμως ἄμφω αἱ ὑποστάσεις ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατὰ φύσιν συμφυρῶς εἰσιν, ἡ μὲν τοῦ υἱοῦ γεννητικῶς, ἡ δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ ἐκπορευτικῶς. 36.7: τὸν μὲν θεὸν πατέρα γεννήσαντα, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν λόγον γεννηθέντα, τὸ δὲ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐκπορευόμενον. *DT* (*lib.* 2.1–7), 2.22; 2.41: καθὰ τοῖνον ὁ υἱὸς λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ υἱικῶς γεννητικός· οὕτω τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα πνευματικῶς ἐκπορευτικὸν καὶ οὐ δημιουργικῶς. 4.5; 5.2; 6.16: ἔστιν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ὁ υἱὸς γεννητικῶς, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐκπορευτικῶς. 6.22,1; *DT* (*lib.* 2.8–27), PG.39: 705.26–28; 796.17.

⁸³⁵ Caesarius, *QR*, 3.15–16: τὸ δὲ θεῖον καὶ πανάγιον πνεῦμα οὐ γεννητὸν μὲν, ἐπορευτὸν δὲ καὶ αἰτιατὸν ἐξ αἰτίου τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον. 3.23: Ἀγέννητος οὖν ὁ πατήρ, γεννητὸς ὁ υἱός, ἐπορευτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα. 3.34–35: πᾶσα ἐνότης καὶ ἰσότης καὶ ταυτότης ἐν τριάδι πλήν ἀγεννησίας καὶ γεννήσεως καὶ ἐπορεύσεως, ἐκάστης ὑποστάσεως ἰδιαζόντως οὔσης καὶ ἐσομένης.

⁸³⁶ The *Dialexis Montanistae et Orthodoxi*, p. 454, where this scriptural instance appears is a spurious text ascribed to Didymus.

⁸³⁷ Didymus, *De Spiritu Sancto*, all quotations transpire in II.8. This work contains ambiguities that gave rise to theological quarrel. For instance, one would consider the phrase *Neque enim quid aliud est Filius exceptis his, quae ei dantur a Patre, neque alia substantia est spiritus Sancti praeter id, quod datur ei a Filio*, op. cit. III.3.37. Subsequent to the schism between East and West, the latter party took this statement as supporting the *filioque*.

⁸³⁸ Cf. *DT* (*lib.* 2.1–7), 7.8,8: οἷδα δὲ σαφῶς, ὡς εὐδόκιμοι καὶ τὸ οὐράνιον φῶς κατοικοῦντες ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι περ ὑμεῖς ὡς ἀμεμπτοὶ καὶ τέλειοι οὐκ ἠχθέσθητε ἐπὶ τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν παρ' ἐμοῦ, ἕνεκα

Was Cassian aware of Didymus' thought? He certainly was. His *Scholia in Apocalypsin* are themselves the definitive proof of how extensively Cassian availed himself of the Alexandrian. At the same time, however, it is Didymus' selfsame work that distances him from *DT*. It is not only the analysis made so far. Didymus used to cite himself frequently, which allows for some dating of his different treatises.

In the commentary on Zachariah, he refers to his commentary on Isaiah,⁸³⁹ whereas he also refers to this commentary along with his commentary on the Psalms.⁸⁴⁰ In the same work, he mentions both his commentary on the Apocalypse⁸⁴¹ and his commentary on Matthew;⁸⁴² he also tells us that he has treated the designation 'the Father of mercies' (πατήρ οἰκτιρμῶν) of 2 Cor. 1:3 in 'other commentaries' of his (ἐν ὑπομνήμασιν ἄλλοις).⁸⁴³ This means that by the time he was writing the fourth book of Zachariah, he had written his commentary on the Psalms and his commentary on the second epistle to the Corinthians, where the expression 'the Father of mercies' is treated.⁸⁴⁴ Therefore, Didymus' own self-citations allow for the conclusion that his commentary on Zachariah was written at a time when his works that were definitely complete were the following: the commentaries on Psalms, on Isaiah, on Matthew, on 2 Corinthians, on the Apocalypse, and on the epistle to the Romans. Didymus offers other telling clues for his work to be dated, yet it is out of my scope to explore them all. What matters is that at no point does he make any reference to any treatise or commentary of his on the Holy Spirit. All we have is the Latin translation by Jerome and a reference by Socrates Scholasticus, in his ecclesiastical history, about Didymus having written three books on the Holy Spirit.

Didymus was a theologian who had the mentality of a scholar, not of a monk. For instance, his reference to Porphyry is quite characteristic. For all his dissent from this outspoken detractor of Christianity, Didymus mentions

τῶν κατὰ τὴν φύσιν, οὐ κατὰ τὸ ἐπαινετὸν τῆς γνώμης, ὁμοίων ὑμῖν ἀγγέλων. Cf. Cassian the Sabaites styling humans 'angels'. *De Panareto*, p. 113: Οὐκοῦν ἡ θεία γραφή αὐτοὺς ὀνομάζει ἀγγέλους κατὰ τὴν ἐξ(ι)ν τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἀσώματον φύσιν.

⁸³⁹ Didymus, *commZacch*, 1.24; 2.171; 2.285; 2.289; 5.123.

⁸⁴⁰ Didymus, op. cit. 1.303: Καὶ ἕτεραι μυρία μαρτυρία εἰσὶν περὶ τούτου, ἃς ἐατέον παραφέρειν τὸ νῦν, ὅπως μὴ πέρα τοῦ δεόντος πολλὸς ὁ λόγος γένηται, μάλιστα ὅτι πολλὰκις ἡρμήνευται τὰ περὶ τοῦ ὁρος εἶναι τὸν Σωτῆρα ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν τῶν θείων Ψαλμῶν καὶ τῆς τελευταίας ὁράσεως τοῦ Ἡσαΐου.

⁸⁴¹ Didymus, op. cit. 3.73.

⁸⁴² Didymus, op. cit. 3.133; 5.78.

⁸⁴³ Op. cit. 4.249. This commentary ends at 5.212.

⁸⁴⁴ Didymus, *frPs(al)*, Frs. 219; 820; 979; 1111; *Fragmenta in Epistulam ii ad Corinthios*, p. 15. Cf. similar references within the same commentary: *commZacch*, 1.69; 4.244.

him apparently without any hard feelings: at most, he allows for a tempered contempt to appear between the lines, which may be seen as an irony, too.⁸⁴⁵ By contrast, *DT* refers to him with evident fury and passion: he is the 'cursed Porphyry',⁸⁴⁶ or the one who treats divinity 'imprudently' and 'is an enemy of his own self'.⁸⁴⁷ On the one hand, we have an intellectual, on the other, a monk experiencing a personal predicament and being anxious to display his orthodoxy.

Finally, I wish to make some reference to a study, which in my view is the best ever written during the period of exertions to determine the author of *De Trinitate*. Louis Doutreleau wrote an article on the authorship of this work, based on a comparison of this text with Didymus' *Commentary on Zachariah*,⁸⁴⁸ which (following the discovery at Toura in 1942) was exclusively available to him, and which he published a good eight years after he had written the specific paper.⁸⁴⁹ Although the author does not explore the rest of Didymus' papyri that had been unearthed at the specific Egyptian spot, his article (like old wine) is the most learned with regard to exploration of the authorship of *De Trinitate*. Although it does not reach any conclusion on this critical issue, it deserves some brief consideration, in addition to what I have said at the beginning of this analysis.

De Trinitate did not use the epithet ἄποσος ('inexpressible in terms of quantity'), which had become a hackneyed one among Christian theologians following Gregory of Nyssa. Proclus did not use this epithet either, except for one point in his commentary on Parmenides, which most probably Cassian had not read. It is remarkable that Proclus uses the epithet ἀμεγέθης in other commentaries of his, except for the specific one on Parmenides.⁸⁵⁰ Once again, the author took up the vocabulary and eschewed

⁸⁴⁵ Didymus, *commJob* (7.20c–n), Cod. p. 280: σοφίζονται γάρ τινες, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Πορφύριος καὶ ὅμοιοι. *comPs* 40–44.4, Cod. p. 308: ὅθεν ἐμάνη Πορφύριος καὶ ἐν τούτῳ. *commEccl* (9.8–10.20), Cod. p. 281: Πορφύριος γοῦν θέλων εἰ....[.....] τοὺς ἀναπλάττοντες ἀναγωγὰς καὶ ἀλληγορίας.

⁸⁴⁶ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.761.1: ὁ ἐπ' ἀρατος Πορφύριος.

⁸⁴⁷ *DT* (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.760.17–19: Καὶ Πορφύριος δέ, καίτοι τὸ παράπαν οὐ σωφρονῶν περὶ τὸ ὄντως θεῖον, ἀλλ' αὐτοχολωτῶν, ὡς εἰπεῖν.

⁸⁴⁸ Louis Doutreleau, "La *de Trinitate* est il l'oeuvre de Didyme l'aveugle?", *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, 1954, pp. 514–557.

⁸⁴⁹ Louis Doutreleau, *Didyme l'aveugle: Sur Zacharie*, tomes I, II, Paris 1962, Sources chrétiennes, 83, 84.

⁸⁵⁰ Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 2, p. 214 (ἀμεγέθων); *Institutio Theologica*, 86 (ἀμεγέθεος); 171 (ἀμεγέθης); 176 (ἀμεγέθει & ἀμεγέθεος); *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 2, p. 166 (ἀμεγέθης); p. 249 (ἀμεγέθης); *In Primum Euclidis Elementorum Librum Commentarii*, p. 49 (ἀμεγέθεις); p. 54 (ἀμεγέθως); p. 54 (ἀμεγέθει); p. 54 (ἀμεγέθεος).

both the context and the doctrine. However, although Proclus used the term ἀμεγέθης for formless matter,⁸⁵¹ he applied this also to the supreme ontological reality.⁸⁵² He did so with good reason, which Cassian no doubt espoused: God is ἀνείδεος ('without form') in the same manner formless matter is, since both are 'infinite and unknown' (ὥς γὰρ ἡ ὕλη ἀνείδεος, καὶ ὁ θεός· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄπειρον ἐκότερον καὶ ἄγνωστον).⁸⁵³

Along with ἀμεγέθης, the author also uses the adjective ἀνείδεος ('formless'),⁸⁵⁴ which Philoponus accorded not to God, but to formless matter.⁸⁵⁵ Bizarre though it appears to be, no author other than Philoponus and the one of *DT* did ever apply these two adjectives in apposition. This absence of relevant usage by other authors is surprising, since both terms are suitable in order to express abstruse notions such as that of God, or of formless matter, or indeed the idea of the mathematical 'point' that has neither form nor dimensions.

The specific point which J.A. Mingarellio made was that 'our author' styles God ἀμεγέθης, 'and so does Didymus'. But Didymus did not actually do this: we have only one fragment on the Psalms where this term occurs,⁸⁵⁶ yet it is plain that in this specific anthology we have pretty much of the catenist's own vocabulary. I have argued that the compiler of this anthology

⁸⁵¹ Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (lib. 1–6), v. 3, pp. 40; 78; v. 5, p. 130; *In Platonis Alcibiadem* i, 318; 326; *In Platonis Parmenidem*, pp. 626; 644; 822; 823; 999; 1119; 1205; *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, p. 91; 126; 189; 218; 270; 368; 388; 395; v. 2, pp. 65; 127; v. 3, p. 328; *De Malorum Subsistentia*, 30.

⁸⁵² Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 3, p. 33: νοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὁ παντελὴς οὐ κυρίως εἰκὼν λέγεται τοῦ πρώτου (τί γὰρ ἂν ἀφωμοίωτο τῷ πάντῃ ἀνείδεω;).

⁸⁵³ Proclus, *In Platonis Alcibiadem* i, 189. Likewise, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, p. 385: ὥστε κατ' αὐτὸν ἡ ὕλη πρόεισιν ἐκ τε τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀπειρίας τῆς πρὸ τοῦ ἐνὸς ὄντος, εἰ δὲ βούλει, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνὸς ὄντος καθόσον ἐστὶ δυνάμει ὄν. διὸ καὶ ἀγαθὸν πῇ ἐστὶ καὶ ἄπειρον, καὶ ἀμυδρότατον ὄν καὶ ἀνείδεον, διὸ καὶ ταῦτα πρὸ τῶν εἰδῶν καὶ τῆς ἐκφάνσεως αὐτῶν. See further, p. 386.

⁸⁵⁴ *DT* (lib. 2.1–7) (ref. to God), 1.5: δυνάμει ἀμερῆς, ἀναφῆς, ἀμεγέθης, ἀμαθῆς, ἀπλατῆς, ἀνείδεος. *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 6.16: ὁ δὲ μονογενὴς καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα διὰ τὸ ταῦτόν τῆς θεότητος ὁρώσιν οὕτως, ὥς ἔστιν ὁ ἀμεγέθης καὶ ἀνείδεος θεός.

⁸⁵⁵ John Philoponus (ref. to formless matter), *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, v. 13.1, p. 65: τὴν πρώτην ὕλην φασὶν οἱ φιλόσοφοι ἀσώματον εἶναι τῷ οἰκείῳ λόγῳ ἀσχημάτιστόν τε καὶ ἀμεγέθην καὶ πάσης ποιότητος κεχωρισμένην· ὅτι γὰρ ἀνείδεός ἐστι, δέικνυται σαφῶς τῷ πάντων τῶν φυσικῶν εἰδῶν αὐτὴν εἶναι δεκτικὴν. *In Aristotelis Libros de Generatione et Corruptione Commentaria*, v. 14.2, p. 75: ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὕλη τῆς γενέσεως ἢ ὄντως ἐστὶν ὕλη ἢ ἀνείδεος καὶ ἀμεγέθης. *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 16, p. 401: εἰ γὰρ δεῖ τὴν ὕλην παντελῶς ἀνείδεον εἶναι ἀμεγέθην τε καὶ ἀποσον, οὔτε πεπερασμένη δηλονότι ἔσται οὔτε ἄπειρος, ἀλλ' ἐκφεύξεται τὴν διαίρεσιν. Cf. *In Aristotelis Libros de Generatione et Corruptione Commentaria*, v. 14.2, p. 31; *De Aeternitate Mundi*, p. 439.

⁸⁵⁶ *frPs(al)*, Fr. 307.

should have been either Anastasius of Sinai or Olympiodorus, the deacon of Alexandria.⁸⁵⁷

Besides, the epithet ἀμεγέθης is entirely absent from the works of Didymus' discovered at Toura. Furthermore, even if Didymus had used this term, this would not prove much. For there are other Christian authors that entertained this, which was apparently introduced by Aristotle,⁸⁵⁸ to be taken up by both his heirs and scholiasts, as well as by mathematicians, until Plotinus made it a cardinal term of Neoplatonism. Gregory of Nyssa, along with his brother Basil⁸⁵⁹ and other theologians,⁸⁶⁰ spoke of God being ἄπορος καὶ ἀμεγέθης⁸⁶¹ (which *DT* did not, as already noted, but Cassian in his next work under the name 'Caesarius' did),⁸⁶² while philosophers applied the same expression to formless matter.⁸⁶³ Gregory of Nyssa did apply ἀμεγέθης on its own, too,⁸⁶⁴ but the designation was championed by Aristotelian commentators and Neoplatonists. Therefore, it turns out that the epithet ἀμεγέθης explored in relation to Didymus shows the Alexandrian to be irrelevant to the authorship of *DT*. As a matter of fact, the exploration carried out in this section shows critical terms and expressions to have been used exclusively by the present author, whereas Didymus never applied them at all. Neoplatonic terms such as 'ineffable' (ἄφραστος), which is used in this work in no less than twenty-one instances, was never used by Didymus himself. Likewise, Didymus never accorded the designation

⁸⁵⁷ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Introduction.

⁸⁵⁸ Aristotle, *De Generatione et Corruptione*, 316a27 (ἀμεγέθης); 320a31 (ἀμεγέθους); 320b32 (ἀμεγέθους); *Metaphysica*, 1075b29 (ἀμεγεθῶν); *Physica*, 267a23 (ἀμέγεθες).

⁸⁵⁹ Basil of Caesarea, *Adversus Eunomium* (*libri* 5), PG.29.568.5.

⁸⁶⁰ Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannem*, v. 1, p. 39; v. 2, p. 699; *Solutiones (e tractatu de dogmatum solutione)*, p. 549; *De Sancta Trinitate Dialogi I–VII*, pp. 391; 521; 648. Cf. Cyril quoted in ACO, *Councilum Universale Ephesenum anno 431*, 1,1,1, p. 35. John Chrysostom, *Fragmenta in Job (in catenis)*, PG.64.521.26. Olympiodorus, the deacon of Alexandria, *commJob*, p. 15. John of Damascus, *Orationes de Imaginibus Tres*, 1.8; 3.8; *Sacra Parallela*, PG.95.1085.24. Nicephorus I of Constantinople, *Refutatio et Eversio Definitionis Synodalis Anni 815*, 175.

⁸⁶¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 1.268; 2.1; 3.1; *Orationes VIII De Beatitudinibus*, PG.44.1225.23; *Dialogus De Anima et Resurrectione*, PG.46.124.34; *Apologia in Hexaemeron*, p. 69.

⁸⁶² Caesarius, *QR*, 18.9; 48.8; 175.20; 190.24.

⁸⁶³ Damascius, *In Parmenidem*, p. 286. John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 16, p. 401; *In Aristotelis Libros de Anima Commentaria*, v. 15, p. 14.

⁸⁶⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *De Opificio Hominis*, p. 209: Εἰ ἀπλούς ὁ Θεὸς τῇ φύσει, καὶ ἄυλος, ἀποιός τε καὶ ἀμεγέθης καὶ ἀσύνθετος. A spurious text ascribed to Athanasius has striking similarities with *DT*. Pseudo-Athanasius, *Dialogi Duo Contra Macedonianos*, PG.28.1325.29. Nemesis of Emesa applies the term to the soul. *De Natura Hominis*, 3: ἀμέγεθες γὰρ ὃν καὶ ἄογκον καὶ ἀμερές.

θεολόγος to John the Evangelist, even though he reserved this for other Biblical figures.⁸⁶⁵ When the present author means to cite a point made in an authoritative source, he uses the verb ἐμφέρεσθαι,⁸⁶⁶ which Didymus never did, but Cassian did, also in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*.⁸⁶⁷ By the same token, the portion of Heb. 13:8 is normally used in order to stress the immutability of the timeless Logos, even during his action in incarnate form. Theodoret quotes Heb. 13:8 at six points.⁸⁶⁸ It also appears twice in *De Trinitate*,⁸⁶⁹ but it does not transpire anywhere in the extant works of Didymus', even though Origen himself had entertained the ideas involved in this scriptural passage.⁸⁷⁰

Cassian's expression about 'the mindless Jews' (τοὺς ἀγνώμονας Ἰουδαίους) in Scholion XIV is remarkable. Plato is stated to have applied ἀγνῶμων to 'the ignorant'.⁸⁷¹ Clement of Alexandria used the term twice in his *Stromateis*, in the sense of someone 'being unforgivable because of his adverse disposition towards something or someone',⁸⁷² or being 'unfaithful',⁸⁷³ or even 'too arrogant'.⁸⁷⁴ However, he spoke so of the Greeks, not of the

⁸⁶⁵ The sole intance in *frPs(al)*, Fr. 704a (ἀλλὰ πρέπουσα θεῷ περιωπὴ ἢ κατὰστασις ἄφραστος) only tells us that we are upon the hand of a catenist having rendered the excerpt. I have suggested that this catenist is either Olympiodorus the deacon of Alexandria, or Anastasius of Sinai. Neither Clement nor Origen did ever use the epithet ἄφραστος.

⁸⁶⁶ *DT (lib. 2.1–7)*, 5.26: πόσα δὲ ἄλλα ἐμφέρεται περὶ τοῦ θεϊκοῦ πνεύματος. *DT (lib. 3)*, PG.39.900.16: τὸ ἐν Ματθαίῳ ἐμφερόμενον. Op. cit. PG.39.968.16: καὶν μήποτε ἰδικῶς ἐμφέρηται.

⁸⁶⁷ Cf. Scholion XXVII: τὰ ἐμφερόμενα ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ, see conclusion of the expanded notes to Scholion XXVII.

⁸⁶⁸ Theodoret, *Eranistes*, pp. 153 & 126; *Epistulae: Collectio Sirmondiana (Epistulae 1–95)*, 83; *De Incarnatione Domini*, PG.75: 1460.20 & 1472.30; *intPaulXIV*, PG.82.781.11.

⁸⁶⁹ *DT (lib. 2.1–7)*, 6.4.2; *DT (lib. 3)*, PG.39.897.

⁸⁷⁰ Origen, *deOr*, XXVII.13; *frPs*, 94, 8. Athanasius, *De Decretis Nicaenae Synodi*, 35.14; *Orationes Tres Contra Arianos*, PG.26: 85; 112; 168; *Epistulae Quattuor ad Serapionem*, PG.26.613; *Fragmenta Varia*, PG.26.1236; *Epistula ad Epictetum*, 5. Pseudo-Athanasius, *Sermo Major De Fide*, Fr. 55; *De Sancta Trinitate (dialogi 2 and 4)*, PG.28.1265. Gregory of Nazianzus, *De Filio (orat. 30)*, 21; *In Theophania (orat. 38)*, PG.36.313.27. Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion (Adversus Haereses)*, v. 3, p. 422. John Chrysostom, *In Epistulam ad Hebraeos (homiliae 1–34)*, PG.63: 226.33; 226.45; 228.43. Severianus of Gabala, *Fragmenta in Epistulam i ad Timotheum*, p. 336. Asterius of Antioch (fourth cent. AD), *commPs(homiliae 31)*, 21.12. Socrates Scholasticus, *HE*, 1.6. Proclus of Constantinople (Bishop, fifth cent. AD), *Mystagogia in Baptisma*, 6.37 & 39.

⁸⁷¹ Lexica Segueriana, *Collectio Verborum Utilium e Differentibus Rhetoribus et Sapientibus Multis*, Alphabetic entry alpha, pp. 13 & 18. Also, *Lexicon Rhetoricum Cantabrigiense*, p. 70; *Lexicon Vindobonense*, Alphabetic letter alpha, entry 41.

⁸⁷² Suda, *Lexicon*, alphabetic letter alpha, entries 283, 284. Hesychius of Alexandria, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter alpha, entries 673, 680.

⁸⁷³ Suda, *Lexicon*, alphabetic letter alpha, entry 1460.

⁸⁷⁴ Hesychius of Alexandria (fifth–sixth cent.), *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter upsilon, entry 489.

Jews.⁸⁷⁵ Although the term appears in Origen's *fr* John XCIV, this is probably a catenist's expression. The term ἀγνώμων and its derivatives are practically absent from Didymus,⁸⁷⁶ whereas there is no instance of this referring to the 'Jews' at all. Used in relation to the 'Jews', it makes a distinct mark in certain authors including Theodoret.⁸⁷⁷ Whereas Didymus does not use the term, this transpires in *De Trinitate*⁸⁷⁸ so styling doctrinal opponents.

Whether writing the Scholia, or the rest of the monastic texts, or *De Trinitate*, or the Caesarius-tract, beyond all influences that one can point out, there is a standard creative flare inspiring Cassian: this is Gregory of Nyssa. To the Sabaite and Akoimetan thinker, the Cappadocian was something more than a mere intellectual liability: he was a stimulating personality. This was probably so because both men shared certain existential characteristics, such as indifference to mundane or episcopal power, devotion to reflection while keeping aloof from the current vain tumult, and predilection for writing didactic, or even polemical, works in hesychastic retreat.

One more example in this respect is usage of the notion of 'supramundane powers' (δυνάμεις ὑπερκόσμοι), which appears in texts that play a dominant role in the Scholia such as *De Trinitate*, Caesarius, and *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaia*m,⁸⁷⁹ yet it never transpires in Didymus. The origin of the designation must have been Iamblichus,⁸⁸⁰ which is probably why neither John Chrysostom nor Cyril of Alexandria did ever care to employ it, save

⁸⁷⁵ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, 1.26.170.4; 6.14.110.4.

⁸⁷⁶ This appears only at one point, but in irrelevant context and sense. Didymus, *com-Ecccl* (5–6), Cod. p. 153 (μισθός ἀγνωμονηθεὶς ἐργάτου), which means 'ungrateful' rather than 'mindless'.

⁸⁷⁷ Athanasius, *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG.27.116.51. Pseudo-Athanasius, *Quaestiones in Scripturam Sacram*, PG.28.725.20. Gregory of Nazianzus, *In Sanctum Pascha* (orat. 45), PG.36.661.8; *In Theophania* (orat. 38), PG.36.329.13. Amphilochius of Iconium (fourth cent AD), *In Mulierem Peccatricem* (orat. 4), line 220. Severianus of Gabala (fourth cent AD), *De Caeco Nato*, PG.59: 550.54 & 552.24. John Chrysostom, *In Genesim* (homiliae 1–67), PG.53: 243.28; 366.41; 367.41; 374.10; 528.63; *Adversus Judaeos* (orationes 1–8), PG.48.869.18; *Contra Eos Qui Subintroductas Habent Virgines*, 8; et passim. Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80.916.34; *intProphXII*, PG.81.1741.11. Likewise, *DT* (lib. 1), 27.38; *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 7.8.3. Basil of Seleucia, *Sermones XLI*, pp. 176, 240, 248. Procopius of Caesarea, *De Bellis*, 2.12.5; *Commentarii in Isaia*m, pp. 1825, 2220. Hesychius of Jerusalem (presbyter, fifth cent. AD), *In Sanctum Andream* (homilia 7), 3. Of all the instances where the idea occurs, in more than one half of them, it transpires in John Chrysostom (no less than thirty-five points).

⁸⁷⁸ *DT* (lib. 1), 27.38: ἔστω δὲ ἴλεω ἡμῖν τοιαῦτα λέγειν τολμῶσιν διὰ τὴν ἄλλων ἀγνωμοσύνην. *DT*, (lib. 2.1–7), 7.8.3: τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ χωρίου ἐκόντες ἐν τῇ διαμάχῃ τοῦ λόγου παραλελοιπάσιν οἱ ἀγνώμονες. Unlike the sense applied by Didymus, in this work the term means 'mindless'.

⁸⁷⁹ *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 6.9.3. Caesarius, *QR*, 3.40; 168.15. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaia*m, 2.87; 6.184 (bis); 6.186; 10.238.

⁸⁸⁰ Iamblichus, *De Mystreriis*, 8.5.

two spuria under the name of the former, and one that sought authority by mongering Cyril's name.⁸⁸¹ If Cassian felt that he could use this language confidently, this was so only because of all Christian writers it was Gregory of Nyssa alone that had entertained it abundantly, with Eusebius having done the same to a lesser extent.⁸⁸²

Likewise, for all the Alexandrian predilection for the term θεοτόκος accorded to Mary, there is an eminent Alexandrian who never employed it and this was Didymus: he did not do so,⁸⁸³ and yet the term transpires in *De Trinitate*, only to conspire to show that this work is not Didymus'. The appellation δεσπότης does not appear in Didymus' works. It only appears in catenae fragments (at no more than eight points, out of a collection exceeding fifteen hundred portions) and it is an evident addition by the catenist. By contrast, in *DT* the designation δεσπότης appears at more than two hundred points. The same designation transpires also in Cassian's Scholia I and XIX as well as in his monastic texts.⁸⁸⁴

With regard to the epithet ἀμεγέθης ('having no magnitude'), of which J.A. Mingarellio made much, arguing that the author applies this to God, as Didymus also does,⁸⁸⁵ the following should be remarked. When he author of *De Trinitate* makes recurrent use of ἀμεγέθης with regard to God,⁸⁸⁶ he probably had in mind Gregory of Nyssa and Cyril of Alexandria. No less, however, did he have in mind an entire Aristotelian tradition, which was also an integral part of Plotinus' problematique, and Proclus (the most extensive influence upon *De Trinitate*) made the most of it. All Doutreleau saw in this epithet⁸⁸⁷ was Pseudo-Athanasius, Pseudo-Basil, and Cyril. But he

⁸⁸¹ Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *In Principium Jejuniarum*, PG.62.745.37; *In Assumptionem Domini*, lines 54–55. Pseudo-Cyril of Alexandria, *De Sancta Trinitate*, PG.77.1120.24–25.

⁸⁸² Gregory of Nyssa, *Adversus Macedonianos De Spiritu Sancto*, v. 3.1, p. 108; *In Inscriptiones Psalmorum*, v. 5, p. 158; *Contra Eunomium*, 1.1.308; 2.1.291; 3.5.63; *In Canticum Canticorum (homiliae 15)*, v. 6, p. 255; v. 6, pp. 255; 446; *De Vita Mosis*, 2.179; *De Virginitate*, 2.3; *De Oratione Dominica Orationes* v, p. 276; *Orationes viii De Beatitudinibus*, v. 44, p. 1201; *Dialogus de Anima et Resurrectione*, v. 46, p. 133; *Encomium in xl Martyres i*, PG.46: 761.27; 764.37. Eusebius, *HE*, 1.2.11; *DE*, 5.19.3; *De Ecclesiastica Theologia*, 1.11.19; 3.3.9; 3.3.33; *De Laudibus Constantini*, 1.2; *Commentaria in Psalmos*, PG.23.797.10.

⁸⁸³ The term θεοτόκος appears in *De Trinitate*, only to confirm that this work was not composed by Didymus.

⁸⁸⁴ See Cod. pp. 14^v; 15^r; 17^r; 26^v; 44^r; 47^r; 54^v; 80^v; 96^r; 109^r; 118^r.

⁸⁸⁵ Didymus, *frPs(al)*, Fr. 307: ἀμεγέθης γάρ σωμάτων ἴδιον τοῦτο, ὃ δὲ θεὸς ἄσώματος. This point is unique, and one should bear in mind that this is probably the vocabulary of the scribe (either Anastasius of Sinai, or Olympiodorus, the deacon of Alexandria).

⁸⁸⁶ *DT* (*lib. 1*), 16.10 (ἀμεγέθης); (*lib. 1*), 27.28 (ἀμέγεθες); (*lib. 2.1–7*), 1.5 (ἀμεγέθης); (*lib. 2.1–7*), 1.11 (ἀμεγέθης); (*lib. 2.1–7*), 6.16 (ἀμεγέθης); (*lib. 3*), PG.39.981.32 (ἀμέγεθες).

⁸⁸⁷ Op. cit. p. 534, n. 31.

did not see the actual source of it, which was Gregory of Nyssa, as well as the fact that it took some boldness to entertain a term that had a strong pagan colour impressed upon it. All in all, the spectrum of Doutreleau's sources is desperately narrow, it goes as far as a few Christian authors, while having no inkling of the fact that the terms he considered had been applied far and wide, by many other important authors, not only Christian, but also pagan.

Let me then conclude this section with saying a few things about the term ἀμεγέθης, only as an example, and only because Doutreleau appears to have made much of it, although he actually did nothing.

Aristotle used the term ἀμεγέθης literally, in order to describe something having no dimensions, such as the geometrical point, or number 'one'.⁸⁸⁸ Alexander of Aphrodisias followed closely as a commentator of this point, too.⁸⁸⁹ Plotinus⁸⁹⁰ and later Porphyry⁸⁹¹ deemed the designation appropriate to their purposes, and employed this in order to treat questions referring either to matter proper or to the soul. Of the Neoplatonists, Proclus used the notion only in accordance with Greek tradition, which means he did not care much to apply this to the supreme ontological reality: rather, he found the term handy mainly in his discussion about the soul.⁸⁹² Damascius was less interested: he used this only in order to report Platonic views.⁸⁹³ Simplicius⁸⁹⁴ went along only because he felt bound to apply Aristotle's terminology. Likewise, John Philoponus by and large reproduced Greek philosophical language.⁸⁹⁵

⁸⁸⁸ Aristotle, *De Generatione et Corruptione*, 316a; 320a–b; Cf. *Metaphysica*, 1075b29. *Physica*, 267a.

⁸⁸⁹ Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, pp. 227; 720; 737; 747; 767; *In Librum De Sensu Commentarium*, p. 20. Pseudo-Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De Anima Libri Mantissa (De Anima Liber Alter)*, p. 141.

⁸⁹⁰ Plotinus, *Enneades*, (ref. to 'matter proper', that is, formless matter) II: 4.10; 4.11; 4.12; 4.13. III.6.1; IV: 6.3; 7.8; 7.8a; VI: 1.26; 2.4 (ref. to the soul); 4.1 (soul); 5.12; 9.6.

⁸⁹¹ Porphyry, *Sententiae ad Intelligibilia Ducentes*, 17; 27; 34; 35; *Εἰς τὰ Ἀρμονικά Πτολεμαίου Ὑπόμνημα*, p. 127.

⁸⁹² Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 2, p. 214; *Institutio Theologica*, 86: ἀμέγεθες γὰρ τὸ ὄντως ὄν, αὐθυποστάτως ὄν· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ αὐθυποστάτως ὄν ἀμερές ἐστι καὶ ἀπλοῦν. 171; 176; *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 2, pp. 166; 249; *In Primum Euclidis Elementorum Librum Commentarii*, pp. 49; 54.

⁸⁹³ Damascius, *In Parmenidem*, pp. 56; 286.

⁸⁹⁴ Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Quattuor Libros De Caelo Commentaria*, v. 7, p. 578; v. 9, pp. 127; 141; 142; 150; *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 9, pp. 532; 688; 962; 1243; 1321; 1324; 1340; 1344; 1352; 1358; 1366.

⁸⁹⁵ John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, v. 13.1, p. 65; *In Aristotelis Analytica Posteriora Commentaria*, v. 13.3, p. 36; *In Aristotelis Libros De Generatione et Corruptione Commentaria*, v. 14.2, pp. 28; 31, et passim; *In Aristotelis Libros De Anima Commentaria*, v. 15, pp. 14; 22, et passim; *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 16, pp. 401; 409; *De Aeternitate Mundi*, pp. 430; 431, et passim; *De Opificio Mundi*, pp. 37; 43.

It was Gregory of Nyssa that applied the epithet to the Trinity.⁸⁹⁶ His brother Basil was not impressed by the epithet and applied it only once: he was evidently reserved because of the pagan colouration of the term,⁸⁹⁷ but Cyril of Alexandria did so, though not as much as Gregory had done.⁸⁹⁸ On the whole, nevertheless, only a few Christians used ἀμεγέθης for God, and among them *De Trinitate*⁸⁹⁹ and Caesarius⁹⁰⁰ stand out.⁹⁰¹

Against the reality of the history of the term, Louis Doutreleau writes of an early eighteenth-century 'erudite', who disputed the existence of this word (which is an Aristotelian one par excellence, whereas Plotinus made the most of it), taking it to be a scribal error for ἀμέτρητον.⁹⁰² A continuous Greek tradition where the term appears in no less than two hundred instances eluded Doutreleau altogether.⁹⁰³

⁸⁹⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 1.1.268; 1.1.293: ἀλλ' ἐκ μὲν τῆς τοῦ δόγματος ἀτοπίας τῆς τὸ ἔλαττον καὶ τὸ ὑπερέχον ἐν τοῖς ἀμεγέθεσι καὶ ἀσυγκρίτοις ἀποφαίνεσθαι τολμώσης ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κατασκευάζεται. 2.1.66: διὰ τοῦτο τὸ μὲν ὡς μέρος μὴ ἐπιλέγεσθαι τῷ θεῷ τὴν ἀγεννησίαν οὐκ ἀντιλέγει, ἀπλοῦν τε καὶ ἄποσον καὶ ἀμεγέθεσ καὶ ἀσύνθετον καὶ αὐτὸς συνολογῶν εἶναι τὸ θεῖον. 3.1.105: καὶ τοῦ ἀσχηματίστου καὶ ἀορίστου καὶ ἀμεγέθους καὶ ἀπόσου, πατρός τε λέγω καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου. *Orationes VIII De Beatitudinibus*, PG.44.1225.23. *Dialogus De Anima Et Resurrectione*, PG.46.124.32–35: ἐκ τοῦ ἀναφοῦς τὸ στερεῶν καὶ ἀντίτυπον, ἐκ τοῦ ἀορίστου τὸ ὠρισμένον, ἐκ τοῦ ἀπόσου τε καὶ ἀμεγέθου τὸ πάντως μέτροις τισὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὸ ποσὸν θεωρουμένοις περιειργόμενον; *Apologia In Hexaemeron*, p. 69: Εἰ ἄλλός ἐστιν ὁ Θεός, πόθεν ἡ ὕλη, πῶς τὸ ποσὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπόσου, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀόπτου τὸ ὁρατόν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀμεγέθους τε καὶ ἀορίστου, τὸ πάντως ὄγκῳ τινὶ καὶ πηλικότητι ὀριζόμενον; *De Opificio Homini*, p. 209: Εἰ ἀπλοῦς ὁ Θεός τῇ φύσει, καὶ ἄυλος, ἄποιός τε καὶ ἀμεγέθης, καὶ ἀσύνθετος, καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα περιγραφῆς ἄλλοτρίως ἔχων.

⁸⁹⁷ Basil of Caesarea, *Adversus Eunomium (libri 5)*, PG.29.568.3–5: Τὰ δὲ ἀπερίληπτα τῷ μεγέθει, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀμεγέθῃ καὶ ἄποσα παντελῶς, τίς ἂν ἀλλήλοις παραμετρήσειεν;

⁸⁹⁸ Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarii In Joannem*, v. 1, p. 39: ἀμεγέθης γάρ, ἄποσός τε καὶ ἀσώματος ἡ θεία νοεῖται καὶ ἔστι φύσις. Op. cit. v. 2, p. 699: παθεῖν γάρ τι τοιοῦτον ἡ ἄποσός τε καὶ ἀμεγέθης καὶ ἀσώματος οὐκ ἀνέχεται φύσις. *Solutiones (e Tractatu de Dogmatum Solutione)*, p. 549: ἔστι τοίνυν ἀσώματον παντελῶς τὸ θεῖον, ἄποσον τε καὶ ἀμεγέθεσ. *De Sancta Trinitate Dialogi I–VII*, p. 391: ἀσώματόν τε καὶ ἀσχηματίστον, ἄποσόν τε καὶ ἀμεγέθεσ ὀνομάσαι τὸ Θεῖον. p. 521: τὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα φύσιν, τὴν ὑπὲρ σῶμα καὶ εἶδος, ἄποσόν τε καὶ ἀμεγέθῃ, καὶ ἀναφῇ, καὶ ἄυλον. p. 648: ἄποσον γάρ καὶ ἀπερίοριστον, καὶ ἀμεγέθεσ. καὶ οὐκ ἐν θέσει τῇ κατὰ τόπον νοεῖται τὸ Θεῖον.

⁸⁹⁹ *DT (lib. 1)*, 16.10; 27.28; *DT (lib. 2.1–7)*, 1.5; 1.11; 6.16; *DT (lib. 3)*, PG. 39.981.32.

⁹⁰⁰ Caesarius/Cassian applies the term to God unqualifiedly, *QR*, 18.9; 48.8; 175.20; 190.24.

⁹⁰¹ John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, PG.95.1085.20–25: Πῶς ὀνομάσω τὸ ἀθέατον; Πῶς παραστήσω τὸ ἄυλον; Πῶς δείξω τὸ αἰεδές; Πῶς διαλάβω τὸ ἀμεγέθεσ, τὸ ἄποσον, τὸ ἄποιον, τὸ ἀσχηματίστον; τὸ μήτε τόπων, μήτε χρόνῳ εὐρισκόμενον; τὸ ἐξώτερον παντὸς περασμοῦ, καὶ πάσης ὀριστικῆς φαντασίας; *Orationes De Imaginibus Tres*, 1.8; 3.8. Cf. Pseudo-Athanasius, *Dialogi Duo Contra Macedonianos*, PG.28.1325.28–29: Εἰ δὲ οὐ τῇ φύσει μείζων, οὐδὲ τῷ μεγέθει· ἀμεγέθης γάρ. Olympiodorus, the deacon of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Job*, p. 15: ὁ μὲν θεὸς ἀράτος πάσῃ γενητῇ κτίσει, ἄποσος, ἀμεγέθης, πανταχοῦ παρὼν καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐπιστάμενος.

⁹⁰² Doutreleau, op. cit. p. 533, n. 29.

⁹⁰³ The catalogue of terms that make *De Trinitate* impossible to have been penned by

Whereas John Philoponus used both the notions (ἀμεγέθης, ἀνείδεος) with respect to 'formless matter proper' alone,⁹⁰⁴ the author of *De Trinitate* was inspired by this phraseology and used the two epithets⁹⁰⁵ in apposition in order to speak of the Godhead.⁹⁰⁶ This in turn was the inspiration for another Sabaite, namely, John of Damascus, to employ this language, no doubt picking this up as a fruit from the library of the Great Laura.⁹⁰⁷ No author did ever entertain this language, save a couple of very late Byzantine ones of the fourteenth century actually reproducing the language of Damascenus.

Louis Doutreleau's scope was desperately narrow, in two important respects. For one thing, he set out to compare *De Trinitate* mainly with the newly discovered commentary on Zachariach rather than with the whole of Didymus' work. For another, a Jesuit priest as he was, he took it that this work had to be examined in the light of some Christian authors. There is no inkling of *De Trinitate* having been the product of an author who was bowled head over heels by Greek education, indeed Archaic, Classical, and Late

Didymus can be very extensive, but exhausting this catalogue could make little sense. For instance, the term γέρας ('prize'), appears in Theodoret at tens of instances, it recurs in Cyril of Alexandria, and it is applied in *De Trinitate*, but it was never used by Didymus himself. Likewise, the adjective φωσφόρος, of 2 Peter 1:19, appears in *De Trinitate*, but it never occurs in either Didymus or Theodoret.

⁹⁰⁴ John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, v. 13,1, p. 65: τὴν πρώτην ὕλην φασὶν οἱ φιλόσοφοι ἀσώματον εἶναι τῷ οἰκείῳ λόγῳ ἀσχημάτιστον τε καὶ ἀμεγέθη καὶ πάσης ποιότητος κεχωρισμένην· ὅτι γὰρ ἀνείδεός ἐστι, δεικνύται σαφῶς. *In Aristotelis Libros De Generatione et Corruptione Commentaria*, v. 14,2, p. 31: καὶ ἐξ ἀμεγεθῶν ἐνεργείᾳ προϋπαρχόντων ἀμεγεθῶν γεννῶσι τὸ μέγεθος καὶ εἰς ἀμεγέθη ἐνεργείᾳ ὑφεστῶτα αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ ἀναλύουσι τὸ μέγεθος, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἄποπον. καὶ ἄλλως εἰ καὶ ἀσώματος τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ ἡ ὕλη, ἀλλὰ πάντη οὕσα ἀνείδεος δυνάμει ἐστὶ σῶμα, τὰ δὲ σημεῖα οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνείδεα οὐδὲ δυνάμει μεγέθη. Op. cit. p. 75: ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὕλη τῆς γενέσεως ἢ ὄντως ἐστὶν ὕλη ἡ ἀνείδεος καὶ ἀμεγέθης. *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 16, p. 401: εἰ γὰρ δεῖ τὴν ὕλην παντελῶς ἀνείδεον εἶναι ἀμεγέθη τε καὶ ἄποσον. *De Aeternitate Mundi*, p. 430: ἐπειδὴ μὴδὲ μεγέθη τινὶ κατελὴπται τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ ἄλλ' ἔστιν ἀμεγέθης ἀσώματος οὕσα καὶ δυνάμει πάντα. p. 436: ἀσώματος ἐστὶν ἡ ὕλη καὶ ἀμεγέθης καὶ μία καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ πάντων καὶ οὐ πλείους ὕλαι. p. 439: τὸ γὰρ ἀσώματον καὶ ἀμέγεθες ἀμερές· ὥστε οὐδὲ ὅλον ἔξει καὶ μέρος. εἰ οὖν ὅλον ἔξει καὶ μέρος ἡ ὕλη, μέγεθος ἂν εἴη καὶ σῶμα, οὐκ ἀμεγέθης τε καὶ ἀσώματος. διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἀνείδεος· οὐ γὰρ ἀνείδεον τὸ μέγεθος ἢ τὸ σῶμα. loc. cit. τοῖς τὴν ὕλην ἀσώματον εἶναι καὶ ἀνείδεον ὑποτιθεμένοις.

⁹⁰⁵ Cassian, writing as 'Caesarius', did take up this idea with respect to 'formless matter'. *QR*, 139.99–100: τῆς ἀήμου καὶ ἀνείδεου ὕλης. I canvas the notion of 'formless matter' entertained by Caesarius on pp. 399–400; 611.

⁹⁰⁶ *DT* (*lib.* 2.1–7), 1.5: λόγῳ καὶ τόπῳ ἀχώρητος, δυνάμει ἀμερῆς, ἀναφής, ἀμεγέθης, ἀμαθής, ἀπλατής, ἀνείδεος. 6.16: ὁ δὲ μονογενὴς καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα διὰ τὸ ταυτὸν τῆς θεότητος ὁρώσιν οὕτως, ὥς ἔστιν ὁ ἀμεγέθης καὶ ἀνείδεος θεός.

⁹⁰⁷ John of Damascus, *Orationes De Imaginibus Tres*, 1,8: Πῶς γραφήσεται τὸ ἄποσον καὶ ἀμέγεθες καὶ ἀόριστον; Πῶς ποιωθήσεται τὸ ἀνείδεον; Πῶς χρωματουργηθήσεται τὸ ἀσώματον; 3,8: Πῶς γραφήσεται τὸ ἄποσον καὶ ἀμέγεθες καὶ ἀόριστον καὶ ἀνείδεον;

Antique one. To put it more generally, the characteristic of modern theologians who believe that it is possible to assess Christian authors of Late Antiquity, while ignoring their environment and the interplay between Christian and Greek authors, determines the article of Doutreleau, too. Christian authors are assessed mainly as to their 'orthodoxy', or their liabilities to the stars of Christian theology. At most, Plato comes into the frame, and Aristotle hardly so. Neither appraisal of what Christian authors possibly borrowed from their pagan environment, nor of what influence they possibly exercised upon these surroundings (not simply upon their entourage), is part of this kind of scholarship. This is a different kind of research, which contents itself with scrutinizing doctrinal nuances while ignoring the fact that Hellenism at that time was neither dead, nor even moribund. But all this is a highly demanding task, which takes a lot more than theological education alone.

De Trinitate is an outstanding case of an author drawing on Hellenism in order to compose a Christian work of note. 'Of note' means that the author purported to compose a work, which was flamboyant on account of its Greek philological colour, and by means of an extravagant selectivity from Greek and Oriental, lore. Since this was planned as a showing-off of a certain Christian 'orthodoxy', the student of the treatise will discover neither exceptional, nor indeed original, theological thought in the text. One however will definitely discover two things, which are important to the present study: one of them is specific, and this is Cassian himself cropping up as the author of *De Trinitate*. The second is more general, yet equally interesting. Once one cares to sense the distress felt by the author of this work, one will perhaps experience an inkling of how it would have been to live in the sixth century, to be a suspect of heresy, and to endeavour to exonerate oneself while feeling the grim and menacing imperial wrath at one's nape.

De Trinitate and Caesarius

De Trinitate (lib. 2.8–27), PG.39.693.6–8: "Ὅπως δὲ τὸ θαλάττιον ὕδωρ ἀλμυρὸν εὐρίσκεται, τοῦ ἐνὸς γένους τῶν ὑδάτων ὑπάρχον, ἑτέρα ἐπιδείξει σὺν Θεῷ φάναί πραγματεία.

De Trinitate (lib. 2.8–27), *op. cit.*, PG.39.693.8–21:

Αὐταρχες δὲ, εἰς τὸ κινούμενον νυνὶ κεφάλαιον, μνημονεῦσαι τοῦ τε κοσμογράφου Μωϋσέως, ἐξηγουμένου κατὰ λέξιν οὕτως: "Καὶ Πνεῦμα Κυρίου ἐπέφερετο ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων" τοῦ τε πνευματοφόρου Δαυῖδ, ψάλλοντος: "Κύριος ἐπὶ ὑδάτων πολλῶν." Τοῦτο δὲ συνενδεύονται οὐ μικρῶς, καὶ τὸ ὑπερθεῖν τῶν Ἰορδανείων ρείθρων γεγενῆσθαι τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, τοῦ Δεσπότης βαπτίζομένου, καὶ μεμενηκέναι ἐπ' αὐτόν. "ᾠφθη δὲ τὸ τηλικαῦτα ἐν εἴδει περιστερᾶς. Ἐπειδὴ τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο ἀκέραϊόν τέ ἐστι καὶ χολῆς ἐστέρηται. "Γίνεσθε" γάρ, φησὶν, "ἀκέραϊοι ὡς αἱ περιστεραί."

The question of why sea water is salty was treated by Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, 353a33–359a. The sole author to comment on this work was Olympiodorus, the philosopher of Alexandria, *In Aristotelis Meteora Commentaria*, pp. 129–140; 158–166.

The 'next treatise' (ἑτέρα πραγματεία) dealing with the specific question of sea water, which the author of *De Trinitate* promises at this point, is the work by Pseudo-Caesarius. He reproduces some of the arguments and accounts by these philosophers, in chapters 73, 76 and 77, without mentioning either of them by name.

Caesarius, *op. cit.*, chapter 212, lines 11–13: φασὶν γὰρ ὑπὲρ πάσαν ὄρνιθα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀερόβια ἄκακον τὴν περιστερὰν ὑπάρχειν καὶ μηδὲ αὐτὸ ἔχειν τὸ χοληδόχον ὄργανον. "Γίνεσθε" γάρ, φησὶν, "ἀκέραϊοι ὡς αἱ περιστεραί."⁹⁰⁸

⁹⁰⁸ At the same point, both Caesarius and *De Trinitate* quote Matthew 10:16: Γίνεσθε ἀκέραϊοι ὡς αἱ περιστεραί. No author did ever make the point about a dove having no bile. Only Horapollo of Nilus (probably fourth–fifth cent AD) recorded the hearsay that 'this animal has no bile'. Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica*, 1.75: εἰ μὴ μόνον ἡ περιστερὰ. ... ἱστορεῖται δὲ ὅτι οὐ χολὴν ἔχει τοῦτο τὸ ζῷον.

APPENDIX III

AN UNPUBLISHED GREEK TEXT BY CASSIAN THE SABAITE

Introduction

A Feast Day Once in Four Years

The feast day of Cassian is supposed to occur only once in four years, on February 29th, even though *synaxaria* normally mention his day in the list of saints who have their feast on 28th of this month. This peculiarity gave rise to composing stories that enriched the folk-lore of various people, especially eastern ones, such as Greeks, Russians, Bulgarians, Serbs, Lithuanians. Although the form of such tales varied, the main story goes thus:

All the saints in heaven grumbled when they saw the array of gifts which St Nicolas of Myra received from the people. At a meeting of the saints in heaven, St Cassian complained about this favouritism. God summoned St Nicolas, but he could not be found in heaven. So two angels were sent to fetch him from the earth. When they brought him back to heaven he was wet through, and carrying a half-drowned man in his arms. God asked St Nicolas what he was doing. St Nicolas said that he was on the sea and had been working to save sailors from a shipwreck. Then God turned sternly to St Cassian and said: 'What have you done for the people, so as to win their honour and their gifts?' To punish your imprudence I order that your day be 29th February and so you will only have a feast once in four years.¹

This is not of course the case: in all *synaxaria* Cassian's feast day is the 28th February and it is only in leap years that he alone is allotted the 29th. Anyhow, Cassian's feast day is somehow seen as involving an unidentified notion of inferiority, or deficiency. My suggestion is that the intercalary day has been accorded to him as a tribute rather than obloquy. The heretofore unpublished present text that I was privileged to discover in the Meteora Codex, has some new things to tell us, which eventually allow for the contention that the case with Cassian on this point is quite the opposite of what is currently thought to be.

¹ I quote from Owen Chadwick, *John Cassian*, p. 160.

Of the tens books that Photius reviewed, only a couple of them have the name of their author missing. Two out of three books of this category deal with the question of determining the day of Easter for each year.² The author of both books is probably the same person, since, reviewing one of them (which comprised eight volumes),³ Photius advises that this author had previously written books on the same subject, but this one is more extensive and more detailed. Fascinated as Photius is by this book, he says that it contains a great deal of information, not only about leap years, but also astronomical information which is valuable in order to settle the calendar.⁴

Cassian and the Chronicon Paschale

In its prologue, the *Chronicon Paschale* lists the issues which the exposition will deal with. The initial questions of calendar, on which the author promises to 'offer a method of calculation',⁵ are of astronomical rather than religious character, but they are necessary in order to proceed with the author's main concerns. For indeed he was preoccupied with calculation of the date of Easter in the Christian calendar, indeed not only with future Paschal dates, but also with the past ones, starting with 'the year when the first Easter was celebrated in Egypt' by the Jews (ἐν πόσῳ ... τὸ πρῶτον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐπετελέσθη πάσχα).⁶ In order to determine this, the author was in

² Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 115, p. 91a (a short treatise): 'Ανεγνώσθη βιβλίον ἀνώνυμον οὗ ἡ ἐπιγραφή: "Λόγος πρὸς Ἰουδαίους καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτων αἰρετικούς καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους τεσσαρεσκαίδεκατίτας, μὴ τῷ πρῶτῳ καθ' Ἑβραίους μηνὶ ἐπιτελοῦντας τοῦ ἁγίου Πάσχα τὴν ἑορτήν". Op. cit. Codex 116, p. 91a (in eight volumes): 'Ανεγνώσθη βιβλίον, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ συντεταχότος, ἀνεπιγραφον· ἐπὶ τῇ γε βίβλῳ ἐπεγέγραπτο: "Περὶ τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Πάσχα ἑορτῆς λόγος τρίτος", ἐν τόμοις ὀκτώ. The third book, of which the author is anonymous, in op. cit. Codex 117, p. 91b (defence of Origen, in five volumes).

³ Op. cit. Codex 116, p. 91a.

⁴ Op. cit. Codex 116, p. 91b: Περὶ τε γὰρ βισέξτου καὶ ἐμβολίου μηνὸς καὶ ἐπακτῶν ἡλίου καὶ ἐπακτῶν σελήνης καὶ ἑννεακαίδεκαετηρίδων καὶ μεθόδου τῆς εὐρέσεως αὐτῶν λεπτομερῶς καὶ σαφῶς διαλαμβάνει, καὶ περὶ μηνῶν καὶ νεομηνίας καὶ ἐβδομάδος καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ἡμερῶν, τίνες τε κύκλοι ἐνιαυτοὶ προσαγορεύονται καὶ τίνες ἐμβολιοὶ ἐνιαυτοί, περὶ τε ὀκτωκαιεκοσαετηρίδος ἡλίου καὶ ἑννεακαίδεκαετηρίδος σελήνης καὶ τῆς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκατῆς αὐτῆς, καὶ περὶ μηνῶν σεληνιακῶν καὶ μηνῶν ἡλιακῶν, καὶ νομηνίας σεληνιακοῦ μηνὸς καὶ ἡλιακοῦ, μηνὸς τε ὁμαλοῦ τῆς σεληνῆς καὶ μηνὸς ἀκριβοῦς, καὶ ἀπαριθμήσεως τῶν ἐτῶν τοῦ κόσμου.

⁵ Op. cit. pp. 23–25.

⁶ The questions mentioned by the author are by and large those which Cassian cared to record as succinct rules, which his ensuing texts show. *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 24: καὶ πόσαι εἰσὶν ἐν ἑκάστῳ ἔτει ἐπακταὶ τῆς σελήνης, ἥτις ἐννεακαίδεκαετηρίδος ἀποκαταστατικὴ τυγχάνει ἡμέρας μηνὸς ἡλιακοῦ καὶ ἡμέρας σελήνης μηνός. ἐπιδρομὴν τε τῶν χρόνων τῶν ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς κτίσεως κόσμου ποιησόμεθα. μέθοδόν τε παραδώσομεν τὰ ἔτη τοῦ κόσμου παραλαμβάνοντες, δι' ἧς γινώσκειν δυνήσεται τις καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπιζητούμενον ἐνιαυτὸν πόσον ἔτος ἐστὶν τῆς ὀκτωκαιεκοσαετηρίδος τοῦ ἡλίου. μέθοδόν τε ἐτέραν δηλώσομεν τὰ ἔτη τοῦ κόσμου παραλαμβάνοντες, δι' ἧς δυνήσεται τις

need of the astronomical lore, part of which was pretty recent. It is clear that the author builds on the Victorian Cycle, which was not too much of a new knowledge by that time, yet so little mention by Greek sources is made of this, a good two hundred years after it had been proposed.

But what actually was *that time*? My suggestion is that this chronicle is not the work of one author from start to finish. Rather, the case is that the author availed himself of learned men such as Cassian, whose writings treasured such knowledge. The coincidence of terminology between the two authors is too striking to ignore, or to be accidental. Photius' review does not allow for an unqualified claim that the book which his author had read was in fact the *Chronicon Paschale* itself. For the technical astronomical terminology, at which he was impressed, does not coincide with the one included in the *Chronicon Paschale* all the way through. Besides, the book reviewed by Photius 'is addressed to a certain Theodore', who is styled 'dear' and 'brother' [to the author], which is a point not occurring in *Chronicon Paschale*. Furthermore, numerous references in the latter are hostile to Theodore of Mopsuestia, which makes it impossible for them to have been penned by Cassian. But the astronomical patrimony which was preserved and advanced by Cassian may have been of service to the author of *Chronicon Paschale*. This would have happened all the more so since there is a staggering ignorance of Victorius' *Cursus Paschalis*. As late as the ninth century, Photius writes in his review that his author mentions 'a certain Metrodorus, who offered a calculation of recurring cycles of twenty eight 19-year-long periods with respect to [determination of each year's] Easter. This Metrodorus started his computation from Diocletian'. Photius, concluded that 'neither the church nor the old tradition appear to have ever made use of these' methods.⁷

We have no idea who this Metrodorus was; certainly he was not one of the several namesakes of whom we know. What we do know, however, is that much was made of the reign of Diocletian in the context of calendar

γινώσκειν καθ' ἑκάστον ἐπιζητούμενον ἐνιαυτὸν πόσαι εἰσὶν αἱ τοῦ ἡλίου ἑπακταί, μέθοδον τε αὐτῆς ἄλλην γνωρίσμεν, δι' ἧς δυνήσεται τις γινώσκειν ἐν πόσῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐβδομάδος εὕρεται ἑκάστη ἐπιζητούμενη οἰουδήποτε μηνὸς ἡμέρα. πάλιν ἄλλην μέθοδον γράψομεν τὰ ἔτη τοῦ κόσμου παραλαμβάνοντες, δι' ἧς δυνήσεται τις γινώσκειν καθ' ἑκάστον ἐπιζητούμενον ἐνιαυτὸν πόσαι εἰσὶν αἱ τῆς σελήνης ἑπακταί.

⁷ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 116, 91a: 'Ἐνεφέρετο δὲ λόγος ἕτερος Μητροδώρου τινός, ψήφος ἐννεακαίδεκατηρίδων κη' εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀνακυκλουμένη περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Πάσχα ἑορτῆς. Οὗτος ὁ Μητροδωρος, ὅστις ποτὲ ἐστίν (οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο τι ἔγνων εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ), ἀπὸ Διοκλητιανοῦ ἀρξάμενος φλγ' ἐτῶν συνήγαγε κατὰ τὴν λεγομένην ἀκριβῆ τῆς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτης ψηφοφορίαν ἡμέρας, ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν, ἑορταστικῶς· καὶ γὰρ οὔτε νῦν ἡ ἐκκλησία οὔτε ἡ παλαιὰ παράδοσις ταῦται φαίνεται κεχρημένη.

computation and astrological considerations by astrologers Paul of Alexandria and Heliodorus of Antioch.⁸

Photius cared to cite a good number of technical terms, which makes his exposition very intriguing: for this extremely rare terminology transpires in texts of Cassian, which he cherished in his personal companion, known as the Great Meteoron-Codex 753, our codex. This is why I deemed it useful also to publish this part of the codex. The text was evidently short in the first place, with Cassian having made notes of mathematical methods calculating the astronomical data which contribute to determining the intercalary days, in other words the 29th day of February for each leap year. Unfortunately, a barbarous hand cut-off some pages (perhaps for practical reasons, in order to have the rules of calculation at hand), so we are now left with only two codex-pages, which are now published for the first time.

The technical terms that Photius mentions (βισέξτου και ἐμβολίου μηνός και ἐπακτών ἡλίου και ἐπακτών σελήνης και ἐννεακαιδεκαετηρίδων) are all present in Cassian's text. So is the 'exposition of methods of relevant calculations', which are 'stated clearly and in detail' (και μεθόδου τῆς εὐρέσεως αὐτῶν λεπτομερῶς και σαφῶς διαλαμβάνει).

It is then practicable to explore Cassian's vocabulary and its relevance to the rest of ancient lore.

In the first place, I should have thought that the book which Photius had read was the *Chronicon Paschale*, all the more so since the terminology he cares to mention in some detail is there for the most part.⁹ However, there are some references by Photius which are absent from that work. For instance, 'equable lunar month' (μὴν ὁμαλὸς τῆς σελήνης) is a notion mentioned only by Theon of Alexandria (mathematician, Alexandria, fourth century).¹⁰ In like manner, there is no reference to the 'exact lunar month'

⁸ Paul of Alexandria (astrologer, fourth cent. AD), *Elementa Apotelesmatica*, pp. 39; 40; 41. Heliodorus of Antioch (astrologer, fourth cent. AD), *Commentarium in Paulum Alexandrinum*, pp. 34; 35; 36.

⁹ *Chronicon Paschale*, Ref. to 'leap year' (βίσεξτον), pp. 20; 23; 710. Ref. to ἐμβόλιμον μῆνα, op. cit. p. 7, but there is no reference to ἐμβόλιμοι ἐνιαυτοί (such a thing does not actually exist and must have been a misunderstanding by Photius). Ref. to ἐπακταὶ τοῦ ἡλίου, op. cit. pp. 23; 24; 26; 381; 385. Ref. to ἐπακταὶ τῆς σελήνης, op. cit. pp. 24; 406. Ref. to ἐννεακαιδεκαετηρίς on pp. 18; 19; 20; 21; 23; 24; 25; 27; 368; 375; 399; 404; 406; 409; 414; 423; 429. Ref. to the 'fourteenth day of the first month of the moon', on which Jesus 'was crucified'. p. 418: τῇ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ οὖν, ὡς πρόκειται, τοῦ πρώτου μηνός τῆς σελήνης ἐσταυρώθη ὁ κύριος και ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἕκτῃ τῆς ἑβδομάδος. Ref. to 'lunar month' (σεληνιακὸς μῆν), pp. 3; 371; 374. Ref. to 'month of sun' (ἡλιακὸς μῆν), pp. 13; 20; 23; 24. Ref. to 'solar month' (ἡλιακὸς μῆν), pp. 19; 20; 23; 24.

¹⁰ He actually supplies a definition of it. Theon of Alexandria (mathematician, Alexan-

(μὴν ἀκριβῆς τῆς σελήνης) which transpires only in Theon, too.¹¹ Likewise, in the *Chronicon Paschale* there is no reference to ‘the first days of lunar months’ (νουμηνίας σεληνιακοῦ μηνός), which Photius mentions. Such a reference is made only by John Laurentius Lydus, the sixth-century writer who wrote on antiquarian subjects.¹²

It is probable, therefore, that the work which Photius read was not in fact the *Chronicon Paschale*, but one by some other author. Nevertheless, there is evidence of close connection between this work and Cassian himself. The term for ‘leap year’ used is βίσεκστον, although the two consonants kappa (κ) and sigma (σ) never go together in Greek, since they always make up the double consonant ksi (ξ). The term βίσεκστον is an extremely rare form which appears in Greek manuscripts during and after the sixth century,¹³ being an alternative for δίσεκστον (leap year). It certainly related to Latin language: βίσεκστον is a composite derived from *bis* + *sextus*, and so was it employed by Greek writers. The term δίσεκστον (δῖς + ἔκτων), which eventually prevailed for a leap year, is exactly the same word.

As far as Cassian’s technical terminology goes back to Meton, this must have been communicated to him also through the mathematician Theon of Alexandria (335–405), the father of Hypatia. Theon had engaged in arranging Ptolemaeus’ *Handy Tables*, on which Cassian drew.¹⁴

Moreover, the reference made by *Chronicon Paschale* to another notion, namely, the ‘period of twenty eight years’ and its implications (ὀκτωκαιεικοσαετηρίς)¹⁵ is a staggering point, since (besides Photius reporting the notion that he had read) reference to this is made only by Cassian in this very same text and, much later, by George Cedrenus (eleventh–twelfth century),¹⁶ never to appear again in literature.

dria, fourth cent.), *Commentaria in Ptolemaei Syntaxin Mathematicam i–iv*, p. 985: ἡ ὁμαλή πάροδος τοῦ ἡλίου χρόνος ἐστὶν ὁμαλοῦ μηνός. Cf. a more detailed explanation in op. cit. p. 1013.

¹¹ Theon of Alexandria, op. cit. p. 984: ἀκριβῆ φαμεν μῆνα ἐν ᾧ ἡ σελήνη συνοδεύουσα τῷ ἡλίῳ καὶ ἀποστάσα αὐτοῦ ἐπικαταλαμβάνει αὐτὸν ἢ κατὰ διάμετρον αὐτοῦ τυγχάνουσα πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ κατὰ διάμετρον παραγίγνεται. Repeated on p. 985, where further explanation is supplied: δῆλον ὅτι καὶ καθόλου ἐν ᾧ ἡ σελήνη κινεῖται κύκλον ἕνα καὶ ἦν ἐπεκινήθη ὁ ἡλῖος ἀκριβῶς χρόνος ἐστὶ μηνός ἀκριβοῦς. Astronomer Geminus of Rhodes (first cent. BC) had calculated this time to last a little more than 29 days. *Elementa Astronomiae*, 8.3; 8.37.

¹² John Laurentius Lydus, *De Ostentis*, 27: καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἐφήμερον ἀπὸ τῆς σεληνιακῆς νουμηνίας κατὰ τοὺς σεληνιακοὺς μῆνας ληψόμεθα τῶν βροντῶν ἐπίσκεψιν.

¹³ The term was so used by contemporaries of Cassian, such as John Malalas and John Laurentius Lydus. I canvass this in *RCR*, pp. 202–203.

¹⁴ Cf. Theon of Alexandria (mathematician, Alexandria, fourth cent.), *Υπόμνημα Εἰς τοὺς Προχείρους Πτολεμαίου Κανόνας*, pp. 256–269.

¹⁵ *Chronicon Paschale*, pp. 23; 24; 26; 399; 404.

¹⁶ George Cedrenus, ref. to ὀκτωκαιεικοσαετηρίς. *Compendium Historiarum*, v. 1, p. 307.

There are two possibilities, therefore. One, Photius refers to what he had read in the *Chronicon Paschale*; but how can one explain the fact that certain notions that Photius mentions in his review do not transpire in the *Chronicon Paschale*? Two, Photius actually read a work written by Cassian, which subsequently was availed of by the author of the *Chronicon Paschale*. As it happened with the normal practice to eliminate the name of the real author, this is one of the rare cases where Photius' book is without an author on its header.

Once we allow for a third possibility, we need an author prior to the sixth century, who was aware of the astronomical knowledge taught by Theon and others, and he was definitely a Christian, since Photius reviewed a work about 'the feast of the Holy Easter'.

Cassian the Astronomer

There are some further considerations to be made, however. The text of Cassian at this point of his 'book' is in fact an astronomical companion, so as to make him able to form a calendar which should be accurate. It was known that the solar year consists of 365 days, whereas the lunar one (comprising 12 full moons) consisted of 354 days ($= 6 \times 29 + 6 \times 30$). To correct this diversion, an 'intercalary month' comprising 30 days was introduced every other year along with the invention of the 'eight year period' (ὀκταετηρίς), which called for interpolation of three days every 8 years, notably one day at the end of the third, fifth, and eighth year.

Better still was the method invented by the Athenian mathematician Meton (fl. c. 430 BC). He determined that, during a period of nineteen years (ἐννεακαιδεκαετηρίς), a certain number of intercalary days should be introduced. He divided the period of 235 months into 19 consecutive years: during this period, 12 years consisted of 12 months each, whereas 7 years comprised 13 months each. Of the 235 months of each period of 19 years, 125 months consisted of 30 days, and the other 110 months comprised 29 days. This period of nineteen years was called 'cycle of the moon', or 'Meton's cycle'. This 'Meton's cycle' is of course no longer used in order to form the calendar. It is being used however in order to determine the date of the Easter, since every 19 years the dates of phases of the moon recur.

Cassian's notes, as we have them, do not aim at determining dates for the Easter of each year (although he possibly did so in the ensuing pages, which are missing). His notes attest to a person who was interested in forming a calendar, especially taking into account considerations which have to do with leap years. His phraseology shows that he was perfectly aware of

Meton's astronomical calculations, and his method and vocabulary are in fact those introduced by Meton.

However, Cassian went a little further. The succinct rules that make up his present text seem to rely upon not only astronomer Meton, but also on astrologers who were not as ancient as Meton was, notably, Paul of Alexandria (end of fourth century) and Heliodorus of Antioch (a younger contemporary, who wrote a comment on Paul of Alexandria's work).

An Antiochene as he was, Cassian cared to record calculations by both the Romans and the Alexandrians, which is why his text registers calculations of 'intercalary lunar days' (ἐπακταὶ τῆς σελήνης) according to both of them. However, associating the 'intercalary days of the year' (ἐμβόλιμοι ἡμέραι ἐνιαυτοῦ) with 'God' (τῷ θεῷ) is hard to understand, unless we read Paul of Alexandria once again: it turns out that Cassian indulged in the specific phraseology of this astrologer, which though aimed at different purposes, and he also applied heavily the expression 'on learning about' (περὶ τοῦ γινῶναι), which is distinctive of the language used by astrologers and appears in Paul of Alexandria's text.¹⁷

Therefore, Cassian entertains not the vocabulary of the *Chronicon Paschale*, but the one of astrologers. At the same time, he made his companion a valuable reservoir of all the astronomical lore that made possible the formation of a calendar, especially with respect to leap years.

It is remarkable that all similar astrological instances have the same format: there is the title starting with the expression 'on learning about' (περὶ τοῦ γινῶναι), and then succinct rules follow, instructing how certain acts or calculations should take place: this is precisely the format of Cassian's notes. A couple of intellectuals irrelevant to astrology did in fact use the expression 'on learning about one's own self' (περὶ τοῦ γινῶναι ἑαυτόν).¹⁸ However, no author other than the astrologers who are cited below did ever make the expression περὶ τοῦ γινῶναι a title of a specific section followed by succinct mathematical or astronomical rules (or, both); nor did any author other than astrologers ever make this expression part of a treatise-title at all.

¹⁷ The expression 'about knowing' (περὶ τοῦ γινῶναι), which so heavily recurs in Cassian's text, is in fact one used by astrologers and Paul himself. Paul of Alexandria (astrologer, fourth cent. AD), *Elementa Apotelesmatica*, p. 340: Περὶ τοῦ γινῶναι, πόσαι τῶν θεῶν ἡμέραι. Then, loc. cit., Περὶ τοῦ γινῶναι ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, τίνος τῶν θεῶν ἐστίν. Likewise, Heliodorus, op. cit. p. 88.

¹⁸ Philo, *De Somniis* (lib. i-ii), 1.58. Olympiodorus, the philosopher of Alexandria (sixth cent.), *In Platonis Alcibiadem Commentarii*, 3; *In Platonis Alcibiadem Commentarii*, 4; 6; 8; 10. Later still, John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, PG.96.448.38: Περὶ τοῦ γινῶναι ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα μέτρα, καὶ μὴ ἐπαίρεσθαι.

This usage is exclusively characteristic of astronomers and astrologers.¹⁹ Of either pagans or Christians, Cassian is the sole author ever to have applied this characteristic practice.

The anonymous *Chronicon Paschale* is extant in only one manuscript.²⁰ No matter who its author was, internal evidence shows that he must have drawn on Cassian's astronomical knowledge, at least to the extent that this book deals with mathematical methods, which it does for the purpose of making theological truth coincide with historical accuracy. The folia missing from our codex thwart any possibility of advancing this hypothesis any further. Nevertheless, there are unique parallel instances between the *Chronicon Paschale* and Cassian's terminology.

1. The term ὀκτώ καὶ εἰκοσαετηρίς ('twenty eight-year period') can be found in no Greek text other than the *Chronicon Paschale* and the present Codex.²¹ This is a reference to the Easter Cycle produced in c. 460 by Victo-

¹⁹ Paul of Alexandria (astrologer, fourth cent. AD), *Elementa Apotelesmatica*, p. 39: Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι, πόσαι τῶν θεῶν ἡμέραι. Op. cit. p. 40: Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τίνος τῶν θεῶν ἐστίν. Heliodorus of Antioch (astrologer, fourth cent. AD), *Commentarium in Paulum Alexandrinum*, p. 88: Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι πόστη μοῖρα τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ πόστη τοῦ ὥροσκόπου. Palchus of Egypt (astrologer, fifth–sixth cent AD), *De Interrogationibus*, v. 9, 1, p. 162 (title): Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι τὸν σκοπὸν τοῦ ἐρωτῶντος περὶ τίνος θέλει ἐρωτᾶν. Op. cit., v. 11, 1, p. 202 (title): *Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ κλήρου τῆς Τύχης τὸν πυνθανόμενον περὶ τίνος θέλει ἐρωτᾶν*. Theophilus of Edessa (astronomer, astrologer, eighth cent. AD), *De Rebus Praesertim Bellicis*, v. 11, section 27 (title): Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι εἰ ζῇ ἢ ἀπέθανεν, κατὰ Θεόφιλον ἐκ τοῦ ὥροσκόπου καὶ τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς προαναφορᾶς τοῦ ὥροσκόπου. Apomasar (Persian astrologer, eighth–ninth cent. AD), *De Mysteriori* (excerpta e cod. Scorial. I Φ 5, fol. 222), v. 11, 1, p. 168 (title): Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι περὶ τίνος μέλλει σε ἐρωτᾶν. Id. *De Mysteriori* (lib. 2) (excerpta e cod. Angel. 29, fol. 42^v), v. 5, 1, p. 145 (title): Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι εἰ ἀληθεύει τις ἢ ψεύδεται προφήτην ἐαυτὸν ἀποκαλῶν. Op. cit. (title): Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι εἰ γνησία ἐστὶν ἢ μετὰ τίνος γυνὴ ἢ ἐπίεσσατος. Masala of Bagdad (astrologer, eighth–ninth cent. AD [or, Masha'allah al-Misri, or, Messahala, or, Messahalla]), *Fragmenta Apotelesmatica*, (title): Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι τὴν ἐρώτησιν καθὼς καὶ αὐθις ὁ Μασάλα φησὶν, ποιήσας καὶ ὑπόδειγμα. Also in anonyma Astrologica, *Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι τὸν νικῶντα ἐν μάχῃ*, v. 11, 2, (e cod. Matrit. Bibl. Nat. 4616, fol. 87), p. 148 (title): Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι τὸν νικῶντα ἐν μάχῃ. Astrologica, *Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι πότε φανήσεται ὁ κομήτης* (e cod. Vat. gr. 1056, fol. 144), v. 5, p. 95 (title): Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι πότε φανήσεται ὁ κομήτης. Astrologica, *Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι τοὺς ἀστέρας τοὺς ἀπλανεῖς ποιοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰσι φθοροποιοὶ καὶ ποιοῦντες κλιμακτῆρας*, (title), v. 5, p. 129: Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι τοὺς ἀστέρας τοὺς ἀπλανεῖς ποιοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰσι φθοροποιοὶ καὶ ποιοῦντες κλιμακτῆρας. Theodosius (astrologer) (incertum), 'Ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοδοσίου περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ τις τεθνήξεται, v. 2, p. 213 (title): 'Ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοδοσίου περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ τις τεθνήξεται. There is also a tentative attribution, (Pythagoras), *Fragmenta Astrologica*, v. 11, 2, p. 144: Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι τὸν κλέπτην ἐκ πολλῶν ὑπονοούμενων.

²⁰ The sole manuscript of the *Chronicon Paschale* is *Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1941*, dated back to the tenth century. This is an 'Epitome of the years of Adam ... to the twentieth year of the reign of Heraclius ... and of Heraclius, the new Constantine, his son, in the eighteenth year of that reign, third Indiction' (op. cit. p. 32). This header places itself in the first half of the seventh century.

²¹ Cf. *Chronicon Paschale*, pp. 20–26; 399; 404–409; 424 (twenty instances in all).

rius of Aquitaine. This *Cursus Paschalis* (also known later as Victorian Cycle) is a combination of the 28-year long solar cycle and the 19-year long 'cycle of Meton'. After the end of this period, the Paschal full moon falls on the same day of a month. This Easter Cycle comprised ($28 \times 19 =$) 532 years. It was this one that was used by Dionysius Exiguus²² in the sixth century in order to determine not only the date of Easter, but also the dating currently used with respect to Jesus' birth. Victorius determined the year 559 as the first one of the new Great Period (or, *Anno Passionis* 532, since Jesus' passion was placed in AD 28), and year 1 the beginning of the immediately previous period. This Christian mode of chronology was employed far and wide not earlier than the eighth century. This means that all this was pretty much of an innovation during Cassian's own lifetime, whereas at the time when Victorius of Aquitaine launched his *Cursus Paschalis*, the presumed 'Latin author' called 'John Cassian' (whoever he may have been, if at all) was long deceased. The author of the *Chronicon Paschale* does not appear to be aware of Dionysius' setting of the beginning of Christian chronology. Which is why his statements appear to entertain the idea of the 532-year-long Easter Cycle, while considering what is now known as year 28AD the year 1 of the Christian era.²³ This author actually endeavours to practice the idea of Victorius' of Aquitaine²⁴ and, besides Cassian's present text, he appears to be the

²² Dionysius Exiguus (Dennis the Small, Dennis the Little, or Dennis the Short, meaning humble) (c. 470–c. 544) was a monk born in Scythia Minor, modern Dobruja shared by Romania and Bulgaria. He was a member of the Scythian monks community concentrated in Tomis, the major city of Scythia Minor. Dionysius is known as the inventor of the Anno Domini era, which is used to number the years of both the Gregorian calendar and the (Christianized) Julian calendar.

²³ Op. cit. p. 685: Τούτῳ τῷ ε' καὶ λ' ἔτει τῆς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλείας καὶ μετὰ ὑπατείας Βασιλείου τὸ κα' τῇ κ' τοῦ μαρτίου μηνός, ἰνδικτιῶνος ι', καὶ τρίτῳ ἔτει τλε' Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐπληρώθη τὰ φλβ' ἔτη τοῦ ἑορταστικοῦ κύκλου τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ ... καὶ ἄρχεται ἡ δευτέρα περίοδος τοῦ ἑορταστικοῦ κύκλου τῶν φλβ' ἑνιαυτῶν ἀπὸ εἰκοστής πρώτης καὶ αὐτῆς τοῦ μαρτίου μηνός τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἐπιεμήσεως, καθ' ἣν ἡ ἡμερία γνωρίζεται. p. 686: Λογιζέσθω ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως, ἧγουν περιόδου τῶν φλβ' ἑνιαυτῶν. p. 687: ἀπὸ δὲ θ' ἔτους Κωνσταντίνου καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστώσης ι' ἰνδικτιῶνος, ἔτους λε' τῆς βασιλείας Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἐν ὑπατεία Βασιλείου τὸ κα' μόνου, ἀθροίσει χρόνον ἐτῶν σμθ', ὡς ὁμοῦ εἶναι τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ σωτηρίου πάσχα μέχρι τοῦ ἐνεστώτος λε' ἔτους τῆς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλείας καὶ γ' ἔτους τλε' Ὀλυμπιάδος ἔτη φλβ'.

²⁴ *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 20: ὑπέδειξαν δὲ τὸν ἀληθὴ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι σύμφωνον κύκλον τὸν τῶν κη' μὲν ἑννεακαιδεκαετηρίδων, ιθ' δὲ ὀκτωκαιεικοσαετηρίδων, αἵπερ συνάγουσιν ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν φλβ'. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ κύκλος, λέγω δὴ ὁ τῶν φλβ' ἐτῶν, αἶε εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνακυκλούμενος. p. 20: κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔτος τῆς τετραετηρίδος τοῦ βισέξτου καὶ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔτος τῆς ἑννεακαιδεκαετηρίδος, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔτος τῆς ὀκτωκαιεικοσαετηρίδος. ἀπαρτίζεται γὰρ ὁ προειρημένος κύκλος τῶν φλβ' ἐτῶν καὶ παρὰ τὸν ιθ', καὶ παρὰ τὸν κη' καὶ παρὰ τὸν τέσσαρα καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἑπτὰ μεριζόμενος. p. 22: τοῖς οὖν ἀναγραφάμενοις τὸν οὕτω κατασκευασθέντα κύκλον τῶν φλβ' ἐτῶν κατακολουθοῦντές τινες. p. 23: Προτάξομεν δὲ τοῦ ἑορταστικοῦ κύκλου τῶν φλβ' ἐτῶν τὴν

sole one to do so. It was not until well into the eighth century that authors appear to understand all time as comprising 532-year periods, yet there are variations among them as to the actual beginning of Christian chronology.²⁵

2. The author of the *Chronicon Paschale* feels it necessary to declare that the Christians 'of the *Koile* Syria and all the others', who cherished the true apostolic and evangelical teaching, have devoutly observed the decree of Nicaea.²⁶ Why should the author of this section have made a special mention of the *Koile* Syria,²⁷ unless he was a native of the region, as indeed Cassian himself was?

3. There are points in *Chronicon Paschale*²⁸ where Cassian's distinctive style that makes a mark in all of his texts, including the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*,²⁹ calls for especial attention.

4. The author dissents from Chrysostom who had argued that Jesus had celebrated the Jewish Easter according to the Jewish tradition during all of his lifetime: his suggestion is (and he is at pains to prove it) that shortly before his passion Jesus celebrated the new Easter, which put an end (παύ-

κατὰ φύσιν ὀκτωκαιικοσασατηρίδα τοῦ ἡλίου, ἥτις συναρξαμένη τῇ γενέσει τῶν φωστήρων, εἰς ἑαυτὴν διὰ παντὸς ἀνακυκλουμένη δηλοῖ τὰς ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἔτει ἐπακτὰς τοῦ ἡλίου, ἀποκαταστατικὴ τυγχάνουσα ἡμέρας μηνὸς ἡλιακοῦ καὶ ἡμέρας ἐβδομάδος καὶ ἔτους τετραετηρίδος βισέξτου. p. 25: παραστήσομεν ἐν πόστῳ τε ἔτει τοῦ κόσμου ἐπληρώθη ὁ πρῶτος ἑορταστικός κύκλος τῶν φλβ' ἐτῶν τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ πάσχα καὶ πόθεν ἄρχεται ὁ δεύτερος κύκλος τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ πάσχα.

²⁵ Cf. George Syncellus (eighth–ninth cent.), *Ecloga Chronographica*, pp. 10; 17; 35; 36; 381; 382; 388; 395. Nicephorus I of Constantinople (eighth–ninth cent., the text is dubious), *Chronographia Brevis (recensiones duae)*, p. 98. Theophanes Confessor (eighth–ninth cent.), *Chronographia*, pp. 46; p. 218.

²⁶ *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 17: ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς κοίτης Συρίας καὶ πάντας ἀπλῶς τοὺς τὸν ἀποστολικὸν καὶ εὐαγγελικὸν τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως λόγον ὑγιῇ διασώζοντας.

²⁷ The author mentions the most important cities of the region in op. cit. p. 63: Συρία καὶ κοίτης Ἀντιόχεια, Ἀρκα, Ἱεράπολις, Σελεύκεια, Ἀπάμεια, Ἐμισα, Σαμόσατα, Πάλμυρα, Ἀραβες, Ἡλιούπολις, Δαμασκός, Ζεύγμα.

²⁸ *Chronicon Paschale* p. 19: ἦν γινώσκων τις ... καὶ τὸν ὅρον ἐπιστάμενος ... ῥαδίως γινώσκων δυνήσεται. p. 25: ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα γινώσκων τις εὐρήσει. p. 407: Τοῦτο τὸ τρίτον πάσχα σημαίνει ὁ θεὸς εὐαγγελιστὴς Ἰωάννης, μέλλων τὸ θαῦμα διηγείσθαι, ... λέγει. p. 409: τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα δηλὼν ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς Ἰωάννης ... εἶρκεν οὕτως.

²⁹ Cf. *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion IV: Τοῦτο ἐπιστάμενος ὁ θεολόγος Ἰωάννης ἐνταυθα φησιν. *OctoVit*, p. 49: Ταύτην τὴν νόσον βαρυτάτην οὖσαν ὁ θεὸς ἀπόστολος ἐπιστάμενος καὶ βουλόμενος αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν ὡς σοφὸς ἱατρὸς πρόρριζον ἀνασπάσαι, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας, ἀφ' ὧν μάλιστα τίκεται, δείκνυσιν. Op. cit. p. 56: Ταῦτα καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐπιστάμενοι, πάντες μιᾷ γνώμῃ παραδεδώκασι. Op. cit. p. 32: Ὁθεν ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος τοῦτο γινώσκων ... ἐκάλεσε. *ScetPatr*, p. 57: τοῦτο καὶ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐπιστάμενός φησιν. Op. cit. p. 58: ὅπερ καὶ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ἐπιστάμενος ἔλεγεν. *SerenPrim*, p. 92: Ταῦτα πάντα ἐπιστάμενος ὁ Δαβὶδ καὶ ἔχων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ ἔνδον ἀνθρώπου ὑγίει, καὶ γινώσκων ὅτι χαίρουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ πτώσει ἡμῶν, ἔλεγεν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. Op. cit. p. 93: Ταύτας τοῖνον τὰς πτώσεις τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὰς ἰδίας νίκας βλέπων εἰς ἕκαστος τῶν ἁγίων, μετὰ ἀγαλλιάσεως ἀναβοῶσιν.

σας) to 'the Easter of the Law'. This accords with the book that Photius had read, and it is actually he himself who points out this dissent from Chrysostom.³⁰ It should be recalled that we have come across Cassian dissenting from Chrysostom on a specific point,³¹ considering how 'accurate copies' of Scripture render Matt. 5:22, which takes us to the following point.

5. How many scholars have been able to asseverate an authoritative assertion in regard to ancient manuscripts of Scripture being either 'accurate', or not? I myself know of only Eusebius, Basil of Caesarea, Theodoret, Cassian, and a couple of excerptors: they all speak about 'the accurate copies' of manuscripts (τὰ ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἀντιγράφων) with confidence, which stems from their professed personal reading of manuscripts.³² Besides them, I know of only one author who expressed himself with such confidence about the correct rendering of Scripture (τὰ ἀκριβῆ βιβλία): this is the author of the *Chronicon Paschale*.³³ All of these authors made such statements sparingly. Nonetheless, to determine a resolution concerning the authority of this or that manuscript is a serious proposition, which attests to proficient scholars that had access to rare and enshrined documents. Whether this part of the *Chronicon Paschale* is the product of its final author, or part of a previous work of which he availed himself, is of course difficult to determine. At all events though we are upon one more common point between this author and Cassian the Sabaite. Given the unique parallels between the *Chronicon Paschale* and Cassian's text, it might well be surmised that the anonymous chronicler drew heavily on the scientific data expounded in works by Cassian: these are probably the works that Photius read and reviewed. The 'dear brother Theodore', to whom one of these works was addressed, might

³⁰ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 116, p. 91a.

³¹ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 44^v. See *supra*, p. 162, note 28. Also, *RCR*, p. 211.

³² Eusebius, *Quaestiones Evangelicae ad Marinum*, PG.22.937.22–23: τὰ γοῦν ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἀντιγράφων. *commPs*, PG.23.66.35: ὡς τὰ ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἀντιγράφων αὐτὸ τε τὸ Ἑβραϊκὸν περιέχει. Pseudo-Hippolytus, *Fragmenta in Psalmos*, Fr. 9: ὡς τὰ ἀκριβῆ ἔχει τῶν ἀντιγράφων. Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae in Hexaemeron*, Homily 4.5: Τὰ τοίνυν ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἀντιγράφων. Theodoret, *CommIs*, 11: Εἰδέναι μέντοι δεῖ ὡς τὰ ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὐ πάταρχον ἔχει ἀλλὰ πάτεχρον, τοὔτεστι τὸ εἰδῶλον. Catenae (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Marcum (recensio ii)*, p. 314: οὕτε Γαδαρηνῶν οὕτε Γερασηνῶν τὰ ἀκριβῆ ἔχει τῶν ἀντιγράφων, ἀλλὰ Γεργεσηνῶν. Catenae (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Joannem (catena integra)*, p. 191: Χρὴ δὲ γινώσκειν, ὅτι τὰ ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἐν Βηθαβαρὰ περιέχει. Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 44^v: Οὕτω γὰρ τὰ ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἀντιγράφων περιέχει.

³³ *Chronicon Paschale*, pp. 11; 36; Both references mention a manuscript of the Gospel of John, written by the Evangelist himself, which was preserved at the Church of Ephesus and was a pilgrim for the faithful. A third reference argues for an accurate rendering of the book of Genesis (p. 411).

have been Theodore Askidas advised by Cassian on how to calculate and determine Easter dates. Besides, the fact that the specific works which Photius read are anonymous would hardly come as a surprise, if indeed these works had been written by Cassian himself. Of the vast number of books that Photius reviewed in his *Bibliotheca*, only those by Cassian and Caesarius, plus a defence for Origen, are anonymous. During those times, the hands that had been anxious to obscure the name of Cassian, as indeed to obliterate his very spiritual existence, were still all too eager to carry out completely the job they had been engaged in.

6. It can be definitely shown that the author of the *Chronicon Paschale* was in fact a compiler of previous wisdom. A very extensive section of this work is nothing more than a verbatim copy from the text of Cosmas Indicopleustes (literally, 'the man who sailed to India'), the Greek merchant and later monk, probably of Nestorian tendencies. Cosmas wrote his *Topographia Christiana* by the middle of the sixth century, which means that he was a contemporary of Cassian.

The author of *Chronicon Paschale* copied extensively from Cosmas Indicopleustes' work.³⁴ There can be of course no doubt that the former is later to Indicopleustes' work. Not only on account of later historical information included therein, but also on philological evidence. For instance, when *Chronicon Paschale* copies Cosmas' account of how the Psalms came to be composed, he puts a header: τὸ πῶς συνέστη ὁ Ψαλτῆρ, and then Cosmas' text follows. The term Ψαλτῆρ (meaning the Book of Psalms)³⁵ was unknown to Cosmas, since it is a coinage of the seventh century and later: actually, beyond the *Chronicon Paschale*, it is not possible to come upon this before Photius used it just once.³⁶

Therefore, the author of the *Chronicon Paschale* drew not only on Cassian, but also on Cosmas. Given Indicopleustes' Nestorian sympathies,

³⁴ See the same parallel texts in the two works. *Chronicon Paschale* (CP) pp. 33–34 (On Adam), [*Topographia Christiana* (TC), 5.67–68]; CP, p. 34 (On Abel) [TC, 5.75]; CP, pp. 41–42 (On Noah) [TC, 5.86–88]; CP, pp. 35–36 (On Enoch) [TC, 5.82]; CP, p. 104 (On Isaac) [TC, 5.104]; CP, p. 108 (On Jacob) [TC, 5.107–108]; CP, pp. 142–143 (On Moses) [TC, 5.111–112]; CP, pp. 157–160 (How the Psalms came to be composed—the word ψαλτῆρ is unknown to Lampe's lexicon.) [TC, 5.116–119]; CP, pp. 443–450 [TC, 5.179–189].

³⁵ Hesychius of Alexandria made it a lemma, assuming that ψαλτῆρ means a male singer in church (feminine: ψάλτρια). But he was wrong. No author used the term in this sense. Hesychius was evidently misled by the non-sensical work ψαλτήρας in *Physiologus*, 21, which must have been an either scribal or editorial mistake.

³⁶ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 172–174, p. 119a. Authors loved the term only after the tenth century. This makes the spurious Pseudo-John Chrysostom work *In Psalmum 50* (PG.55.527.29: εἰς τὰ διάφορα ῥήματα τοῦ ψαλτῆρος) a work not earlier than the seventh century.

which Cassian no doubt shared to some extent,³⁷ it is highly likely that all his geographical knowledge had been stored at the monastery of the Akoimatoi and was available to Cassian, as much it was so to Caesarius (= Cassian). Which explains the impressive knowledge displayed in Caesarius' work, about both the geography of India and the customs of its people, along with similar knowledge concerning distant regions of the earth.³⁸ Furthermore, in both texts the designation 'Lord Christ' (δεσπότης Χριστός) abounds at dozens of instances, which attests to Antiochene sentiment. For all his Alexandrian extraction, Indicopleustes embraced the Antiochene spirit of the Akoimatoi.

In support of this, there is some further evidence. There is an extremely rare epithet accorded to Moses, which is κοσμογράφος. Since he was supposed to have written the book of Genesis, the term means 'cosmographer', in other words, exponent of cosmology. The term recurs in Indicopleustes,³⁹ and so it does in the *Chronicon Paschale* quoting⁴⁰ from Indicopleustes. It is then quite striking that the designation appears in Cassian's (Pseudo-Didymus) *De Trinitate*,⁴¹ whereas no other author entertained this ever. In other words, Cassian (both as 'Caesarius' and in *De Trinitate*) drew on the knowledge he found in Indicopleustes. Subsequently, the author of the *Chronicon Paschale* drew on both Cassian and Indicopleustes.

Conclusion

It appears then that Cassian must have been a kind of authority on calendar computations, on account of his knowledge of both astronomy and astrology. One of the issues on which he must have been serviceable to others was definitely the question of forming each year's calendar, by calculating and determining intercalary months and days, as well as serving to adjust this calendar during leap years. His succinct rules epitomize knowledge which was fairly new during his time and they serve as a *computus* not only for determining Easter, but also for forming each year's calendar. It was then natural for those who knew about him more than we do, to reserve such a

³⁷ See pp. 223 (n. 23); 298–299 (n. 17); 366–370 (n. 39); 391–394; 522; 599.

³⁸ Caesarius, op. cit. chapters 108; 109; 163.

³⁹ κοσμογράφος Μωϋσήϛ. Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographia Christiana*, 2.6; 3.56; 3.57; 5.111; 5.182; 5.227; 5.248.

⁴⁰ *Chronicon Paschale*, pp. 142; 445.

⁴¹ Pseudo-Didymus (= Cassian the Sabaite), *De Trinitate* (lib. 2.1–7), 7.3.3; op. cit. (lib. 2.8–27) PG.39.693.10.

special day as a feast-day in his honour, thus also paying tribute to his expertise and to the services he offered to his era.

Against what is commonly thought to be the case, Cassian has a feast-day for each and every year, which normally is 28th February.⁴² The Church paid respects to him by granting him, *and him alone*, the privilege of also occupying the intercalary day of all leap years.

⁴² *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopoleos*, *Synaxarium Mensis Februarii* (tenth cent.), Day 28, section 7: Καὶ τοῦ ὁσίου Κασσιανοῦ.

THE TEXT

CODEx METAMORPHOSIS 573, METEORA, FOLIA 209^r–209^v

209^r

ΠΕ<ΠΙ> ΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΝΑΙ ΠΟΣΑΙ
ΕΜΒΟΛΙΜΟΙ ΗΜΕ|ΡΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΥ|

Τοῖς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοῦ κόσμου κτίσεως ἔτεσιν | πρόσθετες τὸ αὐτῶν τέταρτον καὶ
μέρισον | παρ' αὐτῶν ἑπτὰ· καὶ τὰς λειπ(ο)|μένας λέγε ἐμβολίμους τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ
τοῦ παρόντος ἡμέρας.¹

5

ΠΕ<ΠΙ> ΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΝΑΙ Π<Ο>ΣΑΙ ΤΩ ΘΕΩ ΗΓΟΥΝ
ΕΜΒΟ|ΛΙΜΟΙ ΗΜΕΡΑΙ ΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΥ| ΕΚ ΤΗΣ
ΟΚΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΚΟΣΑΕΤΕΡΙΔΟΣ² ΚΑΤΑ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΥΣ

Τὸ ἐνιστάμενον τῆς ὀκτῶ καὶ εἰκοσαετερί|δος ἔτος λαβών, πρόσθετες αὐτοῖς τὸ
αὐ|τῶν τέταρτον· καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μέρισον, ὥς | εἴρηται, παρὰ τῶν ἑπτὰ· καὶ τὰς
λειπ(ο)|μένας ἔχε ἐμβολίμους ἐνιαυτοῦ.

10

ΠΕ<ΠΙ> ΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΝΑΙ ΠΟΣΑΙ <Ε>ΠΑΚΤΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΣΕΛΗΝΗΣ |
ΑΙ ΚΑΤ' ΕΠΙΝΟΙΑΝ ΕΥΡΕΘΕΙΣΑΙ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ

Λάβε τὰ ἔτη τῆς κατὰ Ρωμαίους ἐννεα|καιδεκαετερίδος τῆς σελήνης καὶ ταῦτα |
πολυπλασιάσας παρὰ τῶν ἑνδεκα ἄφε|λαι ὅσας δύν(η) τριακοντάδας καὶ τὰς
λει|πομένας ἔχε εἰς ἐπακτὰς τῆς σελήνης | κατὰ Ρωμαίους.

15

5 λειπ(ο)|μένας Cod. λειπωμένας 7 Π<Ο>ΣΑΙ Cod. ΠΩΣΑΙ 12 λειπ(ο)|μένας Cod.
λειπωμένας 13 <Ε>ΠΑΚΤΑΙ Cod. ΑΠΙΑΚΤΑΙ 15 κατὰ Ρωμαίους Cod. καταρωμαίους
16 δύν(η) Cod. δύνει

209^v

ΠΕ<PI> ΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΝΑΙ ΠΟΣΑΣ ΕΧΕΙ ΕΠΑΚΤΑΣ Η ΣΕΛΗΝΗ |
ΤΩ ΠΑΡΟΝΤΙ ΕΝΙΑΥΤΩ ΚΑΤ' ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΣ |

Ἐκ τῆς ἑννεακαιδεκαετερίδος εὐχερώς εὐ|ρήσ(ει)ς. Λάβε γάρ τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς
κτίσεως | κόσμου ἔτη καὶ ταῦτα μερίσας παρὰ τῶν | ιθ' τὰ καταλειπ(ό)μενα
γίνωσκε εἶναι | ἔτη τῆς ἑννεακαιδεκαετερίδος τῆς σε|λήνης. Ἐκ τούτων οὖν
ἄφ(ε)λε μίαν, καὶ τὰς | λοιπὰς πολυπλασίασον παρὰ τῶν ἔνδε|κα· καὶ τὰ
συναχθέντα μέρισον παρὰ | τῶν λ' καὶ τὰς λειπ(ο)μένας ἔχεις ἐπακτὰς | σελήνης
τοῦ παρόντος ἔτους.

5

ΠΕ<PI> ΤΟΥ ΠΩΣ ΔΕΙ Ψ<H>ΦΙΖΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΡΙΣΚΕΙΝ
ΤΗΝ ΕΠΑΥ|ΞΗΣΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΗΜΕΡΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΒΙΣΕΚΣΤΟΥ³
ΤΗΝ | ΔΙΑ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΩΝ ΕΤΩΝ ΕΜΠΙΠΤΟΥΣΑΝ

10

Λάβε τὰς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἡμερινὰς ὥρας, ΔΤΠ· | καὶ ταύτας διπλ(ώ)σας
ὑφ(ε)λε παρὰ τῶν ἑπτὰ. | Καὶ εὐρήσας ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ ἐνιαυτῷ περιττευού|σας
ὥρας γ, ὥστε διὰ τεσσάρων ἐνιαυτῶν | ἐπαύξειν τὴν τοῦ βισέκστου ἡμέραν
μίαν. |

15

ΠΕ<PI> ΤΗΣ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΣΤΗΣ ΗΜΕΡΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΦΕΓΓΟΥ(Σ),⁴
ΕΝ Ἡ ΟΥΚ ΕΣ | ΕΠΑΚΤΗΝ ΟΥΤΕ ΛΕΠΤΟΝ

Χρ(ῆ) γινώσκειν⁵ ὡς ἐκάστη ἑννεακαιδεκα ...

3 εὐ|ρήσ(ει)ς Cod. εὐρήσις 4 καταλειπ(ό)μενα Cod. καταλειπώμενα 6 ἄφ(ε)λε Cod. ἄφιλε
7 λειπ(ο)μένας Cod. λειπωμένας 9 Ψ<H>ΦΙΖΕΙΝ Cod. ΨΙΦΙΖΕΙΝ 12 διπλ(ώ)σας Cod.
διπλόσας 13 ὑφ(ε)λε Cod. ὑφιλε 16 ΦΕΓΓΟΥ(Σ) Cod. ΦΕΓΓΟΥ 18 Χρ(ῆ) Cod. Χρεῖ

NOTES TO THE TEXT

1. This rule is in fact a Christian adaptation (yet in the selfsame words) of a rule set forth by Paul of Alexandria (astrologer, fourth cent. AD), *Elementa Apotelesmatica*, pp. 39–40: Περὶ τοῦ γινῶναι, πόσαι τῶν θεῶν ἡμέραι. Τὸ τέταρτον τῶν ἀπὸ Διοκλητιανοῦ χρόνων, ᾧ ζητεῖς ἐνιαυτῷ, πρόσθε μετὰ καὶ δύο καθολικῶν, καὶ τὸν γινόμενον ἀριθμὸν μέρισον παρὰ τὸν ζ', καὶ τὰς καταλειπομένας ταύτας εἶναι τῶν θεῶν ἡμέρας λέγε. Heliodorus of Antioch (astrologer, fourth cent. AD) took up this text of Paul and commented on that: *Commentarium in Paulum Alexandrinum*, p. 35.

2. No text other than the present one and the *Chronicon Paschale* make use of the term ὀκτωκαιεικοσαετηρίς. I do not emend the terms of this manuscript εικοσαητηρίδος or ἐννεακαιδεκαετηρίδος, to εικοσαητηρίδος or ἐννεακαιδεκαητηρίδος, respectively, but leave them as they have been written (εικοσαετηρίδος and ἐννεακαιδεκαετηρίδος), which is a colloquialism transpiring in a few authors. Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones et Dubia*, 10: τὸ σάββατον τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν τὴν ἑπταετηρίδα, καὶ τὸ σάββατον τῆς ἑπταετηρίδος ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁ ἰωβηλαῖος. Scripta Anonyma Adversus Judaeos, *Dialogus Contra Judaeos*, 3.10: τὴν τε χιλιονταετηρίδα. Pseudo-Methodius, *Apocalypsis* (redactio 2), 1 (χιλιετηρίδος, χιλιετηρίδα); 3 (χιλιετηρίδι, χιλιετηρίδος); 11 (χιλιετηρίδι). Anastasius of Sinai, *Capita vi Adversus Monotheletas*, 7.3 (τριακονταετηρίδα, τριετηρίδα). Demetrius Chomatenus (Archbishop of Achriss, twelfth–thirteenth cent.), *Πονήματα Διάφορα*, Ponema 103, line 83 (τριακονταετηρίδι). These references may be of use for identification of spuria or dubia.

3. This is a sixth-century form of the adjective δίσεκτος ('leap year'). See *RCR*, pp. 202–203.

4. In this case, φέγγος means 'the light of the moon'. Cf. Hesychius of Alexandria (fifth–sixth cent. AD), *Lexicon* (II-Ω), Alphabetic letter phi, entry 265: φέγγος· φῶς ἡμέρας, φέγγος σελήνης. Likewise, Cf. the quotation of Isaiah 13:13 (where the 'light of the moon' is stated as φῶς), in Matt. 24:27, and Mark 13:24 (where the same word is rendered φέγγος). This is not at all to say that φέγγος cannot be used for daylight. It certainly can, and has indeed been entertained in this sense. Nevertheless, φέγγος has been associated with moon by many authors, which is why Greek language has employed the term φεγγάρι (from φέγγος) for 'moon' ever since the tenth century.

5. Χρὴ δὲ γινώσκειν ('one should know'). Though common it was in Greek literature, this didactic expression is almost absent from Christian writings during the first seven centuries, with a single exception. John of Damascus was obsessed with using this every now and then, which resulted in the expression being used at nearly eighty instances, with Gregory of Nyssa having applied this at a small handful of points only. The expression is used in the *Catena*. Besides, Simplicius and Asclepius of Tralleis made this structure part of their style. Special mention should be made of documents of astrology, since their style has influenced this part of Cassian's text. Cf. *SerenPrim*, p. 89: Τοῦτο δὲ γινώσκειν ὀφείλομεν.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. *Codices*

- Metamorphosis 573 (ninth cent. Meteora)
Metamorphosis 583 (eleventh cent. Meteora)
Metamorphosis 143 (fourteenth cent. Meteora)
Varlaam 22 (sixteenth cent. Meteora)
Varlaam 23 (sixteenth cent. Meteora)
Holy Trinity 14 (fourteenth cent. Meteora)
Holy Trinity 34 (eighteenth cent. Meteora)
Roussanos 3 (thirteenth century, Meteora)
Roussanos 12 (folia from fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Meteora)
Sabaiticus 8 (Greek-Orthodox Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem)
Sabaiticus 25, (Greek-Orthodox Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem)
Sabaiticus 76 (Greek-Orthodox Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem)
Vidobonensis graecus theologicus 121 (twelfth cent. National Library of Austria, Vienna)
Vidobonensis graecus theologicus 104 (fourteenth cent. National Library of Austria, Vienna)
Athens 334 (thirteenth cent.) (National Library of Greece, Athens)
Athens 423 (fourteenth cent.) (National Library of Greece, Athens)
Athens 510 (thirteenth cent.) (National Library of Greece, Athens)
Athens 525 (fourteenth cent.) (National Library of Greece, Athens)
Athens 549 (thirteenth cent.) (National Library of Greece, Athens)

II. *Primary Sources*

- Acacius of Caesarea, *Fragmenta in Epistulam ad Romanos*, ed. K. Staab, *Pauluskommentar aus der griechischen Kirche aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt*. Münster: Aschendorff, 1933, pp. 53–56.
Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum (ACO), *Concilium Universale Ephesenum Anno 431*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, vol. 1.5.1. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1924–1925 (repr. 1963).
———, *Concilium Universale Chalcedonense Anno 451*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, vol. 2.1.1–2.1.3. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2.1.1–2.1.2: 1933; 2.1.3: 1935 (repr. 2.1.1–2.1.2: 1962; 2.1.3: 1965).
———, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana Anno 536*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, vol. 3. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1940 (repr. 1965).
———, *Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum*, ed. R. Riedinger, *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum. Series secunda, volumen primum: Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1984: 2–28, 34–108, 114–174, 180–244, 250–402, 404–420.

- , *Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum Tertium* (680–681). Concilii Actiones I–XVIII, ed. R. Riedinger, *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, Series secunda, volumen secundum: Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium, Pars 1–2. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1990, 1992: Pars 1: pp. 2–12, 14–24, 26–168, 170–178, 180–188, 190–260, 262–276, 278–398, 400–512; Pars 2: pp. 514–704, 732–738, 752–830, 832–884, 888–908.
- Acta Joannis, *Acta Joannis*, ed. M. Bonnet, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. 2.1. Leipzig: Mendelssohn, 1898 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1972).
- Acta Monasterii Lavrae, *Excerptio Acti Leontis Logothetae Generalis*, eds. A. Guillou, P. Lemerle, D. Papachryssanthou, and N. Svoronos, *Actes de Lavra. Première partie. Des origines à 1204* [Archives de l'Athos V. Paris: P. Lethiellieux, 1970].
- Acta Thomae, ed. M. Bonnet, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. 2.2. Leipzig: Mendelssohn, 1903 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1972).
- Aelius Herodianus (grammarian and rhetor, Alexandria, Rome, second cent. AD) (or, Pseudo-Herodianus), *De Prosodia Catholica*, ed. A. Lentz, *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 3.1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1867 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965).
- Aeschines (rhetor, fifth-fourth cent. BC), *De Falsa Legatione*, d. V. Martin and G. de Budé, *Eschine. Discours*, vol. 1. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1927 (repr. 1962), pp. 110–169.
- , *In Ctesiphontem*, ed. V. Martin and G. de Budé, *Eschine. Discours*, vol. 2. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1928 (repr. 1962).
- Aeschylus, *Supplices*, ed. G. Murray, *Aeschyli tragoediae*, second edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955 (repr. 1960), pp. 3–48.
- Aetius (doxographer, first-second cent. AD), *De Placitis Reliquiae (Stobaei excerpta)*, ed. H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*. Berlin: Reimer, 1879 (repr. De Gruyter, 1965).
- Agathangelus (fifth century AD), *Historia Armeniae* (versio Graeca), G. Lafontaine, *La version grecque ancienne du livre Arménien d'Agathange* [Publications de l'institut orientaliste de Louvain 7. Louvain-la-Neuve, 1973], pp. 173–345.
- Agathias Scholasticus, *Historiae*, ed. R. Keydell, *Agathiae Myrinaei historiarum libri quinque* [Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae 2. Series Berolinensis. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1967].
- Albinus, *Epitome Doctrinae Platonicae* sive Διασκαλικός, ed. P. Louis, *Albinos. Épitomé*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1945.
- Alexander (Cyprian monk, probably sixth century, the author of *Inventio Crucis*), *Laudatio Barnabae Apostoli*, ed. P. van Deun, *Hagiographica Cypria. Sancti Barnabae laudatio auctore Alexandro monacho* [Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca 26. Turnhout: Brepols, 1993].
- Alexander of Aphrodisias (second-third cent.), *De Anima*, ed. I. Bruns, *Alexandri Aphrodisiensis praeter commentaria scripta minora* [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, suppl. 2.1. Berlin: Reimer, 1887], pp. 1–100.
- , *De Fato*, ed. I. Bruns, *Alexandri Aphrodisiensis praeter commentaria scripta minora* [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, suppl. 2.2. Berlin: Reimer, 1892], pp. 164–212.
- , *De Mixtione*, ed. I. Bruns, *Alexandri Aphrodisiensis praeter commentaria scripta minora* [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, suppl. 2.2. Berlin: Reimer, 1892], pp. 213–238.
- , *In Aristotelis Analyticorum Priorum Librum i Commentarium*, ed. M. Wallies,

- Alexandri in Aristotelis analyticorum priorum librum i commentarium* [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 2.1. Berlin: Reimer, 1883].
- , *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, ed. M. Hayduck, *Alexandri Aphrodisiensis in Aristotelis metaphysica commentaria* [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 1. Berlin: Reimer, 1891].
- , *In Aristotelis Meteorologicorum Libros Commentaria*, ed. M. Hayduck, *Alexandri Aphrodisiensis in Aristotelis meteorologicorum libros commentaria* [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 3.2. Berlin: Reimer, 1899].
- , *In Aristotelis Topicorum Libros Octo Commentaria*, ed. M. Wallies, *Alexandri Aphrodisiensis in Aristotelis topicorum libros octo commentaria* [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 2.2. Berlin: Reimer, 1891].
- Ammonius of Alexandria (the son of Hermias, fifth cent. AD), *In Porphyrii Isagogen sive Quinque Voces*, ed. A. Busse, *Ammonius in Porphyrii isagogen sive quinque voces* [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 4.3. Berlin: Reimer, 1891].
- , *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarius*, ed. A. Busse, *Ammonius in Aristotelis categorias commentarius* [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 4.4. Berlin: Reimer, 1895].
- Ammonius, presbyter of Alexandria (perhaps fifth-sixth cent.), *Fragmenta in Joannem* (in catenis), ed. J. Reuss, *Johannes-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche [Texte und Untersuchungen* 89. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1966], pp. 196–358.
- Amphilochius of Iconium (fourth cent AD), *In illud: Pater Si Possibile Est* (orat. 6), ed. C. Datema, *Amphilochii Iconiensis opera*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1978: 139–152.
- , *In Mulierem Peccatricem* (orat. 4), ed. C. Datema, *Amphilochii Iconiensis opera*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1978, pp. 107–126.
- Analecta Hymnica Graeca, eds. *Canones Septembris*, A. Debiassi Gonzato and G. Schiro, *Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, vol. 1. Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Università di Roma, 1966.
- Analecta Hymnica Graeca, eds. *Canones Octobris*, A. Debiassi Gonzato and G. Schiro, *Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, vol. 2. Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Università di Roma, 1979.
- Analecta Hymnica Graeca, eds. *Canones Novembris*, A. Kominis and G. Schiro, *Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, vol. 3. Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Università di Roma, 1972.
- Analecta Hymnica Graeca, *Canones Decembris*, ed. A. Kominis and G. Schiro, *Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, vol. 4. Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Università di Roma, 1976.
- Analecta Hymnica Graeca, eds. *Canones Januarii*, A. Proiou and G. Schiro, *Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, vol. 5. Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Università di Roma, 1971.
- Analecta Hymnica Graeca, eds. *Canones Februarii*, G. Schiro, and E. Tomadakis, *Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, vol. 6. Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Università di Roma, 1974.
- Analecta Hymnica Graeca, eds. *Canones Martii*, G. Schiro, and E. Tomadakis, *Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, vol. 7. Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Università di Roma, 1971.
- Analecta Hymnica Graeca, eds. *Canones Aprilis*, C. Nicas and G. Schiro, *Analecta*

- hymnica graeca*, vol. 8. Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Università di Roma, 1970.
- Analecta Hymnica Graeca, eds. *Canones Maii*, C. Nicas and G. Schiro, *Analecta hymnica graeca* e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris, vol. 9. Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Università di Roma, 1973.
- Analecta Hymnica Graeca, eds. *Canones Junii*, A. Acconcia Longo and G. Schiro, *Analecta hymnica graeca* e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris, vol. 10. Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Università di Roma, 1972.
- Analecta Hymnica Graeca, eds. *Canones Iulii*, A. Acconcia Longo and G. Schiro, *Analecta hymnica graeca* e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris, vol. 11. Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Università di Roma, 1978.
- Analecta Hymnica Graeca, eds. *Canones Augusti*, A. Proiou and G. Schiro, *Analecta hymnica graeca* e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris, vol. 12. Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Università di Roma, 1980.
- Anastasius of Sinai, *Anagogigiarum Contemplationum In Hexahemeron, Libri XII*, PG.89.851–1077. Also, J.D. Baggarly and C.A. Kuehn, *Anastasius of Sinai Hexaemeron* [*Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 278. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2007].
- , *Capita vi Adversus Monotheletas*, (e cod. Vat. gr. 1409), ed. K.-H. Uthemann, *Sermones duo in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem Dei necnon opuscula adversus Monotheletas* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 12. Turnhout: Brepols, 1985].
- , *Interrogationes et Responsiones*, PG.89.311–824.
- , *Sermo iii in Constitutionem Hominis Secundum Imaginem Dei* (adversus Monotheletas), ed. K.-H. Uthemann, *Sermones duo in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem Dei necnon opuscula adversus Monotheletas* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 12. Turnhout: Brepols, 1985], pp. 55–83.
- , *Viae Dux*, ed. K.-H. Uthemann, *Anastasius Sinaitae viae dux* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 8. Turnhout: Brepols, 1981].
- Anatolius of Laodicea (Alexandria, Caesarea, mathematician, Bishop of Laodicea, third cent. AD), *Περὶ Δεκάδος καὶ τῶν Ἑντὸς Αὐτῆς Ἀριθμῶν*, ed. J.L. Heiberg, *Anatolius. Sur les dix premiers nombres*. Macon: Protat, 1901, pp. 5–16.
- Anaximenes of Lampsacus (historian, rhetor, fourth cent. BC), *Ars Rhetorica vulgo Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, ed. M. Fuhrmann, *Anaximenis ars rhetorica*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1966, pp. 1–97.
- Andreas of Caesarea, *Commentarii in Apocalypsin*, J. Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes*, 1. Text [und] Einleitung [*Münchener theologische studien* 1. Munich: K. Zink, 1955].
- Anonymi in Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos, *In Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos Paraphrasis*, ed. M. Hayduck, *Anonymi in Aristotelis sophisticos elenchos paraphrasis* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 23.4. Berlin: Reimer, 1884].
- Anonymi in Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos, *Scholia in Sophisticos Elenchos* (= *commentarium* 2), 182b20–21, ed. S. Ebbesen, *Commentators and commentaries on Aristotle's sophistic elenchi. A study of post-Aristotelian ancient and medieval writings on fallacies*, vol. 2 [*Corpus Latinum commentariorum in Aristotelem Graecorum* 7. Leiden: Brill, 1981], pp. 27–152.
- Anonymi in Hermogenem, *Commentarium in Librum Περὶ Εὐρέσεως*, ed. C. Walz,

- Rhetores Graeci*, vol. 7.2. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1834 (repr. Osnabrück: Zeller, 1968), pp. 697–860.
- Anonymi in Hermogenem, *Commentarium in Librum Περὶ Στάσεων*, ed. C. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. 7.1. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1834 (repr. Osnabrück: Zeller, 1968), pp. 104–696.
- Anonymi, *In Aristotelis Artem Rhetoricam Commentarium*, H. Rabe, *Anonymi et Stephani in artem rhetoricam commentaria* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 21.2. Berlin: Reimer, 1896].
- Anonymi, *In Hermogenem, Commentarium in Librum ΠΕΡΙ ΙΔΕΩΝ*, ed. C. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. 7.2. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1834 (repr. 1968), pp. 861–1087.
- Anonymous commentary *In Ethica Nicomachea Paraphrasis*, ed. G. Heylbut, *Heliodori in ethica Nicomachea paraphrasis* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 19.2. Berlin: Reimer, 1889].
- Anonymous Dialogus Cum Iudaeis* (e cod. Vatoped. 236) (sixth cent.), ed. J.H. Declerck, *Anonymus dialogus cum Iudaeis saeculi ut videtur sexti* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 30. Turnhout: Brepols, 1994].
- Anonymous Dialogus Cum Iudaeis*, (e cod. Vatoped. 236) (olim sub auctore Joanne Damasceno), ed. J.H. Declerck, *Anonymus dialogus cum Iudaeis saeculi ut videtur sexti* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 30. Turnhout: Brepols, 1994].
- Antiochus of Palestine (or Antiochus of Ancyra, or Antiochus Strategius, seventh cent.), *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, PG.80: 1857–1866 & 1428–1849.
- , *Epistula Ad Eustathium*, PG.89.1421–1428.
- Apocalypsis Apocrypha Joannis* (versio tertia), ed. A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*, vol. 1. Moscow: Imperial University Press, 1893, pp. 317–322.
- Apocalypsis Apocrypha Joannis*, ed. C. Tischendorf, *Apocalypses apocryphae*. Leipzig: Mendelssohn, 1866; pp. 70–93.
- Apollonius Dyscolus, *De Constructione*, ed. G. Uhlig, *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 2.2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1910 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965).
- Apomasar (or, Albumasar, or, Albumasir, or, Abumasar [= Abu Ma'shar Ja'far, ibn Muhammad al Balkhi], Persian astrologer, eighth-ninth cent. AD), *De Mysteriis (excerpta e cod. Scorial. I Φ 5, fol. 222)*, ed. K.O. Zuretti, *Codices Hispanienses* [*Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* 11.1. Brussels: Lamertin, 1932], pp. 168–202, 266–269.
- , *De Mysteriis (lib. 2) (excerpta e cod. angel. 29, fol. 42^v)*, ed. F. Cumont and L. Parmentier, *Codices Romani*, [*Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* 5.1. Brussels: Lamertin, 1904], pp. 144–155.
- Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio anonyma) (e cod. Coislin. 126)*, ed. F. Nau, “Histoires des solitaires égyptiens,” *Révue de l'Orient Chrétien* 12–14, 17–18 (12: 1907; 13: 1908; 14: 1909; 17: 1912; 18: 1913), 12: 48–68, 171–181, 393–404; 13: 47–57, 266–283; 14: 357–379; 17: 204–211, 294–301; 18: 137–146.
- Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio alphabetica)*, PG.65.72–440.
- Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio systematica) (cap. 10–16)*, ed. J.-C. Guy, *Les apophthegmes des pères. Collection systématique, chapitres x–xvi* [*Sources chrétiennes* 474. Paris: Cerf, 2003], pp. 14–416.
- Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio systematica) (cap. 1–9)*, ed. J.-C. Guy, *Les apophthegmes des pères. Collection systématique, chapitres i–ix* [*Sources chrétiennes* 387. Paris: Cerf, 1993], pp. 92–448.

- Apophthegmata, *Quaestiones et Responsa Senum de Tentationibus*, ed. J.-C. Guy, "Un dialogue monastique inédit," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 33 (1957), pp. 177–182.
- Appianus, *Iberica*, ed. P. Viereck, A.G. Roos and E. Gabba, *Appiani historia Romana*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1939, repr. 1962 (first edn. corr.), pp. 62–140.
- Archimedes (geometrician, third cent. BC), *Fragmenta*, ed. J.L. Heiberg and E. Stamatidis, *Archimedis opera omnia cum commentariis Eutocii*, vol. 2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1913 (repr. Stuttgart: 1972), pp. 536–545, 547–554.
- Arethas of Caesarea, *Fragmenta in Epistulam ad Romanos (in catenis)*, ed. K. Staab, *Pauluskommentar aus der griechischen Kirche aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt*. Münster: Aschendorff, 1933, pp. 653–659.
- , *Scholia Arethae in Cyrilli Apologiam XII Anathematismorum Contra Theodoretum et in Theodoretum Impugnationem*, E. Schwartz, *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, vol. 1.1.6. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1928 (repr. 1960), pp. 112–120, 123–125, 127–128, 130–132, 135, 138–143.
- , *Scripta Minora*, ed. L.G. Westerink, *Arethae archiepiscopi Caesariensis scripta minora*, vol. 1–2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1968/1972.
- Aristonicus of Alexandria (grammarian, first cent. BC–first cent. AD), *De Signis Iliadis*, ed. L. Friedländer, *Aristonici περὶ σημείων Ἰλιάδος reliquiae emendatiores*. Göttingen: Dieterich, 1853 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1965).
- Aristotle *Historia Animalium*, ed. P. Louis, *Aristote. Histoire des animaux*, vols. 1–3. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1:1964; 2:1968; 3:1969.
- , *Analytica Priora et Posteriora*, ed. W.D. Ross, *Aristotelis analytica priora et posteriora*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964 (repr. 1968).
- , *De Anima*, ed. W.D. Ross, *Aristotle. De anima*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961 (repr. 1967).
- , *De Caelo*, ed. P. Moraux, *Aristote. Du ciel*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1965.
- , *De Generatione Animalium*, ed. H.J. Drossaart Lulofs, *Aristotelis de generatione animalium*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965 (repr. 1972).
- , *De Mundo*, ed. W.L. Lorimer, *Aristotelis qui fertur libellus de mundo*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1933: 47–103 (391a1–401b29).
- , *De Partibus Animalium*, ed. P. Louis, *Aristote. Les parties des animaux*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1956: 1–166 (639a1–697b30).
- , *Divisiones Aristoteleae*, ed. H. Mutschmann, *Divisiones quae vulgo dicuntur Aristoteleae*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1906, pp. 1–66.
- , *Ethica Eudemia*, ed. F. Susemihl, [*Aristotelis ethica Eudemia*]. Leipzig: Teubner, 1884 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1967).
- , *Ethica Nicomachea*, ed. I. Bywater, *Aristotelis ethica Nicomachea*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894 (repr. 1962).
- , *Fragmenta Varia*, ed. V. Rose, *Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmenta*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1886 (repr. Stuttgart: 1967).
- , *Historia Animalium*, ed. P. Louis, *Aristote. Histoire des animaux*, vols. 1–3. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1: 1964; 2: 1968; 3: 1969.
- , *Magna Moralia*, ed. F. Susemihl, *Aristotle*, vol. 18 (ed. G.C. Armstrong). Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935 (repr. 1969).
- , *Metaphysica*, ed. W.D. Ross, *Aristotle's metaphysics*, 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924 (repr. 1970 [of 1953 corr. edn.]).

- , *Mirabilium Auscultationes*, ed. I. Bekker, *Aristotelis opera*, vol. 2. Berlin: Reimer, 1831 (repr. De Gruyter, 1960).
- , *Oeconomica*, ed. B.A. van Groningen and A. Wartelle, *Aristote. Économique*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1968: 1–35 (1343a1–1353b27).
- , *Physica*, ed. W.D. Ross, *Aristotelis physica*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950 repr. 1966 (first edn. corr.).
- , *Politica*, ed. W.D. Ross, *Aristotelis politica*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957 (repr. 1964).
- , *Problemata*, ed. I. Bekker, *Aristotelis opera*, vol. 2. Berlin: Reimer, 1831 (repr. De Gruyter, 1960).
- , *Protrepticus*, ed. I. Düring, *Aristotle's protrepticus*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1961.
- , *Rhetorica*, ed. W.D. Ross, *Aristotelis ars rhetorica*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959 (repr. 1964).
- , *Topica*, ed. W.D. Ross, *Aristotelis topica et sophistici elenchi*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958 (repr. 1970).
- Arius Didymus, *Liber De Philosophorum Sectis* (epitome apud Stobaeum), ed. F.W.A. Mullach, *Fragmenta philosophorum Graecorum*, vol. 2. Paris: Didot, 1867 (repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1968), pp. 53–101.
- Arrianus, *Alexandri Anabasis*, ed. A.G. Roos and G. Wirth, *Flavii Arriani quae exstant omnia*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1967 (first ed. corr.)
- Asclepius of Tralleis (sixth cent. AD), *Commentaria in Nicomachi Geraseni Pythagorei Introductionem Arithmeticam*, ed. L. Taran, *Asclepius of Tralles. Commentary to Nicomachus' introduction to arithmetic* [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s. 59.4. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1969].
- , *In Aristotelis Metaphysicorum Libros A–Z Commentaria*, ed. M. Hayduck, *Asclepii in Aristotelis metaphysicorum libros A–Z commentaria* [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 6.2. Berlin: Reimer, 1888].
- Aspasius (second cent. AD), *In Ethica Nichomachea Commentaria*, ed. G. Heylbut, *Aspasii in ethica Nicomachea quae supersunt commentaria* [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 19.1. Berlin: Reimer, 1889].
- Asterius of Amasea (c. 350–c. 410), *Homiliae 1–14*, ed. C. Datema, *Asterius of Amasea. Homilies i–xiv*. Leiden: Brill, 1970.
- Asterius of Antioch (Arian sophist, fourth cent.), *Commentarii in Psalmos (homiliae 31)*, ed. M. Richard, *Asterii sophistae commentariorum in Psalmos quae supersunt* [Symbolae Osloenses, fasc. suppl. 16. Oslo: Brøgger, 1956].
- , *Fragmenta in Psalmos* (in catenis), ed. M. Richard, *Asterii sophistae commentariorum in Psalmos quae supersunt* [Symbolae Osloenses, fasc. suppl. 16. Oslo: Brøgger, 1956], pp. 249–273.
- Astrologica, *Paraphrasis Carminis de Terrae Motibus* (e cod. Vat. gr. 1753, fol. 18^v), ed. S. Weinstock, *Codices Romani* [Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum 5.4. Brussels: Lamertin, 1940], pp. 156–163.
- , *Περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑπτά Πλανητῶν Εὐρέσεως*, ed. A. Delatte, *Codices Athenienses* [Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum 10. Brussels: Lamertin, 1924], pp. 69–70.
- , *Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι πότε φανήσεται ὁ κομήτης* (e cod. Vat. gr. 1056, fol. 144), ed.

- J. Heeg, *Codices Romani* [*Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* 5.3. Brussels: Lamertin, 1910], p. 97.
- , *Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι τὸν νικῶντα ἐν μάχῃ*, ed. K.O. Zuretti, *Codices Hispanienses* [*Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* 11.2. Brussels: Lamertin, 1934], p. 148.
- , *Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι τοὺς ἀστέρας τοὺς ἀπλανεῖς ποῖοι ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰσι φθοροποιοὶ καὶ ποιοῦντες κλιμακτῆρας*, (*e cod. Vat. gr. 1056, fol. 210^v*), ed. J. Heeg, *Codices Romani* [*Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* 5.3. Brussels: Lamertin, 1910], pp. 129–130.
- , *Περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ζῶντων*, ed. R. Kunze, “Die anonyme Handschrift (Da 61) der Dresdner königlichen Bibliothek,” *Hermes* 4394 002 (1899), pp. 345–361.
- Athanasius, *Apologia ad Constantium Imperatorem*, ed. J.-M. Szymusiak, *Athanase d’Alexandrie. Apologie à l’empereur Constance. Apologie pour sa fuite* [*Sources chrétiennes* 56. Paris: Cerf, 1958].
- , *Contra Gentes*, ed. R.W. Thomson, *Athanasius. Contra gentes and de incarnatione*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
- , *De Decretis Nicaenae Synodi*, ed. H.G. Opitz, *Athanasius Werke*, vol. 2.1. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1940, pp. 1–45.
- , *De Synodis Arimini in Italia et Seleucia in Isauria*, ed. H.G. Opitz, *Athanasius Werke*, vol. 2.1. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1940, pp. 231–278.
- , *Epistula ad Epictetum*, ed. G. Ludwig, *Athanasii epistula ad Epictetum* [*Diss. Jena* (1911)], pp. 3–18.
- , *Epistula ad Episcopos Aegypti et Libyae*, PG.25.537–593.
- , *Epistula ad Marcellinum de Interpretatione Psalmorum*, PG.27.12–45.
- , *Epistulae Quattuor ad Serapionem*, PG.26.529–648.
- , *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG.27: 60–545, 548–589.
- , *Fragmenta Varia*, PG.26: 1224, 1233–1249, 1252–1260, 1293–1296. 1313; 1320–1325.
- , *Historia Arianorum*, ed. H.G. Opitz, *Athanasius Werke*, vol. 2.1. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1940, pp. 183–230.
- , *In Illud: Qui Dixerit Verbum in Filium*, PG.26.648–676.
- , *Orationes Tres Contra Arianos*, PG.26.12–468.
- , *Scholia in Job* [e cod. Vat. Pii II], ed. J.B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica spicilegio Solesmensi* 5. Paris: Roger & Chernowitz, 1888.
- , *Scholia in Job*, PG.27.1344–1348.
- , *Vita Antonii*, PG.26.835–976b.
- Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* (*epitome*), ed. S.P. Peppink, *Athenaei dipnosophistarum epitome*, vols. 2.1–2.2. Leiden: Brill, 2.1: 1937; 2.2: 1939.
- , *Deipnosophistae*, ed. G. Kaibel, *Athenaei Naucraticae deipnosophistarum libri xv*, 3 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1–2: 1887; 3: 1890 (repr. Stuttgart: 1–2: 1965; 3: 1966).
- Barsanuphius and John (sixth cent. AD), (sixth cent. AD), *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Coenobitas* (Epistulae 224–616), ed. F. Neyt and P. de Angelis-Noah, *Correspondance* (Volume II, Aux cénobites: Tome I, Lettres 224–398; Tome II, Lettres 399–616) [*Sources chrétiennes* 450/451. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2000].
- , *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Laicos et Episcopos* (Epistulae 617–848), ed. F. Neyt and P. de Angelis-Noah, *Correspondance* (Volume III, Aux laïcs et aux évêques, Lettres 617–848) [*Sources chrétiennes* 468. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2002].

- , *Quaestiones et Responsiones*, ed. F. Neyt and P. de Angelis-Noah, *Barsanuphe et Jean de Gaza, Correspondance, tome I–II* [Sources chrétiennes 426/427. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1997–1998].
- Basil of Caesarea, *Adversus Eunomium* (libri 5), PG.29: 497–669, 672–768.
- , *Asceticon Magnum sive Quaestiones* (regulae brevius tractatae), PG.31.1052–1305.
- , *Asceticon Magnum sive Quaestiones* (regulae fusius tractatae), PG.31.901–1052.
- , *Contra Sabellianos et Arium et Anomoeos*, PG.31.600–617.
- , *De Jejunio* (homilia 1), PG.31.164–184.
- , *De Spiritu Sancto*, ed. B. Pruche, *Basile de Césarée. Sur le Saint-Esprit*, second ed. [Sources chrétiennes 17 bis. Paris: Cerf, 1968], pp. 250–530.
- , *Epistulae Tres*, ed. S.Y. Rudberg, *Études sur la tradition manuscrite de saint Basile*. Lund: Hakan Ohlssons Boktryckeri, 1953.
- , *Epistulae*, ed. Y. Courtonne, *Saint Basile. Lettres*, 3 vols. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1: 1957; 2: 1961; 3: 1966.
- , *Homilia in Illud: Attende Tibi Ipsi*, ed. S.Y. Rudberg, *L'homélie de Basile de Césarée sur le mot 'observe-toi toi-même'*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1962, pp. 23–37.
- , *Homilia in Principium Proverbiorum*, PG.31.385–424.
- , *Homiliae in Hexaameron*, ed. S. Giet, *Basile de Césarée. Homélie sur l'hexaéméron*, second edn. [Sources chrétiennes 26 bis. Paris: Cerf, 1968], pp. 86–522.
- , *Homiliae Super Psalmos*, PG.29.209–494.
- , *In Gordium Martyrem*, PG.31.489–508.
- , *In Mamantem Martyrem*, PG.31.589–600.
- , *In Quadraginta Martyres Sebastenses*, PG.31.508–525.
- , *Quod Deus Non Est Auctor Malorum*, PG.31.329–353.
- , *Regulae Morales*, PG.31.692–869.
- , *Sermones de Moribus a Symeone Metaphrasta Collecti*, PG.32.1116–1381.
- Basil of Seleucia (fifth cent.), *Homilia in Pentecosten*, PG.52.809–812.
- , *Homilia in Feriam V et in Proditionem Judae*, PG.28.1048–1053.
- , *Homilia in Lazarum*, ed. M. Cunningham, "Basil of Seleucia's homily on Lazarus: a new edition (BHG 2225)", *Analecta Bollandiana* 104, Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1986, pp. 170–177.
- , *Sermones XLI*, PG.85.28–474.
- Basilica (ninth–thirteenth cent.), *Ecloga Basilicorum*, ed. L. Burgmann, *Ecloga Basilicorum* [Forschungen zur Byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte Band 15. Frankfurt am Main: Löwenklau Gesellschaft, 1988], pp.
- , *Basilica*, eds. H.J. Scheltema and N. van der Wal, *Basilicorum libri LX. Series A*, vols. 1–8 [Scripta Universitatis Groninganae. Groningen: Wolters, 1: 1955; 2: 1956; 3: 1960; 4: 1962; 5: 1967; 6: 1974; 7: 1974; 8: 1988].
- , *Scholia in Basilicorum Libros I–XI*, ed. D. Holwerda and H.J. Scheltema, *Basilicorum libri LX, Series B*, vols. 1–9 [Scripta Universitatis Groninganae. Groningen: Wolters, 1: 1953; 2: 1954; 3: 1957; 4: 1959; 5: 1961; 6: 1964; 7: 1965; 8: 1983; 9: 1985].
- Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typica and Testaments*, edited by John Thomas and Angela Constan-

- tinides Hero with the assistance of Giles Constable, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 21, 23 & 35, Washington D.C. 2000.
- Callinicus (fifth-cent. monk), *Vita Sancti Hypatii*, ed. G.J.M. Bartelink, *Callinicos. Vie d'Hypatios* [*Sources chrétiennes* 177. Paris: Cerf, 1971], pp. 62–298.
- Cassian the Sabaite, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*,
- Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, ed. U.P. Boisshevain, *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt*, 3 vols. Berlin: Weidmann, 1: 1895; 2: 1898; 3: 1901 (repr. 1955).
- Catenae [Novum Testamentum], *Catena in Acta (catena Andreae)* (*e cod. Oxon. coll. nov. 58*), ed. J.A. Cramer, *Catenae Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vol. 3. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1838 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967).
- , *Catena in Epistolam ad Hebraeos (catena Nicetae)* (*e cod. Paris. gr. 238*), ed. J.A. Cramer, *Catenae Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vol. 7. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1843 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), pp. 279–598.
- , *Catena in Epistolam ad Philippenses (typus Parisinus)* (*e cod. Coislin. 204*), ed. J.A. Cramer, *Catenae Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vol. 6. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1842 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), pp. 226–290.
- , *Catena in Epistolam ad Romanos (typus Monacensis)* (*e cod. Monac. gr. 412*), ed. J.A. Cramer, *Catenae Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vol. 4. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1844 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), pp. 163–529.
- , *Catena in Epistolam ad Romanos (typus Vaticanus)* (*e cod. Oxon. Bodl. Auct. E.2.20 [= Misc. 48]*), ed. J.A. Cramer, *Catenae Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vol. 4. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1844 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), pp. 1–162.
- , *Catena in Epistolam ii ad Thessalonicenses (typus Parisinus)*, (*e cod. Coislin. 204*), ed. J.A. Cramer, *Catenae Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vol. 6. Oxford:
- , *Catena in Epistolam Joannis i (catena Andreae)* (*e cod. Oxon. coll. nov. 58*), ed. J.A. Cramer, *Catenae Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vol. 8. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1840 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), pp. 105–145.
- , *Catena in Joannem (catena integra)* (*e codd. Paris. Coislin. 23 + Oxon. Bodl. Auct. Ti.4*), ed. J.A. Cramer, *Catenae Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vol. 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1841 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), pp. 177–413.
- , *Catena in Marcum (recensio ii)* (*e codd. Oxon. Bodl. Laud. 33 + Paris. Coislin. 23 + Paris. gr. 178*), ed. J.A. Cramer, *Catenae Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1840 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), pp. 261–447.
- Christophorus Mytinenaeus (eleventh cent.), *Calendaria Metrica* (stichera et canones), E. Follieri, *I calendari in metro innografico di Cristoforo Mitileneo*, vol. 1 [*Subsidia hagiographica* 63. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1980], pp. 327–481.
- Chronicon Paschale* (or, *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, or *Chronicon Constantinopolitanum*, vel *Fasti Siculi* seventh cent. AD), ed. L. Dindorf, *Chronicon paschale*, vol. 1 [*Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*. Bonn: Weber, 1832].
- Claudius Aelianus [sophist, second-third cent. AD], *De Natura Animalium*, ed. R.

- Hercher, *Claudii Aeliani de natura animalium libri xvii, varia historia, epistolae, fragmenta*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1864 (repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1971).
- , *Fragmenta*, ed. R. Hercher, *Claudii Aeliani de natura animalium libri xvii, varia historia, epistolae, fragmenta*, vol. 2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1866 (repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1971), pp. 189–283.
- , *Varia Historia*, ed. R. Hercher, *Claudii Aeliani de natura animalium libri xvii, varia historia, epistolae, fragmenta*, vol. 2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1866 (repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1971).
- Claudius Ptolemaeus (mathematician), *Geographia* (lib. 4–8), ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, *Claudii Ptolemaei geographia*, vols. 1–2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1843; 2:1845 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1966).
- Clement of Alexandria, *Fragmenta*, ed. O. Stählin, L. Früchtel and U. Treu, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, vol. 3, second edn. [GCS 17. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1970], pp. 195–202, 212, 216–230.
- , *Paedagogus*, ed. H.-I. Marrou, M. Harl, C. Mondésert and C. Matray, *Clément d'Alexandrie. Le pédagogue*, 3 vols. [*Sources chrétiennes* 70, 108, 158. Paris: Cerf, 1: 1960; 2: 1965; 3: 1970].
- , *Protrepticus*, ed. C. Mondésert, *Clément d'Alexandrie. Le protreptique*, second edn. [*Sources chrétiennes* 2. Paris: Cerf, 1949].
- , *Stromateis*, volumes 2, third edition and 3, second edition (title: *Stromata*) of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, edited by O. Stählin, L. Früchtel and U. Treu [GCS 52(15), 17. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2: 1960; 3: 1970].
- Clement of Rome, *Epistula i ad Corinthios*, ed. A. Jaubert, *Clément de Rome. Épître aux Corinthiens* [*Sources chrétiennes* 167. Paris: Cerf, 1971].
- Commentaria In Dionysii Thracis Artem Grammaticam*, Prolegomena Vossiana, ed. A. Hilgard, *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 1.3. Leipzig: Teubner, 1901 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965), pp. 1–10.
- Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus (Emperor, tenth cent.), *De Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae* (lib. 1.84–2.56), ed. J.J. Reiske, *Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris de cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae libri duo*, vol. 1 [*Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*. Bonn: Weber, 1829], pp. 386–807.
- Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus Imperator (tenth cent.), *De Virtutibus et Vitiis*, ed. T. Büttner-Wobst and A.G. Roos, *Excerpta historica iussu imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta*, vol. 2: *excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis*, pts. 1 & 2. Berlin: Weidmann, 2.1:1906; 2.2:1910.
- Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi τοῦ Φοβεροῦ*, A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petropolitanae*. St. Petersburg: Kirschbaum, 1913 (repr. Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der deutschen demokratischen Republik, 1976), pp. 1–87.
- Constitutiones Apostolorum* (possibly compiled by Julian the Arian), ed. M. Metzger, *Les constitutions apostoliques*, 3 vols. [*Sources chrétiennes* 320, 329, 336. Paris: Cerf, 1: 1985; 2: 1986; 3: 1987].
- Corpus Hermeticum, *Fragmenta*, ed. AD Nock and A.-J. Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, vols. 3 & 4. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1954 (repr. 1972).
- , *Πρὸς τὰς Ὑδὸν Ὅτι Ἀφανὴς Θεὸς Φανερώτατός Ἑστιν*, ed. AD Nock and A.-J. Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, vol. 1. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1946 (repr. 1972), pp. 60–65.

- Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographia Christiana*, ed. W. Wolska-Conus, *Cosmas Indicopleustès. Topographie chrétienne*, 3 vols. [*Sources chrétiennes* 141, 159, 197. Paris: Cerf, 1: 1968; 2: 1970; 3: 1973].
- Cyril of Alexandria, *Ad Carthaginiense Concilium* (epist. 85), ed. P.-P. Joannou, *Fonti. Fasciolo ix. Discipline générale antique (ii–ix s.). Les canon des synodes particuliers*, vol. I.2, Rome: Tipographia Italo-Orientale “S. Nilo”, 1962, pp. 422–424.
- , *Ad Optimum Episcopum*, PG.77.365–372.
- , *Commentarii in Joannem*, ed. P.E. Pusey, *Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in D. Joannis evangelium*, 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1872 (repr. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1965).
- , *Commentarii in Lucam* (homilia 3 et 4) (= *In Occursum Domini* [*Homilia Diversa* 12]), PG.77.1040–1049.
- , *Commentarii in Lucam* (in catenis), PG.72.476–949.
- , *Commentarius in Isaïam Prophetam*, PG.70.9–1449.
- , *Commentarius in XII Prophetas Minores*, ed. P.E. Pusey, *Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in xii prophetas*, 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1868 (repr. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1965).
- , *De Adoratione et Cultu in Spiritu et Veritate*, PG.68.132–1125.
- , *De Exitu Animi* (homilia diversa 14), PG.77.1072–108.
- , *De Incarnatione Unigeniti*, ed. G.M. de Durand, *Cyrille d’Alexandrie. Deux dialogues christologiques* [*Sources chrétiennes* 97. Paris: Cerf, 1964], pp. 188–300.
- , *De Sancta Trinitate Dialogi I–VII*, ed. G.M. de Durand, *Cyrille d’Alexandrie. Dialogues sur la Trinité*, 3 vols. [*Sources chrétiennes* 231, 237, 246. Paris: Cerf, 1: 1976; 2: 1977; 3: 1978].
- , *Epistulae Paschales sive Homiliae Paschales* (epist. 1–30), PG.77.401–981.
- , *Expositio in Psalmos*, PG.69.717–1273.
- , *Fragmenta in Sancti Pauli Epistulam ad Hebraeos*, ed. P.E. Pusey, *Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in D. Joannis evangelium*, vol. 3. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1872 (repr. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1965), pp. 362–423.
- , *Fragmenta in Sancti Pauli Epistulam ii ad Corinthios*. ed. P.E. Pusey, *Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in D. Joannis evangelium*, vol. 3. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1872 (repr. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1965), pp. 320–360.
- , *Glaphyra in Pentateuchum*, PG.69.9–677.
- , *In Joannem*, d. P.E. Pusey, *Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in D. Joannis evangelium*, 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1872 (repr. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1965):
- , *Quod Unus sit Christus*, ed. G.M. de Durand, *Cyrille d’Alexandrie. Deux dialogues christologiques* [*Sources chrétiennes* 97. Paris: Cerf, 1964], pp. 302–514.
- , *Solutiones* (e *Tractatu de Dogmatum Solutione*), ed. P.E. Pusey, *Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in D. Joannis evangelium*, vol. 3. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1872 (repr. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1965), pp. 549–566.
- , *Thesaurus de Sancta Consubstantiali Trinitate*, PG.75.9–656.
- Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses ad Illuminandos* 1–18, ed. W.C. Reischl and J. Rupp, *Cyrilli Hierosolymorum archiepiscopi opera quae supersunt omnia*, 2 vols. Munich: Lentner, 1: 1848; 2: 1860 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967).

- Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Cyriaci*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* [Texte und Untersuchungen 49.2. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1939], pp. 222–235.
- , *Vita Euthymii*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* [Texte und Untersuchungen 49.2. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1939], pp. 3–85.
- , *Vita Joannis Hesychastae*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* [Texte und Untersuchungen 49.2. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1939], pp. 201–222.
- , *Vita Sabae*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* [Texte und Untersuchungen 49.2. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1939], pp. 85–200.
- , *Vita Theodosii*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* [Texte und Untersuchungen 49.2. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1939], pp. 235–241.
- Damascius, *De Principiis*, ed. C.É. Ruelle, *Damascii successoris dubitationes et solutiones*, vols. 1 & 2. Paris: Klincksieck, 1: 1889; 2: 1899 (repr. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1964), v. 1: pp. 1–324; v. 2: pp. 1–4.
- Damascius, *In Parmenidem*, ed. C.É. Ruelle, *Damascii successoris dubitationes et solutiones*, vol. 2. Paris: Klincksieck, 1899 (repr. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1964), pp. 5–322.
- , *In Phaedonem* (versio 2), ed L.G. Westerink, *The Greek commentaries on Plato's Phaedo*, vol. 2. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1977, pp. 289–371.
- , *In Philebum*, ed. L.G. Westerink, *Damascius. Lectures on the Philebus wrongly attributed to Olympiodorus*. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1959 (repr. Hakkert, 1982), pp. 3–121.
- , *In Platonis Phaedonem* (versio 1), ed. L.G. Westerink, *The Greek commentaries on Plato's Phaedo*, vol. 2 [Damascius]. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1977.
- , *Vita Isidori* (ap. Sudam; Hesychium; Photium et e cod. Vat. 1950), ed. C. Zintzen, *Damascii vitae Isidori reliquiae*. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967.
- David of Alexandria (Neoplatonist, sixth cent. AD Thessaloniki, Alexandria), *In Porphyrii Isagogen Commentarium*, ed. A. Busse, *Davidis prolegomena et in Porphyrii isagogen commentarium* [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 18.2. Berlin: Reimer, 1904], pp. 80–219.
- , *Prolegomena Philosophiae*, ed. A. Busse, *Davidis prolegomena et in Porphyrii isagogen commentarium* [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 18.2. Berlin: Reimer, 1904], pp. 1–79.
- Demetrius Chomatenus (Archbishop of Achris, twelfth-thirteenth cent.), *Πονήματα Διάφορα*, ed. G. Prinzing, *Πονήματα Διάφορα* [Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Berolinensis 38. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2002].
- Democritus, *Fragmenta*, ed. H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, vol. 2, sixth edn. Berlin: Weidmann, 1952 (repr. Dublin/Zurich: 1966), pp. 130–224.
- Demosthenes, *De Corona*, ed. S.H. Butcher, *Demosthenis orationes*, vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903 (repr. 1966), pp. 225–332.
- , *De Falsa Legatione*, ed. S.H. Butcher, *Demosthenis orationes*, vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903 (repr. 1966), pp. 341–451.
- Diadochus of Photike (fifth cent. AD), *Capita Centum de Perfectione Spirituali*, ed. J. Rutherford, *One hundred practical texts of perception and spiritual discernment from Diadochos of Photike*, vol. 8 [Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations (2000)].

- , *Visio*, ed. É. des Places, *Diadoque de Photicé. Oeuvres spirituelles*, 3rd edn. [Sources chrétiennes 5 ter. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1966], pp. 169–179.
- Didymus, (partim in catenis), ed. U. Hagedorn, D. Hagedorn and L. Koenen, *Didymos der Blinde. Kommentar zu Hiob*, pt. 4.1 [Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 33.1. Bonn: Habelt, 1985], pp. 40–198.
- Didymus, *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten* (1.1–8), ed. G. Binde and L. Liesenborghs, *Didymos der Blinde. Kommentar zum Ecclesiastes*, pt. 1 [Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 25. Bonn: Habelt, 1979].
- , *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten* (11–12), ed. G. Binder and L. Liesenborghs, *Didymos der Blinde. Kommentar zum Ecclesiastes*, pt. 6 [Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 9. Bonn: Habelt, 1969].
- , *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten* (3–4.12), ed. M. Gronewald, *Didymos der Blinde. Kommentar zum Ecclesiastes*, pt. 2 [Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 22. Bonn: Habelt, 1977].
- , *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten* (5–6), ed. J. Kramer, *Didymos der Blinde. Kommentar zum Ecclesiastes*, pt. 3 [Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 13. Bonn: Habelt, 1970].
- , *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten* (7–8.8), ed. J. Kramer and B. Krebber, *Didymos der Blinde. Kommentar zum Ecclesiastes*, pt. 4 [Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 16. Bonn: Habelt, 1972].
- , *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten* (9.8–10.20), ed. M. Gronewald, *Didymos der Blinde. Kommentar zum Ecclesiastes*, pt. 5 [Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 24. Bonn: Habelt, 1979].
- , *Commentarii in Job* (1–4), ed. A. Henrichs, *Didymos der Blinde. Kommentar zu Hiob*, pt. 1 [Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 1. Bonn: Habelt, 1968].
- , *Commentarii in Job* (5.1–6.29), ed. A. Henrichs, *Didymos der Blinde. Kommentar zu Hiob*, pt. 2 [Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 2. Bonn: Habelt, 1968].
- , *Commentarii in Job* (7.20c–11), ed. U. Hagedorn, D. Hagedorn and L. Koenen, *Didymos der Blinde. Kommentar zu Hiob*, pt. 3 [Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 3. Bonn: Habelt, 1968].
- , *Commentarii in Job* (in catenis), PG.39.1120–1153.
- , *Commentarii in Psalmos* 20–21, ed. L. Doutreleau, A. Gesché and M. Gronewald, *Didymos der Blinde. Psalmenkommentar*, pt. 1 [Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 7. Bonn: Habelt, 1969].
- , *Commentarii in Psalmos* 22–26.10, ed. M. Gronewald, *Didymos der Blinde. Psalmenkommentar*, pt. 2 [Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 4. Bonn: Habelt, 1968].
- , *Commentarii in Psalmos* 29–34, ed. M. Gronewald, *Didymos der Blinde. Psalmenkommentar*, pt. 3 [Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 8. Bonn: Habelt, 1969].
- , *Commentarii in Psalmos* 35–39, ed. M. Gronewald, *Didymos der Blinde. Psalmenkommentar*, pt. 4 [Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 6. Bonn: Habelt, 1969].
- , *Commentarii in Psalmos* 40–44.4, ed. M. Gronewald, *Didymos der Blinde. Psalmenkommentar*, pt. 5 [Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 12. Bonn: Habelt, 1970].

- , *Commentarii in Zacchariam*, ed. L. Doutreleau, *Didyme l'Aveugle sur Zacharie*, 3 vols. [Sources chrétiennes 83, 84, 85. Paris: Cerf, 1962].
- , *Contra Manichaeos*, PG.39.1085–1109.
- , *Fragmenta in Epistulam ii ad Corinthios* (in catenis), ed. K. Staab, *Paulus-kommentar aus der griechischen Kirche aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt*. Münster: Aschendorff, 1933, pp. 14–44.
- , *Fragmenta in Joannem* (in catenis), ed. J. Reuss, *Johannes-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* [Texte und Untersuchungen 89. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1966], pp. 177–186.
- , *Fragmenta in Proverbia*, PG.39.1621–1645.
- , *Fragmenta in Psalmos* (e commentario altero), ed. E. Mühlenberg, *Psalmen-kommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung*, 2 vols. [Patristische Texte und Studien 15 & 16. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1: 1975; 2: 1977].
- , *In Epistulas Catholicas Brevis Enarratio*, ed. F. Zoepfl, *Didymi Alexandrini in epistulas canonicas brevis enarratio* [Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen 4.1. Münster: Aschendorff, 1914].
- , *In Genesim*, ed. P. Nautin and L. Doutreleau, *Didyme l'Aveugle. Sur la Genèse*, vols. 1–2 [Sources chrétiennes 233, 244. Paris: Cerf, 1: 1976; 2: 1978].
- Dio Chrysostom, *Orationes*, ed. J. von Arnim, *Dionis Prusaensis quem vocant Chrysostomum quae exstant omnia*, vols. 1–2, second edn. Berlin: Weidmann, 1: 1893; 2: 1896 (repr. 1962).
- Diodore of Sicily (historian, first cent. BC), *Bibliotheca Historica* (lib. 1–20), ed. F. Vogel and K.T. Fischer (post I. Bekker & L. Dindorf), *Diodori bibliotheca historica*, 5 vols, third edn. Leipzig: Teubner, 1: 1888; 2: 1890; 3: 1893; 4–5: 1906 (repr. Stuttgart: 1964).
- , *Bibliotheca Historica* (lib. 21–40), ed. F.R. Walton, *Diodorus of Sicily*, vols. 11–12. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 11: 1957; 12: 1967 (repr. 11: 1968).
- Diodore of Tarsus, *Commentarii in Psalmos I–L* (in catenis), ed. J.-M. Olivier, *Diodori Tarsensis commentarii in psalmos. I: Commentarii in psalmos I–L*, vol. 1 [Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca 6. Turnhout: Brepols, 1980].
- Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae Philosophorum*, ed. H.S. Long, *Diogenis Laertii vitae philosophorum*, 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964 (repr. 1966).
- Diogenes Oenoandensis, *Fragmenta*, ed. M.F. Smith, *Diogenes of Oenoanda: the Epicurean inscription*. Naples: Bibliopolis, 1993.
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus (first cent. AD), *Antiquitates Romanae*, ed. K. Jacoby, *Dionysii Halicarnasei antiquitatum Romanarum quae supersunt*, 4 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1: 1885; 2: 1888; 3: 1891; 4: 1905 (repr. Stuttgart: 1967).
- , *De Demosthenis Dictione*, ed. H. Usener and L. Radermacher, *Dionysii Halicarnasei quae exstant*, vol. 5. Leipzig: Teubner, 1899 (repr. Stuttgart: 1965), pp. 127–252.
- , *De Lysia*, ed. H. Usener and L. Radermacher, *Dionysii Halicarnasei quae exstant*, vol. 5. Leipzig: Teubner, 1899 (repr. Stuttgart: 1965), pp. 8–53.
- Doctrina Patrum, ed. F. Diekamp, *Doctrina patrum de incarnatione verbi*. Münster: Aschendorff, 1907.
- Ecloga, *Ecloga Privata Aucta*, P. Zepos (post CE Zacharic von Lingenthal), *Ecloga Privata Aucta* [Jus Graecoromanum 6. Athens: Fexis, 1931], pp. 12–47.
- Elias of Alexandria (sixth cent. AD), *In Porphyrii Isagogen*, ed. A. Busse, *Eliae in*

- Porphyrii isagogen et Aristotelis categorias commentaria* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 18.1. Berlin: Reimer, 1900].
- , *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, ed. A. Busse, *Eliae in Porphyrii isagogen et Aristotelis categorias commentaria* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 18.1. Berlin: Reimer, 1900], pp. 107–255. There is a tentative allowance for this work to have been written by David (sixth cent. Thessaloniki, Alexandria).
- Ephraem (or, Ephraemius) of Amida (sixth-century Patriarch of Antioch), *Capita XII*, ed. S. Helmer, *Der Neuchalkedonismus*. Geschichte, Berechtigung und Bedeutung eines dogmengeschichtlichen Begriffes. Bonn, 1962, pp. 262–265.
- Ephraem of Thrace (thirteenth-fourteenth cent.), *Historia Chronica*, ed. O. Lampsonides, *Ephraem Aenii Historia Chronica*. Athens: Academy of Athens, 1990.
- Ephraem Syrus, *Ad Imitationem Proverbiorum*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *Ὅσιου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα*, vol. 1. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1988 (repr. 1995), pp. 185–280.
- , *Beautitudines Aliae; Capita Viginti*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *Ὅσιου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα*, vol. 2. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1989, pp. 267–279.
- , *Capita Centum. Quomodo Quis Humilitatem Sibi Comparet*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *Ὅσιου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα*, vol. 2. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1989, pp. 280–362.
- , *Consilium de Vita Spirituali; ad Monachum Novitium (capita xcvi)*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *Ὅσιου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα*, vol. 2. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1989, pp. 209–251.
- , *De Abstinendo a Cupiditatibus Carnalibus, et De Certamine ac de Multa Securitatem, ad Fratrem qui Excidit*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *Ὅσιου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα*, vol. 5. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1989, pp. 224–230.
- , *De Monachis*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *Ὅσιου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα*, vol. 5. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1994, pp. 251–254.
- , *De Panoplia; ad Monachos*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *Ὅσιου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα*, vol. 6. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1995, pp. 9–41.
- , *De Perfectione Monachi*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *Ὅσιου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα*, vol. 3. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1990, pp. 375–403.
- , *De Uirtutibus et Passionibus*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *Ὅσιου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα*, vol. 5. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1994, pp. 392–410.
- , *De Vera Renuntiatione; et Quo Pacto Anima Deum Inveniat; Quam Ob Causam ad Nos Venit Dominus*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *Ὅσιου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα*, vol. 5. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1994, pp. 162–165.
- , *De Virtute; Ad Novitium Monachum (capita quattuor)*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *Ὅσιου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα*, vol. 2. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1989, pp. 77–110.
- , *Duo Erunt in Agro*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *Ὅσιου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα*, vol. 4. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1992, pp. 290–292.
- , *Encomium in Magnum Basilium*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *Ὅσιου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα*, vol. 7. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1998, pp. 338–355.

- , *Epistula ad Ioannem Monachum de Patientia et de Cavendo Nequis Decipiatur Cogitationibus Praetextu Iustificationum Neque Dicat: "Tamquam pastor incedo," et De Temperantia*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Οσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 2. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1989, pp. 403–415.
- , *Homilia in Meretricem*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Οσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 7. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1998, pp. 86–111.
- , *In Illud: Attende Tibi Ipsi (capita xii)*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Οσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 2. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1989, pp. 142–198.
- , *In Vitam Beati Abrahamii et Neptis Eius Mariae*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Οσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 7. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1998, pp. 356–394.
- , *Institutio ad Monachos*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Οσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 5. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1994, pp. 300–370.
- , *Paraenesis ad Ascetas (ordine alphabetico)*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Οσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 3. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1990, pp. 338–356.
- , *Precationes ad Dei Matrem*, ed. K.G. Phrantzoles, 'Οσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 6. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1995, pp. 354–413.
- , *Precationes e Sacris Scripturis Collectae; Quarum Pleraequae Sunt Sancti Ephraim, Pro Iis Qui Uolunt Suam Ipsorum Procliuem Ad Passiones Uoluptatesque Uoluntatem Cohibere*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Οσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 6. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1995, pp. 280–353.
- , *Reprehensio Sui Ipsius et Confessio*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Οσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 1. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1988 (repr. 1995), pp. 298–353.
- , *Sermo Asceticus*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Οσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 1. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1988 (repr. 1995), pp. 122–184.
- , *Sermo Compunctorius*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Οσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 1. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1988 (repr. 1995), pp. 96–121.
- , *Sermo de Communi Resurrectione, De Paenitentia et De Caritate, et In Secundum Adventum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Οσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 4. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1992, pp. 47–75.
- , *Sermo De Secundo Aduentu Et Iudicio*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Οσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 4. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1992, pp. 223–233.
- , *Sermo de Uirginitate*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Οσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 5. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1994, pp. 187–197.
- , *Sermo in Abraham et Isaac (ii)* (e cod. 163 MPT Athen. Nat. Bibl. fol. 8^v–17^v), ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Οσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 7. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1998, pp. 233–250.
- , *Sermo in Patres Defunctos*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Οσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 2. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1989, pp. 9–16.

- , *Sermo in Pretiosam et Vivificam Crucem; et In Secundum Adventum, et de Caritate et Eleemosyna*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Όσίου Έφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Έργα, vol. 4. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1992, pp. 129–154.
- , *Sermo in Secundum Adventum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Όσίου Έφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Έργα, vol. 4. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1992, pp. 9–46.
- , *Sermo Paraeneticus De Secundo Aduentu Domini, et De Paenitentia*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Όσίου Έφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Έργα, vol. 4. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1992, pp. 206–222.
- , *Sermones Paraeneticici ad Monachos Aegypti*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Όσίου Έφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Έργα, vol. 3. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1990, pp. 36–294.
- Epiphanius of Salamis, *Ancoratus*, ed. K. Holl, *Epiphanius, Band 1: Ancoratus und Panarion* [GCS 25. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915].
- , *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, ed. E. Moutsoulas, Τὸ Περὶ Μέτρων καὶ Σταθμῶν ἔργον τοῦ Ἐπιφανίου τοῦ Σαλαμίνος, *Θεολογία*, 44 (1973), pp. 157–198.
- , *Panarion (Adversus Haereses)*, ed. K. Holl, *Epiphanius, Bände 1–3: Ancoratus und Panarion* [GCS 25, 31, 37. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1: 1915; 2: 1922; 3: 1933].
- Epitome Artis Rhetoricae*, ed. C. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. 3. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1834 (repr. Osnabrück: Zeller, 1968), pp. 617–669.
- Euclides (geometrician, third cent. BC Alexandria), *Elementa*, ed. E.S. Stamatis (post J.L. Heiberg), *Euclidis elementa*, vols. 1–4, second edn. Leipzig: Teubner, 1: 1969; 2: 1970; 3: 1972; 4: 1973.
- Euripides, *Bacchae*, ed. J. Diggle, *Euripidis fabulae*, vol. 3. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994, pp. 291–351.
- , *Heraclidae*, ed. J. Diggle, *Euripidis fabulae*, vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984, pp. 159–197.
- , *Hippolytus*, Hippolytus, ed. J. Diggle, *Euripidis fabulae*, vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984, pp. 207–271.
- , *Orestes*, d. J. Diggle, *Euripidis fabulae*, vol. 3. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994, pp. 191–286.
- Eusebius, *Antiquorum Martyriorum Collectio (fragmenta)*, PG.20.1520–1533.
- , *Commentaria in Psalmos*, PG.23.66–1396. PG.24.9–76.
- , *Commentarius in Isaiam*, ed. J. Ziegler, *Eusebius Werke, Band 9: Der Jesajakommentar* [GCS. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1975].
- , *Contra Hieroclem*, ed. C.L. Kayser, *Flavii Philostrati opera*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1870 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964), pp. 369–413.
- , *De Ecclesiastica Theologia*, ed. E. Klostermann and G.C. Hansen, *Eusebius Werke, Band 4: Gegen Marcell. Über die kirchliche Theologie. Die Fragmente Marcells* [GCS 14, second edn. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1972], pp. 61–182.
- , *De Laudibus Constantini*, ed. I.A. Heikel, *Eusebius Werke*, vol. 1 [GCS 7. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902], pp. 195–259.
- , *De Martyribus Palaestinae (recensio brevior)*, ed. G. Bardy, *Eusèbe de Césarée. Histoire ecclésiastique*, vol. 3 [Sources chrétiennes 55. Paris: Cerf, 1958 (repr. 1967)], pp. 121–174.
- , *De Theophania (fragmenta)*, ed. H. Gressmann, *Eusebius Werke, Band 3.2: Die Theophanie* [GCS 11.2. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904].

- , *Demonstratio Evangelica*, ed. I.A. Heikel, *Eusebius Werke, Band 6: Die Demonstratio evangelica* [GCS 23. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913].
- , *Epistula ad Constantiam Augustam*, PG.20.1545–1549.
- , *Generalis Elementaria Introductio (Eclogae Propheticae)*, ed. T. Gaisford, *Eusebii Pamphili episcopi Caesariensis eclogae propheticae*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1842, pp. 1–236.
- , *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. G. Bardy, *Eusèbe de Césarée. Histoire ecclésiastique*, 3 vols. [*Sources chrétiennes* 31, 41, 55. Paris: Cerf, 1: 1952; 2: 1955; 3: 1958 (repr. 3: 1967)].
- , *Praeparatio Evangelica*, ed. K. Mras, *Eusebius Werke, Band 8: Die Praeparatio evangelica* [GCS 43.1 & 43.2. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 43.1: 1954; 43.2: 1956].
- , *Vita Constantini*, ed. F. Winkelmann, *Eusebius Werke, Band 1.1: Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin* [GCS. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1975].
- Eustathius of Antioch, *De Engastrimytho Contra Origenem*, d. M. Simonetti, *Origene, Eustazio, Gregorio di Nissa: La maga di Endor*. Florence: Nardini, Centro Internazionale del Libro, 1989, pp. 94–206.
- Eustathius of Constantinople (sixth-century monk), *Ad Timotheum Scholasticum de Duabus Naturis Adversus Severum* (e cod. Vat. gr. 2195, pp. 185–208), ed. P. Allen, *Diversorum postchalconensium auctorum collectanea I: [Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca 19. Turnhout: Brepols, 1989]*, pp. 413–447.
- Eustathius of Thessaloniki, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, ed. M. van der Valk, *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, vols. 1–4. Leiden: Brill, 1: 1971; 2: 1976; 3: 1979; 4: 1987.
- , *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*, ed. G. Stallbaum, *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*, 2 vols. in 1. Leipzig: Weigel, 1:1825; 2:1826 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1970).
- Eustratius of Nicaea (eleventh-twelfth cent. AD a disciple of John Italus), *In Aristotelis Analyticorum Posteriorum Librum Secundum Commentarium*, ed. M. Hayduck, *Eustratii in analyticorum posteriorum librum secundum commentarium*, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 21.1. Berlin: Reimer, 1907.
- Eutheries of Tyana (fifth cent.), *Confutationes Quarundam Propositionum*, ed. M. Tetz, *Eine Antilogie des Euthérios von Tyana* [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 1. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1964].
- Evagrius of Pontus, *Capitula XXXIII (definitiones passionum animae rationalis)*, PG.40.1264–1268.
- , *De Magistris et Discipulis (sub nomine Nili Ancyran)* (*fragmenta e codd. Paris. gr. 1188 + 1066*), ed. P. van den Ven, “Un opusculé inédit attribué à S. Nil,” *Mélanges Godefroid Kurth*, vol. 2 [*Mémoires littéraires, philologiques et archéologiques*]. Liège: Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l’Université de Liège, 1908, pp. 76, 78, 80.
- , *De Malignis Cogitationibus (sub nomine Nili Ancyran)*, PG.79.1200–1233; PG.40.1240–1244.
- , *De Octo Spiritibus Malitiae (sub nomine Nili Ancyran)*, PG.79.1145–1164.
- , *Expositio in Proverbia Salomonis*, ed. C. Tischendorf, *Notitia editionis codicis biblicorum Sinaitici*. Leipzig, 1860, pp. 76–122.
- , *Gnosticus (fragmenta Graeca)*, ed. A. Guillaumont and C. Guillaumont, *Évangile le Pontique. Le gnostique ou à celui qui est devenu digne de la science* [*Sources chrétiennes* 356. Paris: Cerf, 5, 1989].

- , *Practicus (capita centum)*, ed. A. Guillaumont and C. Guillaumont, *Évagre le Pontique. Traité pratique ou le moine*, vol. 2 [Sources chrétiennes 171. Paris: Cerf, 1971].
- , *Scholia in Proverbia (fragmenta e catenis)*, ed. P. Géhin, *Évagre le Pontique. Scholies aux Proverbes* [Sources chrétiennes 340. Paris: Cerf, 1987].
- , *Sententiae ad Monachos*, ed. H. Gressmann, *Nonnenspiegel und Mönchsspiegel des Evagrius Pontikos* [Texte und Untersuchungen 39.4. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913], pp. 153–165.
- , *Sententiae ad Virginem*, ed. H. Gressmann, *Nonnenspiegel und Mönchsspiegel des Evagrius Pontikos* [Texte und Untersuchungen 39.4. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913], pp. 146–151.
- , *Tractatus ad Eulogium* (sub nomine Nili Ancyрани), PG.79.1093–1140.
- Evagrius Scholasticus (sixth cent.), *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, *The ecclesiastical history of Evagrius with the scholia*. London: Methuen, 1898 (repr. New York: AMS Press, 1979).
- Florilegium Cyrillianum* (sixth cent. or later), ed. R. Hespel, *Le florilège cyrillien réfuté par Sévère d'Antioche* [Bibliothèque du Muséon 37. Louvain: Université de Louvain, 1955], pp. 103–208.
- Galen of Pergamon (second cent. AD), *Adversus Lycum Libellus*, ed. E. Wenkebach, *Galenus adversus Lycum et adversus Iulianum libelli* [Corpus medicorum Graecorum, vol. 5.10.3. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1951].
- , *De Alimentorum Facultatibus Libri iii*, ed. G. Helmreich, *Galenus de alimentorum facultatibus libri iii* [Corpus medicorum Graecorum, vol. 5.4.2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1923], pp. 201–386.
- , *De Anatomicis Administrationibus Libri ix*, ed. C.G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. 2. Leipzig: Knobloch, 1821 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964), pp. 215–731.
- , *De Compositione Medicamentorum Per Genera Libri vii*, ed. C.G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. 13. Leipzig: Knobloch, 1827 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965), pp. 362–1058.
- , *De Compositione Medicamentorum Secundum Locos Libri x*, ed. C.G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vols. 12–13. Leipzig: Knobloch, 12: 1826; 13: 1827 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965).
- , *De Experientia Medica*, ed. R. Walzer, *Galen on medical experience*. London: Oxford University Press, 1944.
- , *De Locis Affectis Libri vi*, ed. C.G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. 8. Leipzig: Knobloch, 1824 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965).
- , *De Methodo Medendi Libri xiv*, ed. C.G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. 10. Leipzig: Knobloch, 1825 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965).
- , *De Morborum Differentiis*, ed. C.G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. 6. Leipzig: Knobloch, 1823 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965), pp. 836–880.
- , *De Optima Doctrina*, ed. J. Marquardt, *Claudii Galeni Pergameni scripta minora*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1884 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1967), pp. 82–92.
- , *De Placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*, ed. P.H. de Lacy, *Galen. On the doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato* [Corpus medicorum Graecorum vol. 5.4.1.2, parts. 1–2. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1978], 1: pp. 65–358; 2: pp. 360–608.

- , *De Praesagitione Ex Pulsibus Libri iv*, ed. C.G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. 9. Leipzig: Knobloch, 1825 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965), pp. 205–430.
- , *De Sanitate Tuenda Libri vi*, ed. K. Koch, *Galenī de sanitate tuenda libri vi* [*Corpus medicorum Graecorum*, vol. 5.4.2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1923].
- , *De Sectis ad Eos Qui Introducuntur*, ed. J. Marquardt, I. Müller and G. Helmreich, *Claudii Galeni Pergameni scripta minora*, vol. 3. Leipzig: Teubner, 1893 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1967), pp. 1–32.
- , *De Simplicium Medicamentorum Temperamentis ac Facultatibus Libri xi*, ed. C.G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vols. 11–12. Leipzig: Knobloch, 1826 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965), vol. 11: pp. 379–892; vol. 12, pp. 1–377.
- , *De Symptomatum Causis Libri iii*, ed. C.G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. 7. Leipzig: Knobloch, 1824 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965), pp. 85–272.
- , *De Usu Partium*, ed. G. Helmreich, *Galenī de usu partium libri xvii*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1: 1907; 2: 1909 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1968).
- , *De Venae Sectione Adversus Erasistratum*, ed. C.G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. 11. Leipzig: Knobloch, 1826 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965), pp. 147–186.
- , *In Hippocratis Aphorismos Commentarii vii*, ed. C.G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vols. 17.2 and 18.1. Leipzig: Knobloch, 1829 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965); vol. 17.2: pp. 345–887; vol. 18.1: pp. 1–195.
- , *In Hippocratis de Victu Acutorum Commentaria iv*, ed. G. Helmreich, *Galenī in Hippocratis de victu acutorum commentaria iv* [*Corpus medicorum Graecorum*, vol. 5.9.1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1914].
- , *In Hippocratis Librum de Fracturis Commentarii iii*, ed. C.G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. 18.2. Leipzig: Knobloch, 1830 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965), pp. 318–628.
- , *In Hippocratis Librum de Officina Medici Commentarii iii*, ed. C.G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. 18.2. Leipzig: Knobloch, 1830 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965), pp. 629–925.
- , *In Hippocratis Librum VI Epidemiarum Commentarii VI*, ed. E. Wenkebach, *Galenī in Hippocratis sextum librum epidemiarum commentaria i–vi* [*Corpus medicorum Graecorum*, vol. 5.10.2.2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1940].
- , *In Hippocratis Prognosticum Commentaria iii*, ed. J. Heeg, *Galenī in Hippocratis prognosticum commentaria iii* [*Corpus medicorum Graecorum*, vol. 5.9.2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1915], pp. 197–378.
- , *In Hippocratis vel Polybi Opus de Salubri Victus Ratione Privatorum Commentarius (= Galenī in Hippocratis de Natura Hominis Commentarius Tertius)*, ed. J. Mewaldt, *Galenī in Hippocratis de natura hominis commentaria tria* [*Corpus medicorum Graecorum*, vol. 5.9.1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1914].
- , *Institutio Logica*, ed. K. Kalbfleisch, *Galenī institutio logica*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1896.
- , *Thrasybulus sive Utrum Medicinae Sit An Gymnasticae Hygieine*, ed. J. Marquardt, I. Müller and G. Helmreich, *Claudii Galeni Pergameni scripta minora*, vol. 3. Leipzig: Teubner, 1893 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1967), pp. 33–100.
- Gelasius of Cyzicus (fifth-century historian, fl. c. 475), *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. M. Heinemann and G. Loeschke, *Kirchengeschichte* [GCS der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 28. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1918].

- Geminus of Rhodes (first cent. BC), *Elementa Astronomiae*, ed. G. Aujac, *Géminos. Introduction aux phénomènes*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1975.
- Gennadius I, Patriarch of Constantinople (fifth cent.), *Fragmenta in Epistulam ad Romanos* (in catenis), ed. K. Staab, *Pauluskommentar aus der griechischen Kirche aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt*. Münster: Aschendorff, 1933, pp. 352–418.
- Gennadius Scholarius (Patriarch of Constantinople, fifteenth cent.), *Divisio Summaria Quinque Primorum Librorum Aristotelis Physicae*, eds. M. Jugie, L. Petit, and X.A. Siderides, *Oeuvres complètes de Georges (Gennadios) Scholarios*, vol. 8. Paris: Maison de la bonne presse, 1936.
- , *Divisio Summaria Quinque Primorum Librorum Aristotelis Physicae*, ed. M. Jugie, L. Petit, and X.A. Siderides, *Oeuvres complètes de Georges (Gennadios) Scholarios*, vol. 8. Paris: Maison de la bonne presse, 1936.
- George Cedrenus (eleventh-twelfth cent. AD), *Compendium Historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker, *Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae ope*, 2 vols. [*Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*. Bonn: Weber, 1: 1838; 2: 1839].
- George Choeroboscus (deacon, grammarian, Constantinople, ninth cent. AD), *Prolegomena et Scholia in Theodosii Alexandrini Canones Isagigicos de Flexione Verborum*, ed. A. Hilgard, *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 4.1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1894 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965).
- , *Epimerismi in Psalmos*, ed. T. Gaisford, *Georgii Choerobosci epimerismi in Psalmos*, vol. 3. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1842.
- George Monachus (ninth cent. AD), *Chronicon* (lib. 1–4), ed. C. de Boor, *Georgii monachi chronicon*, 2 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1904 repr. Stuttgart: 1978 (first edn. corr. P. Wirth).
- , *Chronicon Breve* (lib. 1–6) (*redactio recentior*), PG.110.41–1260.
- George Monachus Continuatus, *Chronicon* (*continuatio*) (*redactio A*), ed. I. Bekker, *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus* [*Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*. Bonn: Weber, 1838], pp. 763–924.
- George Pisides (deacon, poet, Constantinople and Antioch of Pisidia, seventh cent. AD), *Laudatio Sancti Anastasii Persae*, ed. B. Flusin, *Saint Anastase le Perse et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du viie siècle*, vol. 1. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1992: 203–259.
- George Syncellus (eighth-ninth cent. AD), *Ecloga Chronographica*, ed. A.A. Mosshammer, *Georgius Syncellus. Ecloga chronographica*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1984.
- Germanus I of Constantinople (Patriarch, seventh-eighth cent.), *Epistulae Dogmaticae*, PG.98.147–221.
- , *Orationes*, PG.98.221–381.
- , *Περὶ Ὁρῶν Ζωῆς*, ed. C. Garton and L.G. Westerink, *On Predestined Terms of Life* [*Arethusa Monographs* 7. Buffalo: Department of Classics, State University of New York, 1979].
- Gregory of Nazianzus, *Ad Gregorium Nyssenum* (orat. 11), PG.35.832–841.
- , *Apologetica* (orat. 2), PG.35.408–513.
- , *Ad Julianum Tributorum Exaequatore* (orat. 19), PG.35.1044–1064.
- , *Carmina Dogmatica*, PG.37.397–522.
- , *Carmina Moralia*, PG.37.521–968.

- , *Carmina Quae Spectant ad Alios*, PG.37.1451–1577.
- , *De Filio* (orat. 29), ed. J. Barbel, *Gregor von Nazianz. Die fünf theologischen Reden*. Düsseldorf: Patmos-Verlag, 1963, pp. 128–168.
- , *De Filio* (orat. 30), ed. J. Barbel, *Gregor von Nazianz. Die fünf theologischen Reden*. Düsseldorf: Patmos-Verlag, 1963, pp. 170–216.
- , *De Moderatione in Disputando* (orat. 32), PG.36.173–212.
- , *De Pace* 1 (orat. 6), PG.35.721–752.
- , *De Pauperum Amore* (orat. 14), PG.35.857–909.
- , *De Spiritu Sancto* (orat. 31), ed. J. Barbel, *Gregor von Nazianz. Die fünf theologischen Reden*. Düsseldorf: Patmos-Verlag, 1963, pp. 218–276.
- , *Epistulae Theologicae*, ed. P. Gallay, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Lettres théologiques* [Sources chrétiennes 208. Paris: Cerf, 1974], pp. 36–94.
- , *Epistulae*, ed. P. Gallay, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze. Lettres*, 2 vols. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1: 1964; 2: 1967.
- , *Funebris in Laudem Caesarii Fratrís Oratio* (orat. 7), ed. F. Boulenger, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours funèbres en l'honneur de son frère Césaire et de Basile de Césarée*. Paris: Picard, 1908, pp. 2–56.
- , *In Aegyptiorum Adventum* (orat. 34), PG.36.241–256.
- , *In Dictum Evangelii: Cum Consummasset Jesus hos Sermones* (orat. 37), PG.36.281–308.
- , *In Laudem Sororis Gorgoniae* (orat. 8), PG.35.789–817.
- , *In Novam Dominicam* (orat. 44), PG.36.608–621.
- , *In Sancta Lumina* (orat. 39), PG.36.336–360.
- , *In Sanctum Pascha* (orat. 45), PG.36.624–664.
- , *In Theophania* (orat. 38), PG.36.312–333.
- , *Supremum Vale* (orat. 42), PG.36.457–492.
- Gregory of Nyssa, *Ad Ablabium Quod Non Sint Tres Dei*, ed. F. Mueller, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 3.1. Leiden: Brill, 1958, pp. 37–57.
- , *Ad Eustathium De Sancta Trinitate*, ed. F. Mueller, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 3.1. Leiden: Brill, 1958, pp. 3–16. aaa
- , *Adversus Arium et Sabellium de Patre et Filio*, ed. F. Mueller, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 3.1. Leiden: Brill, 1958, pp. 71–85.
- , *Adversus Macedonianos de Spiritu Sancto*, ed. F. Mueller, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 3.1. Leiden: Brill, 1958, pp. 89–115.
- , *Antirrheticus Adversus Apollinarium*, ed. F. Mueller, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 3.1. Leiden: Brill, 1958, pp. 131–233.
- , *Apologia in Hexaemeron*, PG.44.61–124.
- , *Contra Eunomium*, ed. W. Jaeger, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vols. 1.1 & 2.2. Leiden: Brill, 1960.
- , *Contra Fornicarios*, ed. E. Gebhardt, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 9.1. Leiden: Brill, 1967, pp. 211–217.
- , *De Beneficentia* (vulgo *De Pauperibus Amandis* i), ed. A. van Heck, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 9.1. Leiden: Brill, 1967, pp. 93–108.
- , *De Infantibus Praemature abreptis*, ed. H. Horner, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 3.2. Leiden: Brill, 1986, pp. 67–97.
- , *De Instituto Christiano*, ed. W. Jaeger, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 8.1. Leiden: Brill, 1963, pp. 40–89.

- , *De Mortuis Non Esse Dolendum*, ed. G. Heil, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 9.1. Leiden: Brill, 1967, pp. 28–68.
- , *De Opificio Hominis*, PG.44.124–256.
- , *De Oratione Dominica Orationes v*, ed. F. Oehler, *Gregor's Bischof's von Nyssa Abhandlung von der Erschaffung des Menschen und fünf Reden auf das Gebet*. Leipzig: Engelmann, 1859, pp. 202–314.
- , *De Perfectione Christiana ad Olympium Monachum*, ed. W. Jaeger, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 8.1. Leiden: Brill, 1963, pp. 173–214.
- , *De Professione Christiana ad Harmonium*, ed. W. Jaeger, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 8.1. Leiden: Brill, 1963, pp. 129–142.
- , *De Spiritu Sancto sive In Pentecosten*, PG.46.696–701.
- , *De Tridui Inter Mortem et Resurrectionem Domini Nostri Jesu (or, In Christi Resurrectionem Oratio i)*, ed. E. Gebhardt, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 9.1. Leiden: Brill, 1967, pp. 273–306.
- , *De Virginitate*, ed. M. Aubineau, *Grégoire de Nysse. Traité de la virginité [Sources chrétiennes 119]*. Paris: Cerf, 1966].
- , *De Vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi*, PG.46.893–957.
- , *De Vita Mosis*, ed. J. Daniélou, *Grégoire de Nysse. La vie de Moïse*, third edn. [Sources chrétiennes 1 ter. Paris: Cerf, 1968].
- , *Dialogus de Anima et Resurrectione*, PG.46.12–160.
- , *Encomium in Sanctum Stephanum Protomartyrem I*, ed. O. Lendle, *Gregorius Nyssenus. Encomium in sanctum Stephanum protomartyrem*. Leiden: Brill, 1968.
- , *Encomium in xl martyres i*, PG.46.749–772.
- , *Epistulae*, ed. G. Pasquali, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 8.2, second edn. Leiden: Brill, 1959, pp. 3–95.
- , *In Basilium Fratrem*, ed. J. Stein, *Encomium of Saint Gregory Bishop of Nyssa on his brother Saint Basil*. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1928.
- , *In Canticum Canticorum (homiliae 15)*, ed. H. Langerbeck, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 6. Leiden: Brill, 1960, pp. 3–469.
- , *In Diem Luminum*, ed. E. Gebhardt, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 9.1. Leiden: Brill, 1967, pp. 221–242.
- , *In Ecclesiasten (homiliae 8)*, ed. P. Alexander, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 5. Leiden: Brill, 1962, pp. 277–442.
- , *In Illud: Tunc et Ipse Filius*, ed. J.K. Downing, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 3.2. Leiden: Brill, 1986, pp. 1–28.
- , *In Inscriptiones Psalmorum*, ed. J. McDonough, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 5. Leiden: Brill, 1962, pp. 24–175.
- , *In Sanctum Baptisma (orat. 40)*, PG.36.360–425.
- , *In Sanctum et Salutare Pascha (vulgo In Christi Resurrectionem oratio iv)*, ed. E. Gebhardt, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 9.1. Leiden: Brill, 1967, pp. 309–311.
- , *In Sanctum Pascha, (or, In Christi Resurrectionem Oratio iii)*, ed. E. Gebhardt, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 9.1. Leiden: Brill, 1967, pp. 245–270.
- , *Oratio Catechetica Magna*, ed. J. Srawley, *The catechetical oration of Gregory of Nyssa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903 (repr. 1956).
- , *Oratio in Diem Natalem Christi*, ed. F. Mann, *Die Weihnachtspredigt Gregors von Nyssa. Überlieferungsgeschichte und Text [Diss. Münster (1975)]*, pp. 263–292.

- , *Orationes VIII de Beatitudinibus*, PG.44.1193–1301.
- , *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*, ed. P. Maraval, *Grégoire de Nysse. Vie de sainte Macrine* [Sources chrétiennes 178. Paris: Cerf, 1971].
- Hegesippus (apologist, second cent. AD, Palaestine), *Fragmenta* (ex incerto libro), ed. M.J. Routh, *Reliquiae sacrae*, vol. 1, second edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1846 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1974), pp. 207–219.
- Heliodorus of Antioch (astrologer, fourth cent. AD), *Commentarium in Paulum Alexandrinum*, E. Boer, *Heliodori, ut dicitur, in Paulum Alexandrinum commentarium*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1962.
- Hermas, *Pastor*, ed. M. Whittaker, *Die apostolischen Väter I. Der Hirt des Hermas* [GCS 48, second edn. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1967].
- Hermias of Alexandria (fifth cent. AD), *In Platonis Phaedrum Scholia*, ed. P. Couvreur, *Hermeias von Alexandrien. In Platonis Phaedrum scholia*. Paris: Bouillon, 1901 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1971).
- Herodotus (fifth cent. BC Halicarnassus, Thurius), *Historiae*, ed. Ph.-E. Legrand, *Hérodote. Histoires*, 9 vols. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1: 1932; 2: 1930; 3: 1939; 4 (third edn.): 1960; 5: 1946; 6: 1948; 7: 1951; 8: 1953; 9: 1954 (repr. 1: 1970; 2: 1963; 3: 1967; 5: 1968; 6: 1963; 7: 1963; 8: 1964; 9: 1968).
- Heron of Alexandria (possibly first cent. AD), *Definitiones*, d. J.L. Heiberg, *Heronis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt omnia*, vol. 4. Leipzig: Teubner, 1903, pp. 2–168.
- Hesychius of Jerusalem (presbyter, fifth cent. AD), *In Sanctum Andream (homilia 7)*, ed. M. Aubineau, *Les homélies festales d'Hésychius de Jérusalem, vol. 1. Les homélies i–xv* [Subsidia hagiographica 59. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1978], pp. 240–260.
- , *Commentarius Brevis*, V. Jagić, *Supplementum Psalterii Bononiensis. Incerti auctoris explanatio Graeca*. Vienna: Holzhausen, 1917.
- , *Homilia II de Hypapante (homilia 2)*, ed. M. Aubineau, *Les homélies festales d'Hésychius de Jérusalem, vol. 1. Les homélies i–xv* [Subsidia hagiographica 59. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1978], pp. 61–74.
- , *Homilia II De Sancta Maria Deipara (homilia 6)*, ed. M. Aubineau, *Les homélies festales d'Hésychius de Jérusalem, vol. 1. Les homélies i–xv* [Subsidia hagiographica 59. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1978], pp. 194–204.
- , *Homilia II in Sanctum Longinum Centurionem (homilia 20)*, (attribution is uncertain), ed. M. Aubineau, *Les homélies festales d'Hésychius de Jérusalem, vol. 2. Les homélies xvi–xxi* [Subsidia hagiographica 59. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1980].
- Hippiatrica (ninth cent. AD), *Hippiatrica Parisina*, ed. E. Oder and K. Hoppe, *Corpus hippiatricorum Graecorum*, vol. 2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1927 (repr. Stuttgart: 1971), pp. 29–114.
- , *Hippiatrica Cantabrigiensia*, ed. E. Oder and K. Hoppe, *Corpus hippiatricorum Graecorum*, vol. 2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1927 (repr. Stuttgart: 1971), pp. 125–252.
- Hippocrates, *De Prisca Medicina*, ed. É. Littré, *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, vol. 1. Paris: Baillière, 1839 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1973), pp. 570–636.
- , *Epistulae*, ed. É. Littré, *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, vol. 9. Paris: Baillière, 1861 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1962), pp. 312–428.

- Hippolytus, *Chronicon*, ed. R. Helm (post A. Bauer), *Hippolytus Werke*, vol. 4, second edn. [GCS 46. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955], pp. 6–69 & 128–134.
- , *Commentarium in Danielelem*, ed. M. Lefèvre, *Hippolyte. Commentaire sur Daniel* [Sources chrétiennes 14. Paris: Cerf, 1947],
- , *Contra Haeresin Noeti*, ed. R. Butterworth, *Hippolytus of Rome. Contra Noetum*. London: Heythrop College (University of London), 1977.
- , *In Canticum Canticorum* (paraphrasis), ed. M. Richard, “Une paraphrase grecque résumée du commentaire d’Hippolyte sur le cantique des cantiques,” *Muséon* 77 (1964), pp. 140–154.
- , *Refutatio Omnium Haeresium* (= *Philosophumena*), ed. M. Marcovich, *Hippolytus. Refutatio omnium haeresium* [Patristische Texte und Studien 25. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1986].
- Historia Alexandri Magni* (or, Pseudo-Callisthenes), Recensio E (cod. Eton College 163), ed. A. Lolos and V.L. Konstantinopulos, *Ps.-Kallisthenes. Zwei mittell-griechische Prosa-Fassungen des Alexanderromans*, 2 vols. [Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 141 & 150. Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1983].
- Historia Alexandri Magni*, Recensio γ (*lib.* 2), ed. H. Engelmann, *Der griechische Alexanderroman. Rezension g. Buch II* [Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 12. Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1963], pp. 152–328.
- Historia Monachorum In Aegypto*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1971: 4–138. This is an anonymous chronicle, probably written by a monk of Jerusalem.
- Homer, *Ilias*, ed. D.B. Morno, T.W. Allen, *Homeri Opera: Ilias*. Vols. I–II. Oxford (repr.) 1969 (I), 1971 (II).
- , *Odyssea*, ed. T.W. Allen, *Homeri Opera: Odyssea*. Vols. III–IV. Oxford (repr.) 1967 (III), 1966 (IV).
- Horapollon, *Hieroglyphica*, ed. F. Sbordone, *Hori Apollinis hieroglyphica*. Naples: Loffredo, 1940.
- Hyperides, *Fragmenta*, ed. C. Jensen, *Hyperidis orationes sex*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1917 (repr. Stuttgart: 1963).
- Iamblichus, *De Communi Mathematica Scientia*, ed. U. Klein (post N. Festa), *Iamblichi de communi mathematica scientia liber*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1891 (repr. Stuttgart: 1975).
- , *De Mysteriis*, ed. É. des Places, *Jamblique. Les mystères d’Égypte*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1966.
- , *De Vita Pythagorica*, ed. U. Klein (post L. Deubner), *Iamblichi de vita Pythagorica liber*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1937 (repr. Stuttgart: 1975).
- , *Protrepticus*, ed. H. Pistelli, *Iamblichi protrepticus ad fidem codicis Florentini*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1888 (repr. Stuttgart: 1967).
- , *Theologoumena Arithmeticae*, ed. V. de Falco, [Iamblichi] *theologoumena arithmeticae*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1922, pp. 1–87.
- Ignatius Diaconus (or, Ignatius Melodus, biographer and poet, deacon at the Hagia Sophia, Bishop of Nicaea, eighth-ninth cent.), *Vita Nicephori*, ed. C. de Boor, *Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opuscula historica*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1880 (repr. New York: Arno, 1975), pp. 139–217.
- Ioannis Cassiani Abbatis Massiliensis, *De Coenobiorum Institutis Libri Duodecim*, PL.49.53–476.

- Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* (liber 5), d. A. Rousseau, L. Doutreleau and C. Mercier, *Irénée de Lyon. Contre les hérésies, livre 5*, vol. 2 [*Sources chrétiennes* 153. Paris: Cerf, 1969].
- , *Adversus Haereses* (libri 1–2), ed. W.W. Harvey, *Sancti Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis libri quinque adversus haereses*, vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1857.
- , *Fragmenta Deperditorum Operum*, ed. W.W. Harvey, *Sancti Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis libri quinque adversus haereses*, vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1857, pp. 470–511.
- Isidore of Pelusium, *Epistulae* (1414–1700), ed. Évieux, Pierre, *Isidore de Péluse, Lettres* (1414–1700), *Sources chrétiennes*, 454, Paris: Cerf, 1997.
- Joannis Cassiani Opera, ed. Michael Petschenig, (*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* XIII, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften), Vienna: Tempsky, 1886–1888.
- Joannis Cassiani Massiliensis Presbyteri, *De Incarnatione Christi Contra Nestorium Haereticum Libri Septem*, PL.50.9–272.
- Joel (chronographer, thirteenth cent.), *Chronographia Compendiaria*, ed. I. Bekker, *Ioelis chronographia compendiaria* [*Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*. Bonn: Weber, 1836].
- John Chrysostom, *Ad Eos Qui Scandalizati Sunt*, ed. A.-M. Malingrey, *Jean Chrysostome. Sur la providence de Dieu* [*Sources chrétiennes* 79. Paris: Cerf, 1961], pp. 52–276.
- , *Ad Populum Antiochenum* (homiliae 1–21), PG.49.15–222.
- , *Ad Stagirium a Daemone Vexatum* (lib. 1–3), PG.47.423–494.
- , *Ad Stelechium De Compunctione* (lib. 2), PG.47.411–422.
- , *Ad Theodorum Lapsam* (lib. 2) (= *Epistula ad Theodorum Monachum*), ed. J. Dumortier, *Jean Chrysostome. A Théodore* [*Sources chrétiennes* 117. Paris: Cerf, 1966].
- , *Adversus Judaeos* (orationes 1–8), PG.48.843–942.
- , *Adversus Oppugnatores Vitae Monasticae* (lib. 1–3), PG.47.319–386.
- , *Catecheses ad Illuminandos* 1–8 (series tertia), ed. A. Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome. Huit catéchèses baptismales*, second edn. [*Sources chrétiennes* 50 bis. Paris: Cerf, 1970], pp. 108–260.
- , *Commentarius in Job*, ed. U. Hagedorn and D. Hagedorn, *Johannes Chrysostomos. Kommentar zu Hiob* [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 35. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1990].
- , *Contra Eos Qui Subintroductas Habent Virgines*, ed. J. Dumortier, *Saint Jean Chrysostome. Les cohabitations suspectes*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1955, pp. 44–94.
- , *Contra Ludos et Theatra*, PG.56.263–270.
- , *De Anna* (sermone 1–5), PG.54. PG.54.631–676.
- , *De Baptismo Christi*, PG.49.363–372.
- , *De Cruce et Latrone* (homilia 1), PG.49.399–408.
- , *De diabolo Tentatore* (homiliae 1–3), PG.49.241–276.
- , *De Futurae Vitae Deliciis*, PG.51.347–354.
- , *De Inani Gloria et De Educandis Liberis*, ed. A.-M. Malingrey, *Jean Chrysostome. Sur la vaine gloire et l'éducation des enfants* [*Sources chrétiennes* 188. Paris: Cerf, 1972], pp. 64–196.

- , *De Incomprehensibili Dei Natura (Contra Anomoeos; homiliae 1-5)*, ed. A.-M. Malingrey, *Jean Chrysostome. Sur l'incompréhensibilité de Dieu* [Sources chrétiennes 28 bis. Paris: Cerf, 1970].
- , *De Laudibus Sancti Pauli apostoli (homiliae 1-7)*, ed. A. Piédagnel, *Jean Chrysostome. Panégyriques de S. Paul* [Sources chrétiennes 300. Paris: Cerf, 1982].
- , *De Lazaro (homiliae 1-7)*, PG.48.963-1054.
- , *De Paenitentia (homiliae 1-9)*, (homilies 7-9 are spurious), PG.49.277-350.
- , *De Proditione Judae (homiliae 1-2)*, PG.49.373-392.
- , *De Regressu*, ed. A. Wenger, "L'homélie de saint Jean Chrysostome 'à son retour d'Asie'," *Revue des études byzantines* 19 (1961), pp. 114-122.
- , *De Resurrectione Mortuorum*, PG.50.417-432.
- , *De Sancta Pentecoste (homiliae 1-2)*, PG.50.453-470.
- , *De Virginitate*, ed. H. Musurillo and B. Grillet, *Jean Chrysostome. La virginité* [Sources chrétiennes 125. Paris: Cerf, 1966].
- , *Epistulae 18-242*, PG.52.623-748.
- , *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG.55.39-498.
- , *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG.55.39-498.:
- , *Fragmenta in Job* (in catenis), PG.64.505-656.
- , *Fragmenta in Proverbia* (in catenis), PG.64.660-740.
- , *In Acta Apostolorum (homiliae 1-55)*, PG.60.13-384.
- , *In Epistulam ad Ephesios (homiliae 1-24)*, PG.62.9-176.
- , *In Epistulam ad Galatas Commentarius*, PG.61.611-682.
- , *In Epistulam ad Hebraeos (homiliae 1-34)*, PG.63.9-236.
- , *In Epistulam ad Romanos (homiliae 1-32)*, PG.60.391-682.
- , *In Epistulam ad Titum (Homiliae 1-6)*, PG.62.663-700.
- , *In Epistulam i ad Corinthios (homiliae 1-44)*, PG.61.9-382.
- , *In Epistulam i ad Thessalonicenses (homiliae 1-11)*, PG.62.391-468.
- , *In Epistulam i ad Timotheum (homiliae 1-18)*, PG.62.501-600.
- , *In Epistulam ii ad Thessalonicenses (homiliae 1-5)*, PG.62.467-500.
- , *In Epistulam ii ad Timotheum (homiliae 1-10)*, PG.62.599-662.
- , *In Eutropium*, PG.52.391-396.
- , *In Genesim (homiliae 1-67)*, PG.53.21-385; PG.54.385-580.
- , *In Genesim (sermone 1-9)*, PG.54.581-630.
- , *In Illud: Habentes Eundem Spiritum (homiliae 1-3)*, PG.51.271-302.
- , *In Illud: Ne Timueritis cum Dives Factus Fuerit Homo (homiliae 1-2)*, PG.55.499-518.
- , *In Illud: Vidi Dominum (homiliae 1-6)*, ed. J. Dumortier, *Jean Chrysostome. Homélie sur Ozias* [Sources chrétiennes 277. Paris: Cerf, 1981], pp. 42-228.
- , *In Isaiam*, ed. J. Dumortier, *Jean Chrysostome. Commentaire sur Isaïe* [Sources chrétiennes 304. Paris: Cerf, 1983].
- , *In Joannem (homiliae 1-88)*, PG.59.23-482.
- , *In Iuveninum et Maximum Martyres*, PG.50.571-578.
- , *In Mathaeum (homiliae 1-90)*, PG.57.13-472; PG.58.471-794.
- , *In Pharisaeum et Meretricem*, PG.61.727-734.
- , *In Principium Actorum (homiliae 1-4)*, PG.51.65-112.
- , *In Sanctum Eustathium Antiochenum*, PG.50.597-606.
- , *In Sanctum Ignatium Martyrem*, PG.50.587-596.

- , *In Sanctum Lucianum Martyrem*, PG.50.519–526.
- , *Non Esse Desperandum*, PG.51.363–372.
- , *Peccata Fratrum non Evulganda*, PG.51.353–364.
- , *Quod Regulares Feminae Viris Cohabitare Non Debeant*, ed. J. Dumortier, *Saint Jean Chrysostome. Les cohabitations suspectes*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1955.
- , *Sermo Antequam Iret in Exsilium*, PG.52.427–432.
- , *Frarmenta in Proverbia*, PG.64.660–740.
- John Climacus (sixth-seventh cent. AD), *Scala Paradisi*, PG.88.631–1161.
- John Doxapatres, *Prolegomena in Hermogenis Librum Περὶ Ἑρπείσεως*, ed. H. Rabe, *Prolegomenon sylloge [Rhetores Graeci 14]*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1931, pp. 360–374.
- John Grammaticus (sixth cent. AD), *Disputatio cum Manichaeo*, ed. M. Aubineau (ap. M. Richard), *Iohannis Caesariensis presbyteri et grammatici opera quae supersunt [Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca 1]*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1977, pp. 117–128.
- , *Adversus Aphthartodocetas*, ed. M. Richard, *Iohannis Caesariensis presbyteri et grammatici opera quae supersunt [Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca 1]*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1977, pp. 69–78.
- , *Adversus Manichaeos (homilia 1)*, ed. M. Richard, *Iohannis Caesariensis presbyteri et grammatici opera quae supersunt [Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca 1]*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1977, pp. 85–92.
- , *Adversus Manichaeos (homilia 2)*, ed. M. Richard, *Iohannis Caesariensis presbyteri et grammatici opera quae supersunt [Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca 1]*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1977, pp. 92–105.
- , *Apologia Concilii Chalcedonensis (excerpta Graeca)*, ed. M. Richard, *Iohannis Caesariensis presbyteri et grammatici opera quae supersunt [Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca 1]*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1977, pp. 49–58.
- , *Capitula XVII Contra Monophysitas*, ed. M. Richard, *Iohannis Caesariensis presbyteri et grammatici opera quae supersunt [Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca 1]*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1977, pp. 61–66.
- John I of Thessaloniki (Archbishop. seventh cent. AD), *Oratio de Dormitione Deiparae*, M. Jugie [*Patrologia orientalis* 19]. Turnhout: Brepols, 1926, pp. 375–405.
- John Laurentius Lydus, *De Magistratibus Populi Romani*, ed. A.C. Bandy, *Ioannes Lydus. On powers or the magistracies of the Roman state*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1983.
- , *De Mensibus*, ed. R. Wünsch, *Ioannis Lydi liber de mensibus*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1898 (repr. Stuttgart: 1967).
- , *De Ostentis*, ed. C. Wachsmuth, *Ioannis Laurentii Lydi liber de ostentis et calendaria Graeca omnia*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1897.
- John Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. L. Dindorf, *Ioannis Malalae chronographia [Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae]*. Bonn: Weber, 1831.
- John Moschus (born in Damascus, c. 550–619), *Pratum Spirituale (Λειμωνάριον)*, PG.87(3).2852–3112.
- John of Antioch (historian, seventh cent.), *Fragmenta*, ed. K. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 4. Paris: Didot, 1841–1870, pp. 538–622.
- John of Damascus (seventh-eighth cent.), *Passio Magni Martyris Artemii*, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 5, [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 29]. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1988, pp. 202–245.

- , *Contra Jacobitas*, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 4 [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 22. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981], pp. 109–153.
- , *Contra Manichaeos*, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 4 [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 22. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981], pp. 351–398.
- , *Contra Nestorianos*, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 4 [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 22. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981], pp. 263–288.
- , *De Duabus In Christo Voluntatibus*, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 4 [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 22. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981], pp. 173–231.
- , *De Fide Contra Nestorianos*, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 4 [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 22. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981], pp. 238–253.
- , *De Haeresibus*, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 4 [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 22. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981], pp. 19–67.
- , *Dialectica sive Capita Philosophica* (recensio fusior), ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 1 [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 7. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969], pp. 47–95.
- , *Epistula de Hymno Trisagio*, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 4 [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 22. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981], pp. 304–332.
- , *Expositio Fidei*, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 2 [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 12. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1973], pp. 3–239.
- , *Fragmenta Philosophica* (e cod. Oxon. Bodl. Auct. T.1.6), ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 1 [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 7. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969], pp. 151–173.
- , *Homilia in Sabbatum Sanctum*, PG.96.601–644.
- , *Homilia in Transfigurationem Domini*, PG.96.545–576.
- , *Homilia in Transfigurationem Salvatoris Nostri Jesu Christi*, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 5, [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 29. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1988], pp. 436–459.
- , *Laudatio Sanctae Barbarae*, PG.96.781–813.
- , *Oratio in Occursum Domini*, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 5, [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 29. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1988], pp. 381–395.
- , *Oratio Prima in Dormitionem Sanctae Dei Genitricis Mariae*, ed. P.B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 5 [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 29. Berlin—New York: De Gruyter, 1988], pp. 483–500.
- , *Oratio Tertia in Dormitionem Sanctae Dei Genitricis Mariae*, ed. P.B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 5 [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 29. Berlin—New York: De Gruyter, 1988], pp. 548–555.
- , *Orationes de Imaginibus Tres*, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 3 [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 17. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975], pp. 65–200.
- , *Sacra Parallela* (recensiones secundum alphabeti litteras dispositae, quae tres libros conflant) (fragmenta e cod. Vat. gr. 1236), PG.95.1040–1588; PG.96.9–441.

- , *Sacra Parallela (recensiones secundum alphabeti litteras dispositae, quae tres libros conflant) (fragmenta e cod. Berol. B.N. gr. 46 [= parallela Rupefucaldina])*, PG.96.441–544.
- , *De Aeternitate Mundi*, ed. H. Rabe, *Ioannes Philoponus. De aeternitate mundi contra Proclum*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1899 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963).
- John Philoponus, *De Opificio Mundi*, ed. W. Reichardt, *Ioannis Philoponi de opificio mundi libri vii*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1897.
- , *De Vocabulis Quae Diversum Significatum Exhibent Secundum Differentiam Accentus*, Recensio b, ed. L.W. Daly, *Iohannis Philoponi de vocabulis quae diversum significatum exhibent secundum differentiam accentus*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1983.
- , *In Aristotelis Analytica Posteriora Commentaria*, ed. M. Wallies, *Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis analytica posteriora commentaria cum Anonymo in librum ii [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 13.3]*. Berlin: Reimer, 1909.
- , *In Aristotelis Analytica Priora Commentaria*, ed. M. Wallies, *Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis analytica priora commentaria [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 13.2]*. Berlin: Reimer, 1905].
- , *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, ed. A. Busse, *Philoponi (olim Ammonii) in Aristotelis categorias commentarium [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 13.1]*. Berlin: Reimer, 1898].
- , *In Aristotelis Libros De Anima Commentaria*, ed. M. Hayduck, *Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis de anima libros commentaria [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 15]*. Berlin: Reimer, 1897].
- , *In Aristotelis Libros de Generatione et Corruptione Commentaria*, ed. H. Vitelli, *Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis libros de generatione et corruptione commentaria [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 14.2]*. Berlin: Reimer, 1897].
- , *In Aristotelis Meteorologicorum Librum Primum Commentarium*, ed. M. Hayduck, *Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis meteorologicorum librum primum commentarium [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 14.1]*. Berlin: Reimer, 1901].
- , *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, ed. H. Vitelli, *Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis physicorum libros octo commentaria*, 2 vols. [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 16 & 17*. Berlin: Reimer, 16: 1887; 17: 1888].
- , *In Libros de Generatione Animalium Commentaria*, ed. M. Hayduck, *Ioannis Philoponi (Michaelis Ephesii) in libros de generatione animalium commentaria [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 14.3]*. Berlin: Reimer, 1903].
- John Tzetzes (Grammaticus, poet, eleventh cent.), *Exegesis in Homeri Iliadem A.97–609*, ed. A.C. Lolos, *Der unbekannte Teil der Ilias-Exegesis des Ioannes Tzetzes (A 97–609) [Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 130]*. Königstein: Hain, 1981].
- John Zonaras (grammarian, eleventh-twelfth cent.) *Epitome Historiarum (lib. 1–12)*, ed. L. Dindorf, *Ioannis Zonarae epitome historiarum*, 3 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1: 1868; 2: 1869; 3: 1870.
- Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, ed. B. Niese, *Flavii Iosephi opera*, vols. 1–4. Berlin: Weidmann, 1: 1887; 2: 1885; 3: 1892; 4: 1890 (repr. 1955).
- , *Contra Apionem (= De Iudaeorum Vetustate)*, ed. B. Niese, *Flavii Iosephi opera*, vol. 5. Berlin: Weidmann, 1889 (repr. 1955).
- , *Contra Apionem, (= De Iudaeorum vetustate)*, ed. B. Niese, *Flavii Iosephi opera*, vol. 5. Berlin: Weidmann, 1889 (repr. 1955).

- Julian (Emperor), *Contra Galilaeos*, ed. C.J. Neumann, *Juliani imperatoris librorum contra Christianos quae supersunt*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1880, pp. 163–233.
- Julian the Arian (fourth cent.), *Commentarius in Job*, ed. D. Hagedorn, *Der Hiobkommentar des Arianers Julian* [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 14. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1973].
- Justinian, *Constitutio Contra Anthimum, Severum, Petrum et Zooram*, ed. M. Amelotti and L.M. Zingale, *Scritti teologici ed ecclesiastici di Giustiniano*. Milan: Giuffrè, 1977, pp. 46–54.
- , *Contra Monophysitas*, ed. M. Amelotti, R. Albertella and L. Migliardi (post E. Schwartz), *Drei dogmatische Schriften Iustinians*, second edn. [*Legum Iustiniani imperatoris vocabularium. Subsidia* 2. Milan: Giuffrè, 1973].
- , *Edictum Rectae Fidei*, ed. M. Amelotti, R. Albertella and L. Migliardi (post E. Schwartz), *Drei dogmatische Schriften Iustinians*, second edn. [*Legum Iustiniani imperatoris vocabularium. Subsidia* 2. Milan: Giuffrè, 1973], pp. 130–168.
- , *Epistula Contra Tria Capitula*, ed. M. Amelotti, R. Albertella and L. Migliardi (post E. Schwartz), *Drei dogmatische Schriften Iustinians*, second edn. [*Legum Iustiniani imperatoris vocabularium. Subsidia* 2. Milan: Giuffrè, 1973], pp. 82–126.
- , *Edictum contra Origenem*, ed. M. Amelotti and L.M. Zingale, *Scritti teologici ed ecclesiastici di Giustiniano*. Milan: Giuffrè, 1977, pp. 68–118.
- , *Novellae*, ed. R. Schöll and W. Kroll, *Corpus iuris civilis*, vol. 3. Berlin: Weidmann, 1895 (repr. 1968).
- Leontius of Constantinople (presbyter, fifth-sixth cent. AD), *In Transfigurationem (homilia 14)*, ed. P. Allen and C. Datema, *Leontii presbyteri Constantinopolitani homiliae* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 17. Turnhout: Brepols, 1987], pp. 433–448.
- Leontius of Neapolis (Bishop, Cyprus, seventh cent.), *Vita Joannis Eleemosynarii Episcopi Alexandrini*, ed. A.-J. Festugière and L. Rydén, *Léontios de Néapolis, Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre* [*Bibliothèque archéologique et historique* 95. Paris: Geuthner, 1974], pp. 343–409.
- Libanius, *Argumenta Oratorum Demosthenicarum*, ed. R. Foerster, *Libanii opera*, vol. 8. Leipzig: Teubner, 1915 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1997), pp. 600–681.
- , *Declamationes 1–51*, ed. R. Foerster, *Libanii opera*, vols. 5–7. Leipzig: Teubner, 5: 1909; 6: 1911; 7: 1913 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1997), 5: 13–564; 6: 7–658; 7: 7–736.
- , *Orationes 1–64*, ed. R. Foerster, *Libanii opera*, vols. 1–4. Leipzig: Teubner, 1.1–1.2: 1903; 2: 1904; 3: 1906; 4: 1908 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1997).
- , *Progymnasmata*, ed. R. Foerster, *Libanii opera*, vol. 8. Leipzig: Teubner, 1915 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1997), pp. 24–571.
- Longinus, *Ars Rhetorica*, ed. L. Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1853 (repr. Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1966), pp. 299–320.
- Lucian of Samosata, *Alexander*, ed. A.M. Harmon, *Lucian*, vol. 4. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1925 (repr. 1961), pp. 174–252.
- , *Charon sive Contemplantes*, ed. A.M. Harmon, *Lucian*, vol. 2. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1915 (repr. 1960), pp. 396–446.
- , *De Astrologia*, ed. A.M. Harmon, *Lucian*, vol. 5. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936 (repr. 1972), pp. 348–368.

- , *Gallus*, ed. A.M. Harmon, *Lucian*, vol. 2. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1915 (repr. 1960), pp. 172–238.
- , *Hermotimus*, ed. K. Kilburn, *Lucian*, vol. 6. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959 (repr. 1968), pp. 260–414.
- , *Lexiphanes*, ed. A.M. Harmon, *Lucian*, vol. 5. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936 (repr. 1972), pp. 292–326.
- , *Vitarum Auctio*, ed. A.M. Harmon, *Lucian*, vol. 2. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1915 (repr. 1960), pp. 450–510.
- , *Abdicatus*, ed. A.M. Harmon, *Lucian*, vol. 5. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936 (repr. 1972), pp. 476–524.
- Macarius of Magnesia (Bishop, fourth-fifth cent.), *Apocriticus* seu *Μονογενής*. εδ. R. Goulet, *Macarios de Magnésie: Le monogénès* (Tome II). Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 2003.
- Magica, *Papyri Magicae*, ed. K. Preisendanz and A. Henrichs, *Papyri Graecae magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, vols. 1–2, second edn. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1: 1973; 2: 1974.
- Marcellus of Ancyra (fourth cent. AD), *Fragmenta*, ed. E. Klostermann and G.C. Hansen, *Eusebius Werke*, vol. 4, second edn. [GCS 14. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1972], pp. 185–215.
- , *De Incarnatione et Contra Arianos*, PG.26.984–1028.
- Marcus Eremita (monk, Egypt, Palestine, fifth-sixth cent.), *Ad Nicolaum ad Praecepta Animae Salutaria*, ed. G.-M. de Durand, *Traité II [Sources chrétiennes 445]*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2000], pp. 106–154.
- , *Consultatio Intellectus Cum Sua Ipsius Anima*, ed. G.-M. de Durand, *Traité I [Sources chrétiennes 445]*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1999], pp. 398–414.
- , *De Baptismo*, ed. G.-M. de Durand, *Traité I [Sources chrétiennes 445]*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1999], pp. 296–396.
- , *De His Qui Putant Se Ex Operibus Justificari*, ed. G.-M. de Durand, *Traité I [Sources chrétiennes 445]*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1999], pp. 130–200.
- , *De Incarnatione sive Adversus Nestorianos*, ed. G.-M. de Durand, *Traité II [Sources chrétiennes 445]*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2000], pp. 252–314.
- , *De Lege Spirituali*, ed. G.-M. de Durand, *Traité I [Sources chrétiennes 445]*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1999], pp. 74–128.
- , *De Melchisedech*, ed. G.-M. de Durand, *Traité II [Sources chrétiennes 445]*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2000], pp. 182–222.
- , *De Paenitentia*, ed. G.-M. de Durand, *Traité I [Sources chrétiennes 445]*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1999], pp. 214–258.
- , *Disputatio Cum Quodam Causidico*, ed. G.-M. de Durand, *Traité II [Sources chrétiennes 445]*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2000], pp. 26–92.
- , *Sermo Dogmaticus Adversos Eos Qui Dicunt Sanctam Carnem Non Fuisse Unitam Cum Verbo*, ed. J. Cozza-Luzi and A. Mai, *Novae Patrum Bibliothecae*, vol. 10/1. Rome: Bibliotheca Vaticana et Typi Vaticani, 1905, pp. 201–247.
- Masala of Bagdad, (astrologer, eighth-ninth cent. AD [or, Masha'allah al-Misri, or, Messahala, or, Messahalla]), *Fragmenta Apotelesmatica*, (*e cod. Vat. gr. 1056, fol. 48^r, 86^r, 95^v*).
- Maximus Confessor, *Ambigua ad Thomam*, ed. B. Janssens, *Maximi Confessoris Ambigua ad Thomam una cum Epistula secunda ad eundem [Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca 48]*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002].

- , *Capita de Caritate*, ed. A. Ceresa-Gastaldo, *Massimo confessore. Capitoli sulla carita*. Rome: Editrice Studium, 1963.
- , *Epistula Secunda ad Thomam*, ed. B. Janssens, *Maximi Confessoris Ambigua ad Thomam una cum Epistula secunda ad eundem* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 48. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002], pp. 37–49.
- , *Expositio Orationis Dominicae*, ed. P. van Deun, *Maximi confessoris opuscula exegetica duo* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 23. Turnhout: Brepols, 1991].
- , *Mystagogia*, ed. R. Cantarella, *S. Massimo Confessore. La mistagogia ed altri scritti*. Florence: Testi Cristiani, 1931, pp. 122–214.
- , *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, ed. C. Laga and C. Steel, *Maximi confessoris quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 2 vols. [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 7 & 22. Turnhout: Brepols, 1: 1980; 2: 1990].
- , *Quaestiones et Dubia*, ed. J.H. Declerck, *Maximi confessoris quaestiones et dubia* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 10. Turnhout: Brepols, 1982].
- , *Scholia in Ecclesiasten* (in catenis: catena trium patrum), ed. S. Lucà, *Anonymus in Ecclesiasten commentarius qui dicitur catena trium patrum* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 11. Turnhout: Brepols, 1983].
- Maximus of Tyre (sophist, second cent. AD), *Dialexeis*, ed. H. Hobein, *Maximi Tyrii philosophumena*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1910.
- Methodius I (Confessor, Patriarch of Constantinople, 842–846), *Encomium et Vita Theophanis* (e cod. Mosq. synod. 159 Vlad.), D. Spyridonov, “Βίος τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ Θεοφάνους. Ποίημα Μεθοδίου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως”, *Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος* 12 (1913): 95–96, 113–165.
- Methodius of Olympus, *Symposium sive Convivium Decem Virginum*, V.-H. Debidour and H. Musurillo, *Méthode d'Olympe. Le banquet* [*Sources chrétiennes* 95. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1963].
- Michael Glycas (historian, astrologer, Constantinople, twelfth cent.), *Annales*, ed. I. Bekker, *Michaelis Glycae annales* [*Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*. Bonn: Weber, 1836].
- (historian, astrologer, Constantinople, twelfth cent.), *Quaestiones in Sacram Scripturam* (Cap. 41–98), ed. S. Eustratiades, *Μιχαήλ τοῦ Γλυκά, Εἰς τὰς ἀπορίας τῆς Θείας Γραφῆς*. Alexandria: Πατριαρχικὸν Τυπογραφεῖον, 1912.
- , *Quaestiones in Sacram Scripturam*, ed. S. Eustratiades, *Μιχαήλ τοῦ Γλυκά, Εἰς τὰς ἀπορίας τῆς Θείας Γραφῆς*, Athens: P.D. Sakellarios, 1906.
- Michael Psellus (Aristotelian commentator, eleventh-twelfth century), *Orationes Hagiographicae*, E.A. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli orationes hagiographicae*. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1994.
- , *Opuscula Logica, Physica, Allegorica, Alia*, ed. J.M. Duffy, *Michaelis Pselli philosophica minora*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1992.
- , *Theologica*, ed. P. Gautier, *Michaelis Pselli theologica*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1989.
- Nemesius of Emesa (Bishop, fourth cent. AD), *De Natura Hominis*, M. Morani, *Nemesii Emeseni de natura hominis*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1987.
- Neophytus Inclusus (monk, presbyter, Cyprus, died in 1219), *Liber Catechesium*, ed. P. Sotiroidis “Βίβλος τῶν κατηχήσεων”, in I. Karavidopoulos, c. Oikonomou, D.G. Tsames, and N. Zacharopoulos (eds.), *Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου Συγ-*

- γράμματα, vol. 2. Paphos: 'Ιερὰ Βασιλικὴ καὶ Σταυροπηγιακὴ Μονὴ 'Αγίου Νεοφύτου, 1996, pp. 189–431.
- Nestorius, *Sermones (fragmenta)*, F. Loofs, *Nestoriana. Die Fragmente des Nestorius*. Halle: Niemeyer, 1905.
- Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus (thirteenth–fourth cent. AD), *Historia Ecclesiastica*, PG.145.560–1332; 146.9–1273; 147.9–448.
- Nicephorus I of Constantinople (eighth–ninth cent.), *Breviarum Historicum de Rebus Gestis post Imperium Mauricii* (e cod. Vat. gr. 977), C. de Boor, *Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opuscula historica*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1880 (repr. 1975).
- , *Eusebii Caesariensis Confutatio*, ed. J.B. Pitra, “Sancti Nicephori Antirrheticus liber quartus,” *Spicilegium Solesmense* 1. Paris: Didot, 1852 (repr. 1962), pp. 373–503.
- , *Orationes Theologicae*, ed. J. Darrouzès, *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, Traités théologiques et éthiques* [*Sources chrétiennes* 122. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1966].
- , *Refutatio et Eversio Definitionis Synodalis anni 815*, ed. J. Featherstone, *Nicephori Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Refutatio et Eversio Definitionis Synodalis Anni 815* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 33. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997].
- Nicetas Stethatus (monk, Constantinople, eleventh cent.), *Orationes*, ed. J. Darrouzès, *Nicétas Stéthatos, Opusculs et Lettres* [*Sources chrétiennes* 81. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1961].
- Nicomachus of Gerasa (mathematician, second cent. AD), *Introductio Arithmetica*, ed. R. Hoche, *Nicomachi Geraseni Pythagorei introductionis arithmeticae libri ii*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1866.
- Nicon of Montenegro (or, Nicon of Raithus, or, Nicon of Sinai, eleventh–twelfth cent.), *Canonarium vel Typicon (cap. 1–4)*, in V. Beneshevich, *Taktikon Nikona Chernogortsa*. St. Petersburg: Zapiski Istoriko-Philologicheskago Fakulteta Petrogradskago Universiteta, 1917.
- Nilus of Ancyra (abba, fifth cent. AD), *Commentarii in Cantica Canticorum*, M.-G. Guérard, *Nil d'Ancyre. Commentaire sur le Cantique des cantiques* [*Sources chrétiennes* 403. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1994].
- , *Narrationes Septem de Monachis in Sina*, F. Conca, *Nilus Ancyranus. Narratio*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1983.
- Oecumenius, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, ed. H.C. Hoskier, *The Complete Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1928.
- , *Fragmenta in Epistulam ad Hebraeos (in catenis)*, ed. K. Staab, *Pauluskommentar aus der griechischen Kirche aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt*. Münster, Aschendorff, 1933, pp. 462–469.
- Olympiodorus, the deacon of Alexandria (sixth cent.), *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten*, PG.93.477–628. txt.
- , *Commentarii in Jeremiam (in catenis)*, PG.93.628–725.
- , *Commentarii in Job*, ed. U. Hagedorn and D. Hagedorn, *Olympiodor Diakon von Alexandria. Kommentar zu Hiob* [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 24. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1984].
- Olympiodorus, the philosopher of Alexandria (sixth cent.), *In Aristotelis Meteora*

- Commentaria*, ed. G. Stüve, *Olympiodori in Aristotelis meteora commentaria* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 12.2. Berlin: Reimer, 1900].
- , *In Platonis Alcibiadem Commentarii*, ed. L.G. Westerink, *Olympiodorus. Commentary on the first Alcibiades of Plato*. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1956 (repr. 1982).
- , *In Platonis Phaedonem Commentaria*, ed. L.G. Westerink, *The Greek commentaries on Plato's Phaedo*, vol. 1 [*Olympiodorus*]. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1976, pp. 39–181.
- , *Prolegomena*, ed. A. Busse, *Olympiodori prolegomena et in categorias commentarium* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 12.1. Berlin: Reimer, 1902], pp. 1–25.
- Oppianus of Apamea (second-third cent. AD), *Cynegetica*, ed. A.W. Mair, *Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1928 (repr. 1963).
- Origen, *Commentarii in Evangelium Joannis*, ed. *Commentarii in Joannim*, E. Preuschen, GCS 4 (1903). PG.14.21.
- , *Commentarii in Romanos*, ed. Scherrer, J. (ed.), *Le Commentaire d'Origène sur Rom. III.5–V.7, d'après les extraits du Papyrus n 88748 du Musée du Caire et les fragments de la Philocalie et du Vaticanus graecus 762. Essai de reconstitution du texte et de la pensée de tomes V et VI du 'Commentaire sur l'Épître aux Romains'*, Bibliothèque d'Étude 27. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1957.
- , *Commentarium in Evangelium Matthaei (lib. 10–11)*, ed. R. Girod, *Origène. Commentaire sur l'évangile selon Matthieu*, v. 1, Sources Chrétiennes (n. 162), Paris, 1970.
- , *Commentarium in Evangelium Matthaei libri 12–17*, ed. E. Klostermann, *Origenes Werke*, v. 10.1–10.2, GCS 40.1–40.2. Leipzig: Teubner. v. 10.1: 1935; v. 10.2: 1937.
- , *Contra Celsum*, Books 1–4; P. Koetschau, GCS 1 (1899), pp. 51f., PG.11.641f. Books 5–8, GCS 1, p. 1f., PG.11.1181f.
- , *De Oratione*, ed. P. Koetschau, *Origenes Werke*, v. 2. GCS 3. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1899, pp. 297–403. PG.11.416f.
- , *De Principiis*, (Lat. with Greek frs.), P. Koetschau, GCS 5 (1913). PG.11.115.
- , *Dialogus cum Heraclide*, J. Scherer, *Entretien d'Origène avec Héraclide* [Sources chrétiennes 67. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1960].
- , *Excerpta in Psalmos*, PG.17.105.
- , *Exposita in Proverbia*, PG.17.161.
- , *Expositio in Proverbia (fragmenta ex commentariis in Proverbia e catenis)*, PG.13.17.
- , *Fragmenta ex Commentariis in Epistolam ad Ephesios (in catenis)*, ed. J.A.F. Gregg, "Documents: The commentary of Origen upon the epistle to the Ephesians," *Journal of Theological Studies* 3 (1902) 234–244, pp. 398–420.
- , *Fragmenta ex Commentariis in Genesim*, PG.12.45. (*commGen.1*, apud Eusebius Caesariensis, *Preparatio Evangelica* 7.20; *commGen.* 2, ibid. 6.11; *commGen* 3.12, 13, apud *Philocalia*, 23, 19&20. PG.12.50).
- , *Fragmenta ex Commentariis in I Cor.* C. Jenkins, *Journal of Theological Studies* (JTS), 9 (1908), pp. 232, 353, 500; JTS 10 (1908), p. 29.
- , *Fragmenta in Evangelium Joannis (in catenis)*, ed. E. Preuschen, *Origenes Werke*, v. 4. GCS 10, Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903, pp. 483–574.

- , *Fragmenta in Lamentationes* (in catenis), ed. E. Klostermann, *Origenes Werke*, vol. 3 [*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* 6. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901], pp. 235–278.
- , *Fragmenta in Lucam* (in catenis), ed. M. Rauer, *Origenes Werke*, vol. 9, second edn. [GCS 49 (35). Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959], pp. 227–336.
- , *Fragmenta in Proverbia*, PG.17.149.
- , *Fragmenta in Psalmos 1–150*, ed. J.B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, vols. 2 & 3. 2: Paris: Tusculum, 1884 (repr. Farnborough: Gregg Press, 1966); 3: Venice: St. Lazarus Monastery, 1883.
- , *Fragmentum ex Homilia 39 in Jeremiam*. GCS 3, p. 196. PG.13.541.
- , *Fragmentum ex Homilia 21 in Jeremiam*. GCS 3, p. 195. PG.14.1310.
- , *Hexapla*, ed. F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum Quae Supersunt*, 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1875 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964).
- , *Homiliae 1–20 in Jeremiam*. GCS 3, p. 1. PG.13.256.
- , *Homiliae 1–39 in Lucam*, (Lat.), Max Rauer, GCS 9 (1930).
- , *Homiliae in Ezechielem*, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*, W.A. Baehrens, *Origenes Werke*, vol. 8 [*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* 33. Leipzig: Teubner, 1925], pp. 319 f.
- , *Homiliae in Job* (*fragmenta in catenis, typus I+II*) (*e codd. Vaticani*), ed. J.B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi Parata*, v. 2. Paris: Tusculum, 1884 (repr. Farnborough: Gregg Press, 1966); pp. 361–391.
- , *Homiliae in Job* (*fragmenta in catenis, typus II*) (*e codd. Marc. Gr. 21, 538*), PG 17.57–105 (or, *Selecta in Job*, PG.17.57–105).
- , *Homiliae 1–39 in Lucam*, PG.13.1801. Greek Fr. in GCS 9. PG.17.312.
- , *Philocalia sive Ecloga de Operibus Origenis a Basilio et Gregorio Nazianzeno Facta* (cap. 1–27), ed. J.A. Robinson, *The Philocalia of Origen*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1893.
- , *Scholia in Lucam* (*fragmenta e codice Venetico* 28), PG 17.312–369.
- , *Scholia in Matthaeum*, PG.17.289–309.
- , *Selecta in Ezechielem* (*fragmenta e catenis*), PG.13.768–825.
- , *Selecta in Genesim*, PG.12.92.
- , *Selecta in Psalmos* (*fragmenta e catenis*), PG.12: 1053–1320, 1368–1369, 1388–1389, 1409–1685.
- Palchus of Egypt (astrologer, fifth-sixth cent AD), *De Interrogationibus*, (*excerpta e cod. Cromwelliano* 12, p. 427), ed. S. Weinstock, *Codices Britannici* [Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum 9.1. Brussels: Lamertin, 1951], pp. 162–172.
- , *Περὶ τοῦ γινῶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ κλήρου τῆς Τύχης τὸν πυνθανόμενον περὶ τίνος θέλει ἐρωτᾶν*, (*e cod. Scorial. I Φ 5, fol. 322*), ed. K.O. Zuretti, *Codices Hispanienses* [Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum 11.1. Brussels: Lamertin, 1932], pp. 202–203.
- Palladius (monk, fourth-fifth cent. Helenopolis), *Dialogus de Vita Joannis Chrysostomi*, ed. P.R. Coleman-Norton, *Palladii dialogus de vita S. Joanni Chrysostomi*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928.
- , *Historia Lausiaca* (recensio G), ed. G.J.M. Bartelink, *Palladio. La storia Lausiaca*. Verona: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, 1974.
- Pamphilus (presbyter, sixth-seventh cent.), *Diversorum Capitum seu Difficultatum Solutio*, J.H. Declerck, *Diversorum postchalcedonensium auctorum collectanea*

- I: Pamphili theologi opus* [Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca 19. Turnhout: Brepols, 1989], pp. 127–261.
- Papyri Magicae*, ed. K. Preisendanz and A. Henrichs, *Papyri Graecae magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, vols. 1–2, second edn. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1: 1973; 2: 1974.
- Paul of Aegina (medical doctor, seventh cent. AD), *Epitomae Medicae Libri Septem*, ed. J.L. Heiberg, *Paulus Aegineta*, 2 vols. [Corpus medicorum Graecorum, vols. 9.1 & 9.2. Leipzig: Teubner, 9.1: 1921; 9.2: 1924].
- Paul of Alexandria (astrologer, fourth cent. AD), ed. E. Boer, *Pauli Alexandrini Elementa Apotelesmatica*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1958.
- Paul of Nicaea (medical doctor), *Liber Medicus*, A.M. Ieraci Bio, *Paolo di Nicea, Manuale medico* [Hellenica et byzantina neapolitana 16. Naples: Bibliopolis, 1996].
- Peter of Sicily, *Historia Utilis et Refutatio Manichaeorum vel Paulicianorum*, ed. D. Papachryssanthou, “Les sources grecques pour l’histoire des Pauliciens d’Asie Mineure I. Pierre de Sicile. Histoire des Pauliciens,” *Travaux et mémoires* 4 (1970), pp. 7–67.
- Philagathus (or, Philip Cerameus, twelfth century), *Homiliae*, ed. G. Rossi Taibbi, *Filagato da Cerami Omelie per i vangeli domenicali e le feste di tutto l’anno* [Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Testi e Monumenti 11. Palermo, 1969].
- Philo, *De Abrahamo*, ed. L. Cohn. *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt*, v. 4. Berlin: Reimer, 1902 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962).
- , *De Aeternitate Mundi*, ed. L. Cohn and S. Reiter. *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt*, v. 6. Berlin, 1915 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962).
- , *De Cherubim*, ed. L. Cohn, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. 1. Berlin: Reimer, 1896 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962), pp. 170–201.
- , *De Ebrietate*, ed. P. Wendland. *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt*, v. 2. Berlin: Reimer, 1897 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962).
- , *De Fuga et Inventione*, ed. P. Wendland. *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt*, v. 3. Berlin: Reimer, 1898 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962).
- , *De Mutatione Nominum*, ed. P. Wendland. *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt*, v. 3. Berlin: Reimer, 1897 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962).
- , *De Praemiis et Poenis & De Exsecrationibus*, ed. L. Cohn, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. 5. Berlin: Reimer, 1906 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962), pp. 336–376.
- , *De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini*, ed. L. Cohn. *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt*, v. 1. Berlin: Reimer, 1896 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962).
- , *De Somniis (lib. i–ii)*, ed. P. Wendland, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. 3. Berlin: Reimer, 1898 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962), pp. 204–306.
- , *De Specialibus Legibus (lib. i–iv)*, ed. L. Cohn. *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt*, v. 5. Berlin, 1906 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962).
- , *De Virtutibus*, ed. L. Cohn, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. 5. Berlin: Reimer, 1906 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962), pp. 266–335.
- , *De Vita Mosis (lib. i–ii)*, ed. L. Cohn. *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt*, v. 4. Berlin, 1902 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962).
- , *Legatio ad Gaium*, ed. L. Cohn and S. Reiter, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. 6. Berlin: Reimer, 1915 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962), pp. 155–223.

- , *Legum Allegoriarum Libri i–iii*, ed. L. Cohn, *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt*, v. 1. Berlin: Reimer, 1896 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962).
- , *Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres Sit*, ed. P. Wendland, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. 3. Berlin: Reimer, 1898 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962), pp. 1–71.
- , *Quod Deterius Potiori Insidiari Soleat*, ed. L. Cohn, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. 1. Berlin: Reimer, 1896 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962), pp. 258–298.
- , *Quod Deus Sit Immutabilis*, ed. P. Wendland, *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt*, v. 2. Berlin: Reimer, 1897 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962).
- Philostorgius of Cappadocia (fourth-fifth cent. AD), *Historia Ecclesiastica (fragmenta apud Photium)*, ed. F. Winkelmann (post J. Bidez), *Philostorgius. Kirchengeschichte*, third edn. [GCS. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1981].
- Philostratus, Flavius, *Vita Apollonii*, ed. C.L. Kayser, *Flavii Philostrati opera*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1870 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964).
- Philotheus Coccinus, *Antirrhethici Duodecim Contra Gregoram*, ed. D.V. Kaimakes, Φιλοθέου Κοκκίνου δογματικά ἔργα, Μέρος Α', [Thessalonian Byzantine Writers 3. Thessalonica: Centre for Byzantine Research, 1983].
- Photius (Patriarch, ninth cent. Constantinople), *Bibliotheca*, ed. R. Henry, *Photius. Bibliothèque*, 8 vols. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1: 1959; 2: 1960; 3: 1962; 4: 1965; 5: 1967; 6: 1971; 7: 1974; 8: 1977.
- , *Commentarii in Joannem* (in catenis), ed. J. Reuss, *Johannes-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche [Texte und Untersuchungen 89]*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1966], pp. 359–412.
- , *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, B. Laourdas and L.G. Westerink, *Photii patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochia*, vols. 1–6.2 [Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Leipzig: Teubner, 1: 1983; 2: 1984; 3: 1985; 4: 1986; 5: 1986; 6.1: 1987; 6.2: 1988].
- , *Homiliae*, B. Laourdas, Ἑλληνικά, 12 Παράρτημα, Thessaloniki, 1857–1866.
- Phrynichus of Dorylaeum (second cent. AD), *Eclogae*, ed. E. Fischer, *Die Ekloge des Phrynichos [Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker 1]*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1974].
- Physiologus*, (*redactio prima*), ed. F. Sbordone, *Physiologus*. Rome: Dante Alighieri-Albrighi, Segati, 1936 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1976).
- Plato, *Apologia Socratis*, ed. J. Burnet, *Platonis opera*, vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900 (repr. 1967).
- , *Cratylus*, ed. J. Burnet, *Platonis opera*, vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900 (repr. 1967).
- , *Euthydemus*, ed. J. Burnet, *Platonis opera*, vol. 3. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903 (repr. 1968): St I.271a–307c.
- , *Laches*, ed. J. Burnet, *Platonis opera*, vol. 3. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903 (repr. 1968): St II.178a–201c.
- , *Leges*, ed. J. Burnet, *Platonis opera*, vol. 5. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907 (repr. 1967): St II.624a–969d.
- , *Parmenides*, ed. J. Burnet, *Platonis opera*, vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901 (repr. 1967).
- , *Philebus*, ed. J. Burnet, *Platonis opera*, vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901 (repr. 1967).

- , *Politicus*, ed. J. Burnet, *Platonis opera*, vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900 (repr. 1967): St II.257a–311c.
- , *Protagoras*, ed. J. Burnet, *Platonis opera*, vol. 3. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903 (repr. 1968): St I.309a–362a.
- , *Respublica*, ed. J. Burnet, *Platonis opera*, vol. 4. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902 (repr. 1968): St II.327a–621d.
- , *Theaetetus*, d. J. Burnet, *Platonis opera*, vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900 (repr. 1967).
- , *Timaeus*, ed. J. Burnet, *Platonis opera*, vol. 4. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902 (repr. 1968): St III.17a–92c.
- Plotinus, *Enneades*, ed. P. Henry and H.-R. Schwyzer, *Plotini opera*, 3 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1: 1951; 2: 1959; 3: 1973.
- Plutarch, *Adversus Colotem* (1107d–1127e), ed. R. Westman (post M. Pohlenz), *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 6.2, second edn. Leipzig: Teubner, 1959, pp. 173–215.
- , *Aetia Physica* (91c–91g), ed. C. Hubert, *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 5.3, second edn. Leipzig: Teubner, 1960, pp. 1–26.
- , *Amatorius* (748e–771e), ed. C. Hubert, *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 4. Leipzig: Teubner, 1938 (repr. 1971), pp. 336–396.
- , *An Seni Respublica Gerenda Sit* (783b–797f), ed. H.N. Fowler, *Plutarch's moralia*, vol. 10. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936 (repr. 1969), pp. 76–152.
- , *Camillus*, ed. K. Ziegler, *Plutarchi vitae parallelae*, vol. 1.1, fourth edn. Leipzig: Teubner, 1969, pp. 197–248.
- , *Consolatio ad Uxorem* (608a–612b), ed. W. Sieveking, *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 3. Leipzig: Teubner, 1929 (repr. 1972), pp. 533–542.
- , *Crassus*, ed. K. Ziegler, *Plutarchi vitae parallelae*, vol. 1.2, third edn. Leipzig: Teubner, 1964, pp. 126–177.
- , *De Communibus Notitiis Adversus Stoicos* (1058e–1086b), ed. R. Westman (post M. Pohlenz), *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 6.2, second edn. Leipzig: Teubner, 1959, pp. 62–122.
- , *De Garrulitate* (502b–515a), ed. M. Pohlenz, *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 3. Leipzig: Teubner, 1929 (repr. 1972), pp. 279–311.
- , *De Primo Frigido* (945f–955c), ed. C. Hubert, *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 5.3, second edn. Leipzig: Teubner, 1960, pp. 90–114.
- , *De Tranquillitate Animi* (464e–477f), ed. M. Pohlenz, *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 3. Leipzig: Teubner, 1929 (repr. 1972), pp. 187–220.
- , *De Virtute Morali* (440d–452d), ed. M. Pohlenz, *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 3. Leipzig: Teubner, 1929 (repr. 1972), pp. 127–156.
- , *Dion*, d. K. Ziegler, *Plutarchi vitae parallelae*, vol. 2.1, 2nd edn. Leipzig: Teubner, 1964, pp. 93–135.
- , *Fragmenta*, ed. F.H. Sandbach, *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 7. Leipzig: Teubner, 1967.
- , *Lycurgus*, ed. B. Perrin, *Plutarch's lives*, vol. 1. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1914 (repr. 1967), pp. 204–302.
- , *Quaestiones Convivales* (612c–748d), ed. C. Hubert, *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 4. Leipzig: Teubner, 1938 (repr. 1971), pp. 1–335.
- , *Timoleon*, ed. K. Ziegler, *Plutarchi vitae parallelae*, vol. 2.1, second edn. Leipzig: Teubner, 1964, pp. 222–255.

- Polybius (historian, third-second cent. BC Megalopolis), *Historiae*, ed. T. Büttner-Wobst, *Polybii historiae*, vols. 1–4. Leipzig: Teubner, 1: 1905; 2: 1889; 3: 1893; 4: 1904 (repr. Stuttgart: 1: 1962; 2–3: 1965; 4: 1967).
- Porphyrus (third-fourth cent. Tyre, Rome), *Εἰς τὰ Ἀρμονικὰ Πτολεμαίου Ὑπόμνημα*, ed. I. Düring, *Porphyrus. Kommentar zur Harmonielehre des Ptolemaios*. Göteborg: Elanders, 1932 (repr. New York: Garland, 1980).
- , *Contra Christianos (fragmenta)*, ed. A. von Harnack, *Porphyrus. Gegen die Christen [Abhandlungen der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften]*, Philosoph.-hist. Kl. 1. Berlin: Reimer, 1916].
- , *De Abstinencia*, ed. A. Nauck, *Porphyrus philosophi Platonici opuscula selecta*, second edn. Leipzig: Teubner, 1886 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963).
- , *De Philosophia ex Oraculis*, ed. G. Wolff, *Porphyrus de philosophia ex oraculis haurienda*. Berlin: Springer, 1856 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1962).
- , *Sententiae ad Intelligibilia Ducentes*, ed. E. Lamberz, *Porphyrus sententiae ad intelligibilia ducentes*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1975.
- , *In Platonis Parmenidem Commentaria (fragmenta)*, ed. P. Hadot, *Porphyrus et Victorinus*, vol. 2. Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1968, pp. 64–112.
- , *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria (fragmenta)*, ed. A.R. Sodano, *Porphyrus in Platonis Timaeum commentariorum fragmenta*. Naples: n.p., 1964.
- , *Isagoge sive Quinque Voces*, ed. A. Busse, *Porphyrus isagoge et in Aristotelis categoriarum commentarium [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 4.1]*. Berlin: Reimer, 1887].
- , *Quaestionum Homericarum ad Iliadem Pertinentium Reliquiae*, ed. E. Lamberz, *Porphyrus sententiae ad intelligibilia ducentes*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1975.
- Posidonius, *Fragmenta*, ed. W. Theiler, *Posidonios. Die Fragmente*, vol. 1. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1982.
- Proclus of Constantinople (Bishop, fifth cent.), *Homilia de Dogmate Incarnationis*, ed. Ch. Martin, “Un florilège grec d’homélies christologiques des IV^e et V^e siècles sur la Nativité (Paris. gr. 1491),” *Muséon* 54 (1941): 44–48.
- , *Homilia De Dogmate Incarnationis*, ed. Ch. Martin, “Un florilège grec d’homélies christologiques des IV^e et V^e siècles sur la Nativité (Paris. gr. 1491),” *Muséon* 54 (1941), pp. 44–48.
- , *Homilia in Sanctam Virginem ac Dei Genitricem Mariam*, ed. N. Constanas, *Proclus of Constantinople and the Cult of the Virgin in Late Antiquity*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2003, pp. 256–265.
- , *Mystagogia in Baptisma*, ed. F.J. Leroy, *L’homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople [Studi e Testi 247]*. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1967], pp. 188–194.
- , *Tomus ad Armenios*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, vol. 4.2. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1914, pp. 187–195.
- Proclus of Athens (fifth cent.), *De Decem Dubitationibus Circa Providentiam*, ed. H. Boese, *Procli Diadochi tria opuscula*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1960, pp. 5–108.
- , *De Malorum Subsistentia*, ed. H. Boese, *Procli Diadochi tria opuscula*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1960, pp. 173–191, 211–265.
- , *De Providentia et Fato et Eo Quod in Nobis ad Theodorum Mechanicum*, ed. H. Boese, *Procli Diadochi tria opuscula*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1960.

- , *Eclogae De Philosophia Chaldaica*, ed. É. des Places, *Oracles chaldaïques*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1971, pp. 206–212.
- , *Excerpta e Platonica Procli Theologia*, ed. V. Cousin, *Procli philosophi Platonici opera inedita*, pt. 3. Paris: Durand, 1864 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1961), pp. 1243–1258.
- , *Hypotyposis Astronomicarum Positionum*, ed. C. Manitius, *Procli Diadochi hypotyposis astronomicarum positionum*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1909 (repr. Stuttgart: 1974).
- , *In Platonis Alcibiadem i*, ed. L.G. Westerink, *Proclus Diadochus. Commentary on the first Alcibiades of Plato*. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1954.
- , *In Platonis Parmenidem*, ed. V. Cousin, *Procli philosophi Platonici opera inedita*, pt. 3. Paris: Durand, 1864 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1961), pp. 617–1244.
- , *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, ed. W. Kroll, *Procli Diadochi in Platonis rem publicam commentarii*, 2 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1: 1899; 2: 1901 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1965).
- , *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, ed. E. Diehl, *Procli Diadochi in Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, 3 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1: 1903; 2: 1904; 3: 1906 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1965).
- , *In Primum Euclidis Elementorum Librum Commentarii*, ed. G. Friedlein, *Procli Diadochi in primum Euclidis elementorum librum commentarii*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1873.
- , *Institutio Physica*, ed. A. Ritzenfeld, *Procli Diadochi Lycii institutio physica*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1912.
- , *Institutio Theologica*, ed. E.R. Dodds, *Proclus. The elements of theology*, second edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963 (repr. 1977).
- , *Theologia Platonica (lib. 1–6)*, eds. D. Saffrey and L.G. Westerink, *Proclus. Théologie platonicienne*, vols. 1–6. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1: 1968; 2: 1974; 3: 1978; 4: 1981; 5: 1987; 6: 1997.
- Procopius of Caesarea (historian, sixth cent.), *De Aedificiis (lib. 1–6)*, ed. G. Wirth (post J. Haury), *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, vol. 4. Leipzig: Teubner, 1964.
- , *De Bellis*, ed. G. Wirth (post J. Haury), *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, vols. 1–2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1: 1962; 2: 1963.
- Procopius of Gaza (fifth–sixth cent.), *Catena in Canticum Cantorum*, PG.87(2). 1545–1753.
- , *Catena in Ecclesiasten* (e cod. Marc. gr. 22), ed. S. Leanza, *Procopii Gazaei catena in Ecclesiasten necnon Pseudochrysostomi commentarius in eundem Ecclesiasten* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 4. Turnhout: Brepols, 1978].
- , *Commentarii in Isaiam*, PG.87(2).1817–2717.
- , *Epistulae 1–166*, ed. A. Garzya and R.-J. Loenertz, *Procopii Gazaei epistolae et declamationes* [*Studia patristica et Byzantina* 9. Ettal: Buch-Kunstverlag, 1963].
- , *Refutatio Procli* (fragmentum e cod. Vat. gr. 1096), PG.87(2).1857–1866.
- Pseudo-Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De Anima Libri Mantissa (De Anima liber alter)*, ed. I. Bruns, *Alexandri Aphrodisiensis praeter commentaria scripta minora* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, suppl. 2.1. Berlin: Reimer, 1887], pp. 101–186.
- Pseudo-Amphilochius of Iconium, *Oratio in Resurrectionem Domini (e cod. Vat. gr. 2194)*, ed. S. Lilla, “Un omelia greca sulla Pasqua,” *Byzantion* 38 (1968) 282–284. ed. S. Lilla, “Un omelia greca sulla Pasqua,” *Byzantion* 38 (1968), pp. 282–284.

- , *Oratio In Resurrectionem Domini*, (e cod. Vat. gr. 1936), ed. S. Lilla, "La fonte inedita di un' omelia greca sulla Pasqua," *Byzantion* 40 (1970), pp. 68–73.
- Pseudo-Anastasius of Sinai (written after the seventh century AD), *De Haeresibus*, ed. K.-H. Uthemann, "Die dem Anastasios Sinaites zugeschriebene Synopsis de haeresibus et synodis," *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum* 14 (1982), pp. 77–86.
- , *Disputatio Adversus Judaeos*, PG.89.1203–1282.
- Pseudo-Arcadius of Antioch (grammarian, prob. fourth century AD), *De Accentibus*, ed. M. Schmidt, *Ἐπιτομή τῆς καθολικῆς προσῳδίας Ἡρωδιανοῦ*, Jena: Mauke, 1860.
- Pseudo-Athanasius, *Argumentum in Psalmos*, PG.27.56–60.
- , *De Sancta Trinitate (dialogi 1; 3; 5)*, PG.28: 1116–1173A, 1201C–1249B, 1265C–1285B.
- , *De Sancta Trinitate (dialogi 2 and 4)*, PG.28.116–1286. Also an edition by C. Bizer, *Studien zu pseudathanasianischen Dialogen der Orthodoxos und Aëtios* [Diss. Bonn (1970)], pp. 80–126, 307–334.
- , *Dialogi Duo Contra Macedonianos*, PG.28.1292–1337.
- , *Disputatio Contra Arium*, PG.28.440–501.
- , *Doctrina ad Antiochum Ducem*, ed. W. Dindorf, *Athanasii Alexandrini praecepta ad Antiochum*. Leipzig: Weigel, 1857.
- , *Epistula ad Episcopum Persarum*, PG.28.1565–1568.
- , *Homilia in Occursum Domini*, PG.28.973–1000.
- , *Homilia in Sanctos Patres et Prophetas*, PG.28.1061–1073.
- , *In Nativitatem Praecursoris*, PG.28.905–913.
- , *Liber de Definitionibus*, PG.28.533–553.
- , *Oratio Quarta Contra Arianos*, ed. A. Stegmann, *Die pseudoathanasianische IVte Rede gegen die Arianer' als κατά Ἀρειανῶν λόγος ein Apollinarisgut*. Rottenburg: Bader, 1917, pp. 43–87.
- , *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem*, PG.28.597–700.
- , *Quaestiones Aliae*, PG.28.773–796.
- , *Quaestiones in Scripturam Sacram*, PG.28.712–773.
- , *Sermo Contra Latinos*, PG.28.824–832.
- , *Sermo De Descriptione Deiparae*, PG.28.944–957.
- , *Sermo in Annuntiationem Deiparae*, PG.28.917–940.
- , *Sermo Major (collatio cod. Laurentiani gr. 4.23)*, ed. H. Nordberg, *Athanasiana I* [Commentationes humanarum litterarum 30.2. Helsinki: Centraltryckeriet, 1962], pp. 57–71.
- , *Sermo Major De Fide*, ed. E. Schwartz, "Der s.g. sermo maior de fide des Athanasius," *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosoph.-philol. und hist. Kl.* 6 (1925), pp. 5–37.
- , *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae*, PG.28.284–437.
- , *Syntagma ad Quendam Politicum*, PG.28.1396–1408.
- , *Testimonia e Scriptura (De Communi Essentia Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti)*, PG.28.29–80.
- , *Vita Sanctae Syncreticae*, PG.28.1488–1557. Pseudo-Athanasius, *Sermo Major* (collatio cod. Laurentiani gr. 4.23), ed. H. Nordberg, *Athanasiana I* [Commentationes humanarum litterarum 30.2. Helsinki: Centraltryckeriet, 1962], pp. 57–71.
- Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Constitutiones Asceticae*, PG.31.1320–1428.
- , *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaiam*, ed. P. Trevisan, *San Basilio. Commento al pro-*

- feta Isaia*, 2 vols. Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1939. My own suggestion is that this is a work by Cassian the Sabaite.
- , *Epitimia in Canonicas* (*epitimia* 25), PG.31.1313–1316.
- , *Homilia de Virginitate*, ed. D. Amand and M.C. Moons, "Une curieuse homélie grecque inédite sur la virginité adressée aux pères de famille," *Revue Bénédictine* 63 (1953), pp. 35–69.
- , *Homilia in Psalmum* 37, PG.30.81–104.
- , *Poenae in Monachos Delinquentes* (*epitimia* 24), PG 31.1305–1308.
- , *Sermo 11* (*sermo Asceticus et Exhortatio de Renuntiatione Mundi*), PG.31.625–648.
- , *Sermo 13* (*Sermo Asceticus*), PG.31.869–881.
- , *Sermones De Moribus a Symeone Metaphrasta Collecti*, PG.32.1116–1381.
- Pseudo-Basil of Seleucia, *De Vita et Miraculis Sanctae Theclae Librii ii*, 1.7, d. G. Dagon, *Vie et miracles de sainte Thècle* [*Subsidia hagiographica* 62. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1978], pp. 168–412.
- Pseudo-Caesarius, *Caesarii Gregorii Fratris, Dialogi Quator*, PG.38.851–1190.
- , *Erotapokriseis*, ed. Rudolf Riedinger, *Pseudo-Kaisarios, Die Erotapokriseis*, Berlin, [*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1989].
- Pseudo-Clement of Rome, *Epistula Clementis ad Jacobum*, ed. B. Rehm, J. Irmscher and F. Paschke, *Die Pseudoklementinen I. Homilien*, second edn. [GCS 42. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 5, 1969], pp. 5–22.
- , *Epistulae De Virginitate*, ed. F.X. Funk and F. Diekamp, *Patres apostolici*, vol. 2, third edn. Tübingen: Laupp, 1913.
- , *Homiliae*, ed. B. Rehm, J. Irmscher and F. Paschke, *Die Pseudoklementinen I. Homilien*, second edn. [GCS 42. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1969].
- , *Recognitiones* (*e Pseudo-Caesario*). ed. B. Rehm and F. Paschke, *Die Pseudoklementinen II. Rekognitionen* [GCS 51. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1965].
- Pseudo-Cyril of Alexandria, *Collectio Dictorum Veteris Testamenti*, PG.77.1176–1289.
- , *De Sancta Trinitate*, PG.77.1120–1173.
- , *De Sancta Trinitate*, PG.77.1120–1173.
- Pseudo-Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Gerasimi*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας, vol. 4. St. Petersburg: Kirschbaum, 1897 (repr. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1963), pp. 175–184.
- Pseudo-David (sixth-eighth cent.), *In Porphyrii Isagogen Commentarium, Davidis prolegomena et in Porphyrii isagogen commentarium* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 18.2. Berlin: Reimer, 1904], pp. 80–219.
- Pseudo-Didymus (= Cassian), *De Trinitate* (*lib. 1*), ed. J. Hönscheid, *Didymus der Blinde. De trinitate, Buch 1* [*Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* 44. Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1975].
- , *De Trinitate* (*lib. 2.1–7*), ed. I. Seiler, *Didymus der Blinde. De trinitate, Buch 2, Kapitel 1–7* [*Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* 52. Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1975].
- , *De Trinitate* (*lib. 2.8–27*), PG.39.600–769.
- , *De Trinitate* (*lib. 3*), PG.39.773–992.
- , *Dialexis Montanistae et Orthodoxi*, ed. G. Ficker, "Widerlegung eines Montanisten," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 26 (1905), pp. 449–458.

- Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Coelesti Hierarchia*, ed. G. Heil and A.M. Ritter, *Corpus Dionysiacum ii: Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. De coelesti hierarchia, de ecclesiastica hierarchia, de mystica theologia, epistulae* [Patristische Texte und Studien 36. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991], pp. 7–59.
- , *De Divinis Nominibus*, ed. B.R. Suchla, *Corpus Dionysiacum i: Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. De divinis nominibus* [Patristische Texte und Studien 33. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1990].
- , *De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*, ed. G. Heil and A.M. Ritter, *Corpus Dionysiacum ii: Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. De coelesti hierarchia, de ecclesiastica hierarchia, de mystica theologia, epistulae* [Patristische Texte und Studien 36. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991], pp. 63–132.
- , *Epistulae*, ed. G. Heil and A.M. Ritter, *Corpus Dionysiacum ii: Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. De coelesti hierarchia, de ecclesiastica hierarchia, de mystica theologia, epistulae* [Patristische Texte und Studien 36. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991], pp. 155–210.
- Pseudo-Epiphanius of Salamis, *Anacephalaeosis*, ed. K. Holl, *Epiphanius, Bände 1–3: Ancoratus und Panarion* [GCS 25, 31, 37. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1: 1915; 2: 1922; 3: 1933].
- , *Homilia in Assumptionem Christi*, PG.43.477–485.
- , *Homilia in Laudes Mariae Deiparae*, PG.43.485–501.
- Pseudo-Eustathius of Antioch, *Homilia Christologica in Lazarum, Mariam et Martham*, ed. F. Cavallera, *S. Eustathii episcopi Antiocheni in Lazarum, Mariam et Martham homilia christologica*. Paris: Picard, 1905: 26–51.
- Pseudo-Gregentius, *Dialexis*, ed. A. Berger, *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar*. Berlin—New York: De Gruyter, 2006, pp. 450–802.
- , *Vita Sancti Gregentii*, ed. A. Berger, *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar*. Berlin—New York: De Gruyter, 2006, pp. 188–410.
- Pseudo-Gregory of Nazianzus, *Liturgia Sancti Gregorii*, PG.36.700–733.
- Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa (= Anastasius of Sinai), *Sermo I in Constitutionem Hominis Secundum Imaginem Dei*, K.-H. Uthemann, *Sermones duo in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem Dei necnon opuscula adversus Monotheletas* [Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca 12. Turnhout: Brepols, 1985].
- , *De Creatione Hominis Sermo Alter*, ed. H. Hörner, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, suppl. Leiden: Brill, 1972, pp. 41–72.
- , *De Creatione Hominis Sermo Primus* (recensio C), ed. H. Hörner, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, suppl. Leiden: Brill, 1972, pp. 2a–39a.
- , *In Annuntiationem*, ed. D. Montagna, “La lode alla theotokos nei testi greci dei secoli iv–vii,” *Marianum* 24 (1962), pp. 536–539.
- , *Inventio Imaginis in Camulianis*, ed. E. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende* [Texte und Untersuchungen 18. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1899].
- , *Liber de Cognitione Dei* (Θεογνωσία) (fragmenta apud Euthymium Zigabenum, *Panoplia Dogmatica*), PG.130.28: 28–29; 257–276; 312–317.
- Pseudo-Gregory Thaumaturgus, *Ad Tatianum De Anima Per Capita Disputatio*, PG.10.1137–1145.
- , *In Annuntiationem Sanctae Virginis Mariae* (homiliae 1–2), PG.10.1145–1169.
- , *Sermo in Omnes Sanctos*, PG.10.1197–1204.

- Pseudo-Herodianus, *De Locutionum Pravitatibus*, (e codd. Barocc. 76 + Laur. VI-22 + Mon. gr. 529 + Paris. suppl. gr. 66), ed. J.A. Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecarum Oxoniensium*, vol. 3. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1836 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1963), pp. 246–262.
- Pseudo-Hesychius of Jerusalem (fifth cent. AD), *In Lazarum et in Ramos Palmarum (homilia 18)* (olim sub nomine Titi Bostrensis), ed. M. Aubineau, *Les homélies festales d'Hésychius de Jérusalem*, vol. 2. *Les homélies xvi–xxi* [Subsidia hagiographica 59. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1980], pp. 748–776.
- , *Homilia i in Sanctum Longinum Centurionem (homilia 19)*, ed. M. Aubineau, *Les homélies festales d'Hésychius de Jérusalem*, vol. 2. *Les homélies xvi–xxi* [Subsidia hagiographica 59. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1980], pp. 817–844.
- Pseudo-Hippolytus, *Contra Beronem et Heliconem*, ed. F. Diekamp, *Doctrina patrum de incarnatione verbi*. Münster: Aschendorff, 1907, pp. 321–326.
- , *Fragmenta in Proverbia*, ed. H. Achelis, *Hippolyt's kleinere exegetische und homiletische Schriften* [GCS 1.2. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897], p. 168.
- , *Fragmenta in Psalmos*, ed. H. Achelis, *Hippolyt's kleinere exegetische und homiletische Schriften* [GCS 1.2. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897], pp. 131–145, 147–153.
- , *In Canticum Canticorum* (paraphrasis), ed. M. Richard, “Une paraphrase grecque résumée du commentaire d'Hippolyte sur le cantique des cantiques,” *Muséon* 77 (1964), pp. 140–154.
- Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *Christi Discipulum Benignum Esse Debere*, PG.48.1069–1072.
- , *De Chananaea*, PG.52.449–460.
- , *De Circo*, PG.59.567–570.
- , *De Corruptoribus Virginum*, PG.60.741–744.
- , *De Eleemosyna*, PG.60.707–712.
- , *De Fugienda Simulata Specie*, PG.48.1073–1076.
- , *De Jejuniis (sermones 1–7)*, PG.60.711–724.
- , *De Mansuetudine Sermo*, PG.63.549–556.
- , *De Paenitentia (homiliae 1–9)*, PG.49.277–350.
- , *De Paenitentia (sermo 1)*, PG.60.681–700.
- , *De Paenitentia (sermo 1)*, PG.60.681–700.
- , *De Paenitentia (sermo 3)*, PG.60.705–708.
- , *De Patientia Et De Consummatione Huius Saeculi*, PG.63.937–942.
- , *De Perfecta Caritate*, PG.56.279–290.
- , *De Phariseo*, PG.59.589–592.
- , *De Pseudopropheta*, PG.59.553–568.
- , *De Salute Animae*, PG.60.735–738.
- , *De Spe*, PG.60.771–774.
- , *De Turtura Seu de Ecclesia Sermo*, PG.55.599–602.
- , *Eclogae i–xlviii ex Diversis Homiliis*, PG.63.567–902.
- , *Epistula ad Caesarium*, ed. P.G. Nicolopoulos, *Αἱ εἰς τὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν Χρυσόστομον ἐσφαλμένως ἀποδιδόμεναι ἐπιστολαί*, Athens: Tsiveriotis, 1973, pp. 513–518.
- , *Epistula ad Monachos*, ed. P.G. Nicolopoulos, *Αἱ εἰς τὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν Χρυσόστομον ἐσφαλμένως ἀποδιδόμεναι ἐπιστολαί*, Athens: Tsiveriotis, 1973, pp. 481–493.
- , *In Assumptionem Domini*, ed. C. Baur, “Drei unedierte Festpredigten aus der Zeit der nestorianischen Streitigkeiten,” *Traditio* 9 (1953), pp. 116–119.

- , *In Bassum Martyrem*, PG.50.719–726.
- , *In Exaltationem Venerandae Crucis*, PG.59.679–682.
- , *In Genesim* (sermo 3), PG.56.525–538.
- , *In Illud: Exeuntes Pharisaei*, PG.61.705–710.
- , *In Illud: Memor Fui Dei*, PG.61.689–698.
- Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *In Mediam Hebdomadam Jejuniurum*, PG.59.701–704.
- , *In Parabolam de Ficu*, PG.59.585–590.
- , *In Parabolam De Filio Prodigio*, PG.59.515–522.
- , *In Pentecosten* (sermo 1), PG.52.803–808.
- , *In Poenitentiam Ninivitarum*, PG.64.424–433.
- , *In Principium Jejuniurum*, PG.62.745–748.
- , *In Psalmos 101–107*, PG.55.635–674.
- , *In Psalmum 100*, PG.55.629–636.
- , *In Psalmum 118* (homiliae 1–3), PG.55.675–708.
- , *In Psalmum 50* (homilia 1), PG.55.565–575.
- , *In Psalmum 94*, PG.55.615–620.
- , *In Sanctum Pascha* (sermo 6), ed. P. Nautin, *Homélie pascales*, vol. 1 [*Sources chrétiennes* 27. Paris: Cerf, 1950], pp. 117–191.
- , *In Venerandum Crucem*, PG.59.675–678.
- , *Interpretatio in Daniele Prophetam*, PG.56.193–246.
- , *Oratio de Nativitate*, eds. R.F. Regtuit, J.M. Tevel, and K.-H. Uthemann, *Homiliae Pseudo-Chrysostomicae*, vol. 1. Turnhout: Brepols, 1994.
- , *Oratio Secunda*, PG.63.923–928.
- , *Prooemia in Psalmos* (fragmenta), PG.55.531–538.
- , *Quod Mari Similis Sic Haec Vita*, PG.64.19–22.
- , *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae*, PG.56.313–386.
- Pseudo-John of Damascus, *Commentarii in Epistulas Pauli*, PG.95.441–1033.
- , *Epistula ad Theophilum Imperatorem de Sanctis et Venerandis Imaginibus*, PG.95.345–385.
- , *Passio Sancti Artemii*, PG.96.1252–1320.
- , *Sermo in Annuntiationem Mariae*, PG.96.648–661.
- , *Vita Barlaam et Joasaph*, ed. G.R. Woodward and H. Mattingly, [*St. John Damascene*]. *Barlaam and Joasaph*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1914 (repr. 1983).
- Pseudo-Justin, *Confutatio Dogmatum Quorundam Aristotelicorum*, ed. J.C.T. Otto, *Corpus apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi*, vol. 4, third edn. Jena: Mauke, 1880 (repr. Wiesbaden: Sändig, 1969), pp. 100–222.
- , *De Resurrectione*, ed. J.C.T. Otto, *Corpus apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi*, vol. 3, third edn. Jena: Mauke, 1879 (repr. Wiesbaden: Sändig, 1971), pp. 210–248.
- , *Quaestiones Christianorum ad Gentiles*, ed. J.C.T. Otto, *Corpus apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi*, vol. 5, third edn. Jena: Mauke, 1881 (repr. Wiesbaden: Sändig, 1969), pp. 246–326.
- , *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos*, ed. J.C.T. Otto, *Corpus apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi*, vol. 5, third edn. Jena: Mauke, 1881 (repr. Wiesbaden: Sändig, 1969), pp. 2–246.
- Pseudo-Macarius, *Epistula Magna*, ed. W. Jaeger, *Two rediscovered works of ancient*

- Christian literature: Gregory of Nyssa and Macarius*. Leiden: Brill, 1954, pp. 233–301.
- , *Homiliae 7 (collectio HA)*, ed. G.L. Marriott, *Macarii anecdota* [Harvard Theological Studies 5. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1918 (repr. New York: Kraus, 1969)], pp. 19–48.]]
- , *Homiliae Spirituales 50 (collectio H)*, ed. H. Dörries, E. Klostermann and M. Krüger, *Die 50 geistlichen Homilien des Makarios* [Patristische Texte und Studien 4. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1964].
- , *Opusculum 1 (= De custodia cordis)*, PG.34.821–841.
- , *Sermones 1–22; 24–27*, ed. E. Klostermann and H. Berthold, *Neue Homilien des Makarius/Symeon* [Texte und Untersuchungen 72. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961].
- , *Sermones 64 (collectio B)*, ed. H. Berthold, *Makarios/Symeon Reden und Briefe*, 2 vols. [GCS. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1973].
- Pseudo-Methodius (seventh cent. AD), *Apocalypsis (redactio 3)*, A.C. Lolos, *Die dritte und vierte Redaktion des Ps.-Methodios* [Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 94. Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1978], pp. 22, 25–38, 40–75.
- , *Apocalypsis (redactio 2)*, ed. A.C. Lolos, *Die Apokalypse des Ps.-Methodios* [Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 83. Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1976], pp. 47–141.
- Pseudo-Nicephorus I of Constantinople, *Chronographia Brevis (recensiones duae)*, ed. C. de Boor, *Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opuscula historica*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1880 (repr. New York: Arno, 1975), pp. 81–135.
- Pseudo-Plato, *Alcibiades ii*, ed. J. Burnet, *Platonis opera*, vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901 (repr. 1967).
- Pseudo-Plutarch, *Placita Philosophorum* (874d–911c), ed. J. Mau, *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 5.2.1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1971.
- Pseudo-Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Θεοδωρήτου ἐπισκόπου πόλεως Κύρου, ἐνός τῶν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι ζ' ἀγίων πατέρων, πρὸς τὰς ἐπενεχθείσας αὐτῷ ἐπερωτήσεις παρὰ τινος τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐπισκόπων Ἀποκρίσεις. St. Petersburg: Kirschbaum, 1895.
- Pythagoras (editorial attribution), *Fragmenta Astrologica*, ed. K.O. Zuretti, *Codices Hispanienses* [Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum 11.2. Brussels: Larmertin, 1934], pp. 124–125, 135–138, 139–144.
- Registrum Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani (1315–1331)*, eds. H. Hunger and O. Kresten, *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1315–1331, vol. 1 [Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 19/1. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981], pp. 100–614.
- Romanus Melodus (sixth cent.), *Cantica*, ed. J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode. Hymnes*, vols. 1–5 [Sources chrétiennes 99, 110, 114, 128, 283]. Paris: Cerf, 1: 1964; 2: 1965; 3: 1965; 4: 1967; 5: 1981.
- , *Cantica Dubia*, ed. P. Maas and C.A. Trypanis, *Sancti Romani Melodi cantica: cantica dubia*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1970.
- Scholia in Aristophanem, *Commentarium in Nubes* (scholia recentiora Tzetzae), ed. D. Holwerda, *Jo. Tzetzae commentarii in Aristophanem* [Scholia in Aristophanem 4.2. Groningen: Bouma, 1960], pp. 367–689.

- Scholia In Hesiodum, *Scholia in Opera et Dies* (scholia vetera partim Procli et recentiora partim Moschopuli, Tzetzae et Joannis Galeni), ed. T. Gaisford, *Poetae minores Graeci*, vol. 2 [*Scholia ad Hesiodum*]. Leipzig: Kühn, 1823.
- Scholia in Homerum, *Scholia in Iliadem* (scholia vetera), ed. H. Erbse, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* (scholia vetera), vols. 1–5, 7. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1: 1969; 2: 1971; 3: 1974; 4: 1975; 5: 1977; 7: 1988.
- Scholia in Lucianum, *Scholia in Lucianum* (scholia vetera et recentiora Arethae), ed. H. Rabe, *Scholia in Lucianum*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1906 (repr. Stuttgart: 1971).
- Scholia in Maximum Confessorem, *Scholia*, eds. C. Laga and C. Steel, *Maximi confessoris quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 2 vols. [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 7 & 22. Turnhout: Brepols, 1980; 1990].
- Scripta Anonyma Adversus Judaeos, *Dialogus Contra Judaeos*, ed. G. Bardy, *Les trophées de Damas: controverse judéo-chrétienne du VIIe siècle* [*Patrologia Orientalis* 15:2. Paris: Firmin-Didot et Compagnie, 1920].
- , *Dialogus Timothei et Aquilae*, ed. R.G. Robertson, *The Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila: A Critical Text, Introduction to the Manuscript Evidence, and an Inquiry into the Sources and Literary Relationships*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University (Diss.), 1986.
- Severianus of Gabala (fourth cent.), *Fragmenta in Epistulam i ad Corinthios* (in catenis), ed. K. Staab, *Pauluskommentar aus der griechischen Kirche aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt*. Münster: Aschendorff, 1933, pp. 225–277.
- (fourth cent.), *In Illud: Quando Ipsi Subiciet Omnia*, ed. S. Haidacher, “Drei unedierte Chrysostomus-Texte einer Baseler Handschrift”, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 31 (1907), pp. 150–167.
- Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos*, ed. H. Mutschmann and J. Mau, *Sexti Empirici opera*, vols. 2 & 3 (second edn.). Leipzig: Teubner, 2: 1914; 3: 1961.
- , *Pyrrhoniae Hypotyposes*, ed. H. Mutschmann, *Sexti Empirici opera*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1912.
- Simplicius, *Commentarius in Epicteti Enchiridion*, ed. F. Dübner, *Theophrasti characteres*. Paris: Didot, 1842.
- , *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, ed. K. Kalbfleisch, *Simplicii in Aristotelis categorias commentarium* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 8. Berlin: Reimer, 1907].
- , *In Aristotelis Libros de Anima Commentaria*, ed. M. Hayduck, *Simplicii in libros Aristotelis de anima commentaria* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 11. Berlin: Reimer, 1882].
- , *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, ed. H. Diels, *Simplicii in Aristotelis physicorum libros octo commentaria*, 2 vols. [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 9 & 10. Berlin: Reimer, 9: 1882; 10: 1895].
- , *In Aristotelis Quattuor Libros De Caelo Commentaria*, ed. J.L. Heiberg, *Simplicii in Aristotelis de caelo commentaria* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 7. Berlin: Reimer, 1894].
- Socrates Scholasticus, (fourth-fifth cent. AD), *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. W. Bright, *Socrates' ecclesiastical history*, second edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893.
- Sophocles, *Antigone*, ed. A. Dain and P. Mazon, *Sophocle*, vol. 1. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1955 (repr. 1967, first edn. rev.), pp. 72–122.

- , *Oedipus Coloneus*, ed. A. Dain and P. Mazon, *Sophocle*, vol. 3. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1960 (repr. 1967, first edn. rev.), pp. 78–152.
- Soranus of Ephesus (medical doctor, first-second cent. AD), *Gynaeciorum libri iv*, ed. J. Ilberg, *Sorani Gynaeciorum libri iv, de signis fracturarum, de fasciis, vita Hippocratis secundum Soranum* [*Corpus medicorum Graecorum*, vol. 4. Leipzig: Teubner, 1927].
- Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. J. Bidez and G.C. Hansen, *Sozomenus. Kirchengeschichte* [GCS 50. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960].
- Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica* (epitome), ed. A. Meineke, *Stephan von Byzanz. Ethnika*. Berlin: Reimer, 1849 (repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1958).
- Stobaeus, *Anthologium*, ed. C. Wachsmuth and O. Hense, *Ioannis Stobaei anthologium*, 5 vols. Berlin: Weidmann, 1–2: 1884; 3: 1894; 4: 1909; 5: 1912 (repr. 1958).
- Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ed. J. von Arnim, *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*, 4 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1905 (repr. Stuttgart: 1968).
- Strabo, *Geographica*, ed. A. Meineke, *Strabonis geographica*, 3 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1877 (repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1969).
- Symeon Logothetes (tenth cent.), *Chronicon*, (sub nomine Leonis Grammatici vel Theodosii Melissenii vel Iulii Pollucis) (redactio A + B operis *sub titulo* Epitome fort. sub auctore Trajano Patricio), ed. I. Bekker, *Leonis Grammatici chronographia* [*Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*. Bonn: Weber, 1842].
- Symeon Neotheologus, *Capita Theologica*, ed. J. Darrouzès, *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, Chapitres théologiques, gnostiques et pratiques* [*Sources chrétiennes* 51bis. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1996], pp. 40–186; 191.
- , *Catecheses 1–34*, eds. B. Krivochéine and J. Paramelle, *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, Catéchèses* [*Sources chrétiennes* 96, 104, 113. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1963, 1964, 1965].
- Symeon Seth (eleventh-century polymath), *Syntagma de Alimentorum Facultatibus*. ed. B. Langkavel, *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma de alimentorum facultatibus*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1868.
- Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopoleos, *Synaxarium mensis Februarii*, ed. H. Delehaye, *Acta Sanctorum* 62, Brussels, 1902 (repr. Wetteren, Belgium: Imprimerie Cultura, 1985), pp. 437–496.
- Synesius of Cyrrhenia, *Aegyptii sive De Providentia*, ed. N. Terzaghi, *Synesii Cyrenensis opuscula*. Rome: Polygraphica, 1944.
- Synodicon Orthodoxiae*, ed. J. Gouillard, “Le Synodikon de l’Orthodoxie,” *Travaux et mémoires* 2 (1967), pp. 45–107.
- Syrianus of Athens (Neoplatonist, fifth cent. AD), *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*,
 ——— (Neoplatonist, fifth cent.), *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, ed. W. Kroll, *Syriani in metaphysica commentaria* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 6.1. Berlin: Reimer, 1902].
- Tatian, *Oratio ad Graecos*, ed. E.J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1915, pp. 268–305.
- Theodore Anagnostes (historian, fifth-sixth cent. AD), *Epitome Historiae Tripartitae*, G.C. Hansen, *Theodoros Anagnostes. Kirchengeschichte* second edn. [GCS der ersten Jahrhunderte. Neue Folge 3. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995].

- Theodore Daphnopates (a patrician of Constantinople, tenth century), *Epistulae*, ed. J. Darrouzès and L.G. Westerink, *Théodore Daphnopatès. Correspondance*. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1978, pp. 31–231.
- Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentarii in Joannem* (e catenis), R. Devreesse, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste* [*Studi e Testi* 141. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1948], pp. 305–419.
- , *Commentarius in XII Prophetas Minores*, H.N. Sprenger, *Theodori Mopsuesteni commentarius in XII Prophetas* [*Göttinger Orientalforschungen. V. Reihe: Biblica et Patristica* 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1977].
- , *Expositio in Psalmos*, R. Devreesse, *Le commentaire de Théodore de Mopsueste sur les Psaumes (I–LXXX)* [*Studi e Testi* 93. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1939].
- , *Fragmenta in Epistulam ad Romanos*, K. Staab, *Pauluskommentar aus der griechischen Kirche aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt*. Münster: Aschendorff, 1933, pp. 113–172.
- Theodore Studites (eighth-ninth cent. AD), *Canon in Requiem Monachi*, ed. M. Arco Magrì, “Il canone in requiem monachi di Teodoro Studita,” *Helikon* 18/19 (1978/1979), pp. 280–292.
- , *Epistulae*, ed. G. Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, vol. 1–2 [*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, Series Berolinensis* 31. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1992].
- , *Homilia in Nativitatem Mariae*, PG.96.680–697.
- , *Laudatio Theophanis Confessoris*, ed. S. Efthymiadis, “Le panégyrique de S. Théophile le Confesseur par S. Théodore Stoudite (BHG 1792b),” *Analecta Bollandiana* 111 (1993), pp. 268–284.
- , *Μεγάλη Κατήχησις* A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Theodoros Studites, Μεγάλη κατήχησις*. St. Petersburg: Kirschbaum, 1904.
- , *Parva Catechesis*, ed. E. Auvray, *Theodori Studitis Parva Catechesis*. Paris, 1891.
- , *Sermones Catecheseos Magnae*, ed. J. Cozza-Luzi, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca* 9/2 (Cat. 1–77), 10/1 (Cat. 78–111), Rome: Bibliotheca Vaticana et Typi Vaticani, 1888–1905.
- , *Cantica*, J.B. Pitra, “S. Theodorus Studites,” *Analecta sacra spicilegio Solesmensi* 1. Paris: Jouby et Roger, 1876, pp. 336–380.
- Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Ad Eos Qui in Euphratesia et Osrhoena Regione; Syria, Phoenicia et Cilicia Vitam Monasticam Degunt* (ex Epistula 151), PG.83.1416–1433.
- , *Commentaria in Isaiaem*, ed. J.-N. Guinot, *Théodoret de Cyr. Commentaire sur Isaïe*, vols. 1–3 [*Sources chrétiennes* 276, 295, 315. Paris: Cerf, 1: 1980; 2: 1982; 3: 1984].
- , *De Incarnatione Domini*, PG.75.1420–1477. This work was found in works attributed to Cyril of Alexandria. (PG.75.1419–1478).
- , *De Providentia Orationes Decem*, PG.83.556–773.
- , *Epistulae: Collectio Patmensis* (*Epistulae* 1–52), ed. Y. Azéma, *Théodoret de Cyr. Correspondance I* [*Sources chrétiennes* 40. Paris: Cerf, 1955].
- , *Epistulae: Collectio Sirmondiana* (*Epistulae* 1–95), ed. Y. Azéma, *Théodoret de Cyr. Correspondance II* [*Sources chrétiennes* 98. Paris: Cerf, 1964].
- , *Epistulae: Collectio Sirmondiana* (*epistulae* 96–147), ed. Y. Azéma, *Théodoret de Cyr. Correspondance III* [*Sources chrétiennes* 111. Paris: Cerf, 1965], pp. 10–232.

- , *Eranistes*, ed. G.H. Ettlinger, *Theodoret of Cyrus. Eranistes*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975.
- , *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum*, PG.81.28–213.
- , *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio*, ed. P. Canivet, *Théodoret de Cyr. Thérapeutique des maladies helléniques*, 2 vols. [*Sources chrétiennes* 57. Paris: Cerf, 1958].
- , *Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium*, PG.83.336–556.
- , *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. L. Parmentier and F. Scheidweiler, *Theodoret. Kirchengeschichte*, second edn. [GCS 44. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1954].
- , *Historia Religiosa (Philotheus)*, ed. P. Canivet and A. Leroy-Molinghen, *Théodoret de Cyr. L'histoire des moines de Syrie*, 2 vols. [*Sources chrétiennes* 234, 257. Paris: Cerf, 1: 1977; 2: 1979].
- , *Interpretatio in Daniele*, PG.81.1256–1546.
- , *Interpretatio in Ezechielem*, PG.81.808–1256.
- , *Interpretatio in Ieremiam*, PG.81.496–805.
- , *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80.857–1997.
- , *Interpretatio in XII Prophetas Minores*, PG.81.1545–1988.
- , *Interpretatio in XIV Epistulas Sancti Pauli*, PG.82.36–877.
- , *Quaestiones in Libros Regnorum et Paralipomenon*, PG.80.528–858.
- , *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, ed. N. Fernandez Marcos and A. Saenz-Badillos, *Theodoret Cyrensis quaestiones in Octateuchum [Textos y Estudios "Cardenal Cisneros" 17. Madrid: Poliglota Matritense, 1979]*.
- Theodosius (astrologer) (incertum), 'Ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοδοσίου περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ τις τεθνήσκει', ed. A. Olivieri, *Codices Veneti [Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum 2. Brussels: Lamertin, 1900]*, p. 213.
- Theon of Alexandria (mathematician, Alexandria, fourth cent.), *Commentaria in Ptolemaei Syntaxin Mathematicam i–iv*, A. Rome, *Commentaires de Pappus et de Théon d'Alexandrie sur l'Almageste*, vol. 1 [*Studi e Testi* 54. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1931].
- , Alexandria, fourth cent.), 'Υπόμνημα Εἰς τοὺς Προχείρους Πτολεμαίου Κανόνας, (commentarium magnum) (*lib.* 1–3), ed. J. Mogenet and A. Tihon, *Le 'grand commentaire' de Théon d'Alexandrie aux tables faciles de Ptolémée*, 2 vols. [*Studi e Testi* 315 & 340. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 315: 1985; 340: 1991].
- Theophanes Confessor (eighth-ninth cent.), *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, *Theophanis chronographia*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1883 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963).
- Theophilus of Edessa (astronomer, astrologer, eighth cent. AD), *De Rebus Praesertim Bellicis*, (e cod. Scorial. I R 14, fol. 183 et aliis codicibus), ed. K.O. Zuretti, *Codices Hispanienses [Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum 11.1. Brussels: Lamertin, 1932]*, pp. 204–266, 270–271.
- Theophylact Simocatta, *Historiae*, ed. C. de Boor, *Theophylacti Simocattae historiae*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1887, repr. Stuttgart, 1972 (first edn. corr. P. Wirth).
- Typicon Monasterii Sancti Mamantis*, S. Eustratiades, 'Τυπικὸν τῆς μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Μάμαντος', *Hellenica* 1 (1928), pp. 256–311.
- Vita et Miracula Petri Atroatae, *Vita* (written by a certain 'monk Sabas'), V. Laurent, *La Vie merveilleuse de saint Pierre d'Atroa [Subsidia hagiographica 29 (1956)]*.
- Vita S. Gregorii Theologi*, PG.35.243–304, written by a certain 'Gregory, presbyter'.

- Vita Symeonis Stylitae Junioris* (sixth–tenth cent.), J. Bompaire, “Abrégés de la Vie de saint Syméon Stylite le Jeune,” *Ελληνικά*, 13 (1954), pp. 79–88.
- Vitae Aesopi* (first cent. AD), *Vita G* (e cod. 397 Bibliothecae Pierponti Morgan) (recensio 3), ed. B.E. Perry, *Aesopica*, vol. 1. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952, pp. 35–77.
- Vitae Sancti Pauli Junioris, Laudatio Sancti Pauli Junioris*, ed. H. Delehay, *Laudatio S. Pauli Junioris* [*Der Latmos. Milet* 3.1. Berlin: Reimer, 1913], pp. 136–157.
- Xenophon, *Anabasis*, ed. E.C. Marchant, *Xenophontis opera omnia*, vol. 3. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904 (repr. 1961).
- , *Hellenica*, ed. E.C. Marchant, *Xenophontis opera omnia*, vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900 (repr. 1968).
- , *Memorabilia*, ed. E.C. Marchant, *Xenophontis opera omnia*, vol. 2, second edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921 (repr. 1971). 1.1.1–4.8.11.
- , *Symposium*, ed. E.C. Marchant, *Xenophontis opera omnia*, vol. 2, second edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921 (repr. 1971). 1.1–9.7.
- Zacharias of Mytilene (philosopher, theologian), *Ammonius sive De Mundi Opificio Disputatio*, M. Minniti Colonna, *Zacaria Scolastico. Ammonio. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione, commentario*. Naples, 1973.

III. Modern Sources

- Billy, Jaques de, *D. Gregorii Nazianzeni, cognomento Theologi opera omnia quae extant*, Paris 1583 [2nd edition: Paris, Morel, 1630].
- Chadwick, Owen, *John Cassian*, Cambridge, 1968.
- Doutreleau, Louis, “La de Trinitate est il l’oeuvre de Didyme l’aveugle?,” *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, 1954, 514–557.
- , *Didyme l’aveugle: Sur Zacharie*, tomes I, II, Paris 1962, Sources chrétiennes, 83, 84.
- Edwards, Mark, *Origen Against Plato*, Ashgate Studies in Philosophy and Theology in Late Antiquity, Aldershot, 2002.
- Gavrilyuk, Paul. L. “Did Ps.-Dionysius Live in Constantinople?,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 62. pp. (2008), pp. 505–514.
- Harl, M. *La chaîne Palestinienne sur le Psaume 118 (Origène, Eusèbe, Didyme, Apollinaire, Athanase, Théodoret)*, Sources chrétiennes, 189, Paris, 1972.
- Hatlie, Peter, *The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople, ca. 350–850*, Cambridge, 2007.
- Hefele, Karl Josef von, *A History of the Councils of the Church*, from the Original Documents, v. IV, from AD 451 to AD 680. Tr. William R. Clark, Edinburgh T&T Clark, 1895.
- Patrich, Joseph, *Sabas, the Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*,
- Ramelli, Ilaria, “The Trinitarian Theology of Gregory of Nyssa in his *In Illud: Tunc et Ipse Filius*: His Polemic against ‘Arian’ Subordinationism and the Apokatastasis,” in *Gregory of Nyssa: The Minor Treatises on Trinitarian Theology and Apollinarianism*, Leiden (2011), pp. 445–478.
- Seeck, Otto, lemma *Caesarius*, in Pauly—Wissowa, Real—Encyclopädie, Stuttgart 1897, v. 3.1, cols. 1298/1300. col. 1299.
- Sivan, Hagith, *Palestine in Late Antiquity*,

- Tzamalikos, P. "Origen: The Source of Augustine's Theory of Time", *Philosophia*, Yearbook of the Research Center for Greek Philosophy at the Academy of Athens, v. 17–18, 1989, pp. 396–418.
- , "The Autonomy of the Stoic View of Time", *Philosophia*, Yearbook of the Research Center for Greek Philosophy at the Academy of Athens, v. 19–20, 1989–1990, pp. 352–369.
- , "Origen and the Stoic View of Time", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, v. 52 (4), 1991, pp. 535–561.
- , "Creation *ex nihilo* in Origen: Rebuttal of a tragic historical bias", *Papers in Honour of Professor Emeritus G. Nitsiotas*, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki Press, Thessaloniki 1994, pp. 1157–1208.
- , "The Concept of Space-Time in Origen", *Diotima*, Review of Philosophical Research, 24, 1996, pp. 144–149.
- , "The Concept of ἔλγ (matter) in Plato's *Timaeus*", *Philosophia*, Yearbook of the Research Center for Greek Philosophy at the Academy of Athens, v. 27–28, 1997–1998, pp. 131–141.
- , "The concept of *Accidental Being* in Aristotle and its Significance for Patristic Thought", *Proceedings of the International Conference on Aristotle's Metaphysics*, (held at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 9 & 10 October 1997), Thessaloniki 1999, pp. 171–185.
- , *The Concept of Time in Origen*, Peter Lang, Bern / Frankfurt / Paris / New York / London / Wien / Berlin, 1991.
- , *Origen: Cosmology and Ontology of Time*, Brill, Leiden / Boston, 2006.
- , *Origen: Philosophy of History and Eschatology*, Brill, Leiden / Boston, 2007.
- , *The Real Cassian Revisited*, Brill, Leiden / Boston, 2012.
- , *An Ancient Commentary on the Book of Revelation*, A critical edition of the *Scholia in Apocalypsin* from an ancient manuscript with Commentary and an English translation, Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.
- Turner, C.H. "Document: Origen Scholia in Apocalypsin", *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxv, pp. 1–16, 1923.
- Wotke, Karl, *Die griechische Version der Epitome operum Cassiani des Pseudo-Eucherius im cod. Vindob. graec. Nr. CXXI. Erster Teil*, Wien 1898.

IV. Ancient Lexica of Greek Language

- Apollonius (sophist first-second cent. AD) *Lexicon Homericum*, ed. I. Bekker, *Apollonii Sophistae lexicon Homericum*. Berlin: Reimer, 1833 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967).
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus (second cent.), Ἀττικὰ Ὀνόματα, ed. H. Erbse, *Untersuchungen zu den attizistischen Lexika* [Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Philosoph.-hist. Kl. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1950], pp. 95–151.
- Etymologia alphabeti*, ed. F.W. Sturz, *Etymologicum Graecae linguae Gudianum et alia grammaticorum scripta e codicibus manuscriptis nunc primum edita*. Leipzig: Weigel, 1818 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1973), pp. 595–600.
- Etymologicum Genuinum* (or, *Etymologicum Magnum Genuinum*), *Etymologicum Genuinum* (ἀνάβλησις-βώτορες), ed. F. Lasserre and N. Livadaras, *Etymologicum*

- magnum genuinum. Symeonis etymologicum una cum magna grammatica. Etymologicum magnum auctum*, vol. 2. Athens: Parnassos Literary Society, 1992.
- Etymologicum Genuinum (or, Etymologicum Magnum Genuinum), *Etymologicum Genuinum* (littera λ), ed. K. Alpers, *Bericht über Stand und Methode der Ausgabe des Etymologicum genuinum* [Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-filol. Meddelelser 44.3. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1969], pp. 29–53.
- Etymologicum Genuinum (or, Etymologicum Magnum Genuinum, ninth cent.), *Etymologicum Genuinum* (α-άμωσγέπωσ), ed. F. Lasserre and N. Livadaras, *Etymologicum magnum genuinum. Symeonis etymologicum una cum magna grammatica. Etymologicum magnum auctum*, vol. 1. Rome: Ateneo, 1976.
- Etymologicum Gudianum (eleventh cent.), *Additamenta in Etymologicum Gudianum* (ἀάλιον-ζειαί), (e codd. Vat. Barber. gr. 70 [olim Barber. I 70] + Paris. suppl. gr. 172), ed. A. de Stefani, *Etymologicum Gudianum*, fasc. 1 & 2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1: 1909; 2: 1920 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1965).
- Etymologicum Gudianum (eleventh cent.), *Additamenta in Etymologicum Gudianum*, ed. F.W. Sturz, *Etymologicum Graecae linguae Gudianum et alia grammaticorum scripta e codicibus manuscriptis nunc primum edita*. Leipzig: Weigel, 1818 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1973), pp. 585–588.
- Etymologicum Gudianum (eleventh cent.), *Etymologicum Gudianum* (ἀάλιον-ζειαί), ed. A. de Stefani, *Etymologicum Gudianum*, fasc. 1 & 2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1: 1909; 2: 1920 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1965).
- Etymologicum Gudianum (eleventh cent.), *Etymologicum Gudianum* (ζειδωρος-ᾶμαι), ed. F.W. Sturz, *Etymologicum Graecae linguae Gudianum et alia grammaticorum scripta e codicibus manuscriptis nunc primum edita*. Leipzig: Weigel, 1818 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1973), pp. 229–584.
- Etymologicum Magnum (or, Etymologicum Magnum Auctum, twelfth cent.), ed. T. Gaisford, *Etymologicum magnum*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1848 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1967).
- Etymologicum Parvum (ninth cent.), *Etymologicum Parvum*, ed. R. Pintaudi, *Etymologicum parvum quod vocatur* [Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità 42. Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino, 1973].
- Etymologicum Symeonis (α-άμωσγέπωσ), ed. F. Lasserre and N. Livadaras, *Etymologicum magnum genuinum. Symeonis etymologicum una cum magna grammatica. Etymologicum magnum auctum*, vol. 1. Rome: Ateneo, 1976.
- Etymologicum Symeonis, (ἀναχωχήσ-βώτορεσ), ed. F. Lasserre and N. Livadaras, *Etymologicum magnum genuinum. Symeonis etymologicum una cum magna grammatica. Etymologicum magnum auctum*, vol. 2. Athens: Parnassos Literary Society, 1992.
- Eudemus, *Περὶ Λέξεων Πητορικῶν* (excerpta), ed. B. Niese, "Excerpta ex Eudemi codice Parisino n. 2635", *Philologus*, suppl. 15 (1922), pp. 145–160.
- Harpocration (grammarian, prob. first-second cent. AD), *Lexicon in Decem Oratores Atticos*, ed. W. Dindorf, *Harpocrationis lexicon in decem oratores Atticos*, vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1853 (repr. Groningen: Bouma, 1969).
- Hesychius of Alexandria (lexicographer, fifth-sixth cent. AD, probably a pagan: not to be confused with the homonymous Egyptian bishop, c. 300, or the Alexandrian exegete Hesychius, also c. 300), *Lexicon* (A-O), ed. K. Latte, *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vols. 1, 2. Copenhagen, v. 1: 1953; v. 2: 1966.

- , *Lexicon (Π-Ω)*, ed. M. Schmidt, *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon*, vols. 3–4. Halle: n.p., 3: 1861; 4: 1862 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1965).
- Julius Naucratis (or, Julius Pollux, or Julius Polydeuces, grammarian, second cent. AD), *Onomasticon*, ed. E. Bethe, *Pollucis onomasticon*, 2 vols. [*Lexicographi Graeci* 9.1–9.2. Leipzig: Teubner, 9.1: 1900; 9.2: 1931 (repr. Stuttgart: 1967)].
- Lexica Juridica Byzantina, *Lexicon in Hexabiblos Aucta*, ed. M.T. Fögen, *Das Lexikon zur Hexabiblos aucta* [*Forschungen zur Byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte* Band 17. Frankfurt am Main: Löwenklau Gesellschaft, 1990], pp. 162–214.
- Lexica Segueriana (or, Lexica Bekkeriana), *De Syntacticis (e cod. Coisliniano 345)*, ed. I. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, v. 1. Berlin: Nauck, 1814 (repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1965).
- Lexica Segueriana, *Anonymus antatticista (e cod. Coislin. 345)*, ed. I. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. 1. Berlin: Nauck, 1814 (repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1965), pp. 75–116.
- Lexica Segueriana, *Collectio Verborum Utilium e Differentibus Rhetoribus et Sapientibus Multis (Σβ) (recensio aucta e cod. Coislin. 345)*, ed. L. Bachmann, *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1828.
- Lexica Segueriana, *Collectio Verborum Utilium e Differentibus Rhetoribus et Sapientibus Multis* (= *Συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίμων ἐκ διαφόρων σοφῶν τε καὶ ῥητόρων πολλῶν*) (= *Σα*) (*e cod. Coislin. 347*) (*littera a tantum edita*), ed. C. Boysen, *Lexica Graeca minora* (ed. K. Latte & H. Erbse). Hildesheim: Olms, 1965, pp. 16–38.
- Lexica Segueriana, *Διχῶν ὀνόματα, (e cod. Coislin. 345)*, ed. I. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. 1. Berlin: Nauck, 1814 (repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1965), pp. 181–194.
- Lexica Segueriana, *Glossae Rhetoricae (e cod. Coislin. 345)*, ed. I. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. 1. Berlin: Nauck, 1814 (repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1965), pp. 195–318.
- Lexicon artis grammaticae (e cod. Coislin. 345)*, ed. L. Bachmann, *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1828, pp. 425–450.
- Lexicon Rhetoricum Cantabrigiense (e cod. Cantabr. Univ. D d 4,63 in marginibus)*, ed. E.O. Houtsma, *Lexica Graeca minora* (ed. K. Latte & H. Erbse). Hildesheim: Olms, 1965, pp. 69–86.
- Lexicon Syntacticum* (= *Ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ τῶν συντάξεων πῶς δεῖ ὀφείλειν συντάσσειν τὰς ῥηματικὰς λέξεις ἐν ταῖς τοῦ ὀνόματος πτώσεσι*), (*e codd. Barocciano 57 + Canonic. gr. 41*), ed. J.A. Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecarum Oxoniensium*, vol. 4. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1836 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1963), pp. 275–307.
- Lexicon Syntacticum*, (= *Ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ τῆς συντάξεως*) (*e cod. Laur. 59,16*), ed. M. Arco Magri and Massa Positano, *Lessico sintattico Laurenziano*. Naples: Libreria Scientifica Editrice, n.d., pp. 15–74.
- Lexicon Syntacticum*, (*e cod. Laur. 59,16*), ed. M. Arco Magri and Massa Positano, *Lessico sintattico Laurenziano*. Naples: Libreria Scientifica Editrice, n.d., pp. 75–83.
- Lexicon Syntacticum*, (*specimen tantum*), ed. F.W. Sturz, *Etymologicum Graecae linguae Gudianum et alia grammaticorum scripta e codicibus manuscriptis nunc primum edita*. Leipzig: Weigel, 1818 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1973), pp. 587–592.
- Lexicon Vindobonense* (fourteenth cent.), *Lexicon Vindobonense* (auctore Andrea

- Lopadiota) (e cod. phil. gr. Vindob. 169), ed. A. Nauck, *Lexicon Vindobonense*. St. Petersburg: n.p., 1867 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965).
- Moeris, *Lexicon Atticum*, ed. I. Bekker, *Harpocraton et Moeris*. Berlin: Reimer, 1833, pp. 187–214
- Photius, *Lexicon (A-Δ)*, ed. C. Theodoridis, *Photii patriarchae lexicon*, vol. 1 (A-Δ). Berlin: De Gruyter, 1982.
- , *Lexicon (E-Ω)*, ed. R. Porson, *Φωτίου τοῦ πατριάρχου λέξεων συναγωγή*, pts. 1–2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1822: 1: pp. 10–367; 2: pp. 367–659.
- Phrynichus (sophist and lexicographer of Attic language, styled 'Arabius', second cent. AD), *Eclogae*, E. Fischer, *Die Ekloge des Phrynichos* [*Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker* 1. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1974], pp. 60–109.
- Pseudo-Aelius Herodianus, *Excerpta e Herodiano*, (e cod. Paris. gr. 2552), ed. J. Pier-son and G.A. Koch, *Moeridis Atticistae lexicon Atticum*. Leipzig: Lauffer, 1830 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1969), pp. 412–437.
- Pseudo-Zonaras (thirteenth cent.), *Lexicon*, ed. J.A.H. Tittmann, *Iohannis Zonarae lexicon ex tribus codicibus manuscriptis*, 2 vols. Leipzig: Crusius, 1808 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1967).
- Suda, *Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, *Suidae lexicon*, 4 vols. [*Lexicographi Graeci* 1.1–1.4. Leipzig: Teubner, 1.1: 1928; 1.2: 1931; 1.3: 1933; 1.4: 1935 (repr. Stuttgart: 1.1: 1971; 1.2: 1967; 1.3: 1967; 1.4: 1971)].
- Timaeus (sophist and grammarian, prob. fourth cent.), *Lexicon Platonicum* (e cod. Coislin. 345), ed. F. Dübner, *Platonis opera quae feruntur omnia* (ed. J.G. Baiter, J.K. Orelli, A.W. Winckelmann). Zurich: Meyer & Zeller, 1839, pp. 971–1008.

INDEX OF PERSONS OF ANTIQUITY, LOCATIONS, AND NOTIONS

- Aaron, 522.
 Abba Andronicus, 277.
 Abba Apollos, 201; 203.
 Abba Moses, 3; 139; 141; 169; 175; 179;
 195; 199; 201; 209; 222; 244; 295.
 Abba Paul, 3; 141.
 Abba Pinufrius, 3; 45; 74.
 Abba Sarapion, 195; 197.
 Abba Serenus, 249; 251; 255; 257; 259;
 263; 267; 277; 283; 295; 309; 313;
 315; 331; 333; 343; 379; 362.
 Abba Theonas, 195.
 Abel, 331; 339.
 Abraham, OT. patriarch, 45; 191;
 333.
 Abramius, Sabaite translator of
 Ephraem Syrus, 308; 408; 595.
 Abrasax (Ἀβρασάξ), 572.
 Acacius of Caesarea, 432; 437.
 Achaia, 107.
 Actual Creation, 586.
 Acusilaus, 74.
 Adam, 321; 331; 339; 437; 628.
 Adoptionism, 391.
 Aelius Herodianus, sophist, 475; 588.
 Aelius Herodianus, 288; 408; 436.
 Aeolians, 407.
 Aeschines, 305; 524.
 Aeschylus, 234; 366.
 Aetius, 293; 400; 475.
 Aetius, the Anomoean, 471.
 Agapetus Pope of Rome, 6; 347.
 Agapetus, Abbot of New Laura, 2.
 Agathangelus, 233.
 Agnoetae (Ἀγνοηταί), 389.
 Akoimetoι, 218; 297; 378; 391; 393;
 396; 402; 422; 424; 439; 447; 466;
 474; 482; 490; 500; 515; 516; 524;
 591; 613.
 Akylas, 358; 214; 595.
 Alexander of Aphrodisias, 16; 214; 216;
 217; 227; 289; 293; 300; 306; 352; 354;
 372; 484; 485; 490–491; 506; 509; 581;
 595; 596; 597; 615; 73.
 Alexander of Cyprus, 245; 528.
 Alexandrians, 627.
 allegory, 350; 533.
 Alpha and Omega, Christ in the
 Apocalypse, 571.
 Ambrose of Milan, 460.
 Ammonius of Alexandria, philoso-
 pher, 352; 491; 504; 597.
 Ammonius, of Alexandria, presbyter,
 289–290; 298.
 Amphilochius of Iconium, 154.
 Amphilochius of Iconium, 363; 459;
 513; 578; 613.
 anagogical interpretation, 402; 462;
 533–534.
 Ananias, 103, 111; 207.
 Anastasius of Sinai, 358; 371; 403; 405;
 423; 424; 611; 612; 637.
 Anastasius, Patriarch of Jerusalem,
 381.
 Anatolius of Laodicea, 467.
 Anaximenes of Lampsacus, 305.
 Andreas of Caesarea, 240; 375; 479;
 567; 575.
Anno Passionis, 629.
 Anomoeans, 471.
 Anthimus, Patriarch of Constantino-
 ple, 6.
 Anthony, Saint, 181; 183; 187; 189; 231;
 242; 329.
 Anti-Arians, 523.
 Anti-Chalcedonians, 404; 465; 591.
 Anti-Hellenism, 1; 10.
 Antioch of Pisidia, 234.

- Antioch, 2; 159; 435; 448; 500; 517; 525;
 529; 530; 565; 591; the source of
 antiphonal ecclesiastical music,
 482; Antiochene hymnographic
 tradition, 424.
 Antiochus Epiphanes, 353.
 Antiochus of Palestine, 18; 67; 155; 156;
 157; 158; 162; 214; 241; 306; 361; 380;
 382; 411; 513; 527; 529; 530; 532; 600.
 Antipatrus of Bostra, 7; 9.
 antiphonal music, 12.
 antiphonal reciting of the Psalms, 482.
 Apamea, 512.
 apokatastasis, 12; 13; 466.
 Apollinaris of Laodicea, 157; 362.
 Apollinarism, 390.
 Apollonius Dyscolus, 372; 528; 566.
 Apollonius, sophist, 455.
 Apomasar, 628.
 Appianus, 425.
 Aquilinus, superior of the Laura of
 Souka, 4.
 Arabia, 246.
 Archelaus, 374.
 Arethas of Caesarea, 362; 415; 424; 476;
 478; 479.
 Arian Goths, 448.
 Arian party, 457.
 Arianism, 430; 459; 460; 520; 526; 569;
 442; 443; 445; 448.
 Arians, 162; 354; 391; 448; 449; 451; 464;
 476; 510; 567.
 Arianzus, 373.
 Aristobulus, Jewish philosopher, 363.
 Aristonicus of Alexandria, 590.
 Aristophanes, 408; 412; 438.
 Aristotelian nomenclature, 593;
 Aristotelian studies, 12.
 Aristotelism, 16; 73; 216; 217; 224; 227;
 292; 353; 355; 388; 464; 591.
 Aristotle, 15; 158; 214; 217; 220; 223; 231;
 237; 238; 239; 289; 291; 295; 296; 298;
 299; 300; 304; 345; 348; 357; 455;
 456; 480; 484; 486; 489; 506; 508;
 509; 518; 565; 578; 588; 589; 591; 592;
 595; 611; 615; 618; 619.
 Arithmetics, 488.
 Arius Didymus, 214; 216.
 Arius, 281; 439; 451; 457; 526; 598; 601.
 Arrianus, 435; 436.
 Ascalon, 2.
 Asclepius of Tralleis, 291; 352; 491;
 505–506; 513; 590; 596–597; 638.
 Aspasius, 231; 287; 288; 593.
 Asterius of Amasea, 239; 241; 245; 358;
 382; 408; 513; 532; 530; 536; 601; 612.
 Astronomy, 373.
 Athanasius I, Patriarch of Con-
 stantinople, 515.
 Athanasius of Alexandria, 14; 159; 162;
 221; 224; 230; 233; 238; 242; 288; 344;
 359; 366; 381; 387; 414; 446; 447; 454;
 456; 460; 466; 470; 507; 514; 566;
 567; 576; 578; 579; 580; 582; 585; 593;
 612.
 Athanasius, monk and hesychast, 383.
 Athenaeus, 16; 71; 238; 347; 348; 408;
 438.
 Attic language, being prone to rough
 breathing, 160; 407.
 Attic, 438.
 Augustine, 460.
 Ausis, 604.
 Babylon, 93; 279.
 Bardanes, 377.
 Barsanuphius and John, 220; 366; 380;
 382; 515; 516; 530; 532.
 Basil of Caesarea, 16; 18; 68; 71; 91; 108;
 154; 155; 157; 159; 163; 214; 223; 225;
 226; 232; 236; 239; 243; 245; 246; 287;
 288; 294; 296; 297; 298; 303; 346;
 349; 354; 355; 359; 362; 366; 381; 397;
 398; 410; 411; 413; 414; 425; 426; 438;
 458; 459; 460; 461; 463; 469; 486;
 504; 507; 515; 522; 576; 580; 585; 601;
 606; 611; 616; 631.
 Basil of Seleucia, 18.
 Basil of Seleucia, 234; 239; 289; 303;
 366; 382; 454; 486; 530; 532; 536;
 578; 580; 613.
 Basilides, 572.
 Bay of Myriandrus (Μυριανδρικὸς
 κόλπος), 436.

- Beëlla (Βεελλᾶ), 383.
 Beelzeboul, 325.
 Bithynia, 373.
 Bosporus, 605.
 Bulgaria, 629.
 Bulgarians, 621.
 Byzantine attitude to Hellenism, 438.
- Caesarius doctor, the brother of
 Gregory of Nazianzus, 373 f.
 Caesarius, Prefect of Constantinople,
 374.
caesaropapism, 15; 458.
 Cain, 131; 331.
 Callinicus, monk, 235.
 Callisthenes, 366.
 Cassius Dio, 229; 413.
 Castor, Cassian's addressee, 2; 4; 21; 69;
 169; 213; 395; 434.
 Celsus, 223; 462.
 Censorinus, 293.
 Chalcedon, 6; 15; 390; 394.
 Chalcedonian, language, 387; party,
 386; 404.
 Chalcedonians, 8; 387; 440; 465; 591.
 Chosroes II, Persian king, 589.
 Christodorus, deacon, 347.
 Christology, 386.
 Christophorus Mytinenaeus, 72.
 Chrysippus, 15; 70; 74; 215; 216; 223;
 225; 289; 354; 581.
 Cicero, 293.
 Claudius Aelianus, sophist, 475;
 sophist, 588.
 Claudius Ptolemaeus, 238; 625.
 Clearchus of Soli, 303.
 Clement of Alexandria, 68; 158; 215;
 217; 218; 222; 225; 239; 241; 289; 295;
 297; 298; 299; 343; 346; 353; 354;
 476; 488; 489; 512; 580; 581; 590; 612;
 613.
 Clement of Rome, 343.
 Constantine, 428; 457.
 Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, 14;
 360; 365.
 Constantius II, Emperor, 373.
 Constantius II, Emperor, 375; 448; 457.
- Corpus Hermeticum, 498.
 Cosmas Indicopleustes, 370; 371; 418;
 582; 632; 633.
 Cuntinianus, Bishop of Arculiani, 423.
Cursus Paschalis (Victorian Cycle),
 623; 629.
 Cycle of Meton, 629.
 Cyril of Alexandria, 12; 16; 71; 73; 153;
 156; 159; 163; 215; 222; 224; 225; 230;
 233; 237; 238; 239; 242; 245; 287; 291;
 296; 299; 304; 346; 347; 353; 364;
 366; 367; 380; 386; 389; 392; 393;
 398; 409; 417; 418; 424; 426; 427; 428;
 444; 448; 454; 457; 460; 479; 501;
 505; 506–507; 515; 523; 525; 526; 527;
 528; 530; 536; 563; 564; 576; 581; 582;
 583; 591; 593; 595; 598; 600; 601; 611;
 613; 614; 616; 617.
 Cyril of Jerusalem, 398; 427; 479; 565.
 Cyril of Scythopolis, 1–3; 67; Cyril of
 Scythopolis, 164; 232; 245; 308; 381;
 382; 383; 430; 439; 440; 505; 511; 514;
 523; 528; 532; 601.
 Cyrillus, Patriarch of Constantinople,
 377.
- Damascius, 15; 16; 352; 363; 403; 411;
 414; 454; 473; 474; 477; 479; 481; 483;
 484; 485; 491; 492; 494; 495; 499;
 500; 502; 503; 505; 508; 510; 571; 589;
 590; 596; 611; 615.
 Damascus, 395.
 Damasus, Pope of Rome, 453.
 Daniel, 323.
 Danube, 429.
 David of Alexandria, 290; 352; 473;
 590.
 David, 51; 61; 145; 271; 306; 307; 337;
 428; 529; 530; 531.
 Demetrius Chomatenus, 637.
 Demiurge, in *Timaeus*, 493; 494; 497.
 Democritus, 233.
 Demosthenes, 379; 456.
 Diadochus of Photike, 233; 238; 241;
 360; 498.
 Didymus of Alexandria, 2; 3; 8; 12; 15;
 16; 155; 158; 163; 215; 217; 218; 220;

- Didymus of Alexandria (*cont.*), 223;
 225; 229; 230; 231; 232; 233; 235; 245;
 289; 296; 301; 307; 344; 349; 351; 352;
 359; 360; 361; 362; 366; 378; 380; 398;
 400; 405; 406; 408; 410–412; 414; 417;
 418; 426; 434; 441; 448; 453; 454; 455;
 456; 471; 472; 475; 479; 488; 489; 501;
 502; 509; 513; 516; 517; 530; 533; 534;
 563; 565; 567; 569; 572; 576; 579;
 580; 581; 582; 584; 594; 599; 600; 601;
 606; 607; 608; 610; 611; 612; 613; 614;
 617; 74.
 Dio Chrysostom, 225; 475.
 Diocletian, Emperor, 623.
 Diodore of Sicily, 163; 231; 238; 305.
 Diodore of Tarsus, xi; 8; 241; 363; 434;
 482.
 Diogenes Laertius, 215; 223.
 Diogenes Oenoandensis, 74.
 Diogenes of Cyzicus, Bishop, 366.
 Diogenes of Phoenicia, 589.
 Dionysius Exiguus, 629.
 Dionysius of Alexandria, 372.
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 70; 159;
 244; 289; 305.
 divine nature, 465.
 Dobruja, 629.
 Docetism, 513; 514; 579.
 Domitian, 2; 3; 5; 6; 384; 430.
 Domnus, 375.
 Dorotheus of Gaza, 366.

 East, 2; 21; 39; 41; 309.
 Easter, 189; 313; 622; 623; 626; 628–
 633.
 Easter Cycle, 628; 629.
 Edessa, 1.
 Egypt, 2; 3; 12.
 Egypt, 21; 45; 47; 49; 139; 232; 244; 307;
 309; 346; 366; 406; 441; 622.
 Egyptians, 21; 37; 41; 585.
 Eleutheropolis, 2.
 Elias of Alexandria, 352; 479; 491.
 Elias, a martyr that died along with
 Paternuthius, 72.
 Elias, Patriarch of Jerusalem, 1.
 Elias, prophet, 207; 317.

 Enoch, 333; 363.
 Enos, 333.
 Ephraem (or, Ephraemius) of Amida,
 Patriarch of Antioch, 160; 407.
 Ephraem Syrus, 69; 71; 154; 158; 163;
 164; 219; 220; 222; 223; 225; 227; 229;
 231; 232; 233; 234; 237; 242; 243; 244;
 288; 292; 296; 297; 298; 306; 307;
 308; 366; 370; 382; 383; 450; 490; 501;
 513; 532; 536; 576; 580; 593; 595.
 Ephraem of Thrace, historian, 14.
 Epictetus, 351; 352; 589.
epiphanies, 469.
 Epiphanius of Salamis, 68; 156; 218;
 227; 231; 237; 238; 287; 306; 307; 343;
 354; 358; 366; 383; 420; 426; 427;
 434; 437; 448; 449; 450; 451; 464;
 470; 471; 472; 510; 511; 513; 519; 523;
 574; 575; 580; 612.
 Esau, 93.
 essence, 257; 259; 301; 317; 355; 356;
 403; 465; 535; 592; 596; 599; divine
 e. 393; 465; 483; 484; 485; 570; 598;
 599.
 Ethiopian, 203.
 Euclidean dimensions, 488.
 Euclidean Geometry, 597.
 Euclidean, axiom, 510.
 Euclides, 597.
 Eudemus, 220.
 Eudocia of Athens, Empress, 590.
 Eulamius of Phrygia, 589.
 Eunomianism, 442; 520.
 Eunomians, 451; 464; 476.
 Eunomius, 281; 439; 451; 588; 598.
 Euripides, 219; 506.
 Europe, 429.
 Eusebius of Caesarea, 14; 71; 72; 73; 157;
 159; 163; 164; 213; 216; 218; 220; 221;
 223; 225; 226; 227; 232; 233; 237; 238;
 239; 241; 244; 288; 296; 298; 299; 302;
 306; 307; 308; 343; 346; 349; 354;
 355; 359; 362; 363; 364; 365; 366; 372;
 397; 398; 399; 400; 402; 405; 406;
 413; 414; 428; 447; 456; 461; 464; 470;
 473; 529; 567; 574; 579; 580; 585;
 586; 614; 631.

- Eusebius of Vercelae, 448.
 Eustathius of Constantinople, monk, 386.
 Eustathius of Thessaloniki, 348; 415; 456; 590.
 Eustratius of Nicaea, 227; 291; 353; 499; 597.
 Euthерius of Tyana, 385; 386.
 Euthymius Zegebenus, monk, 423.
 Euthymius, monk, 164; 381.
 Eutyches, 390; 422; 453.
 Evagrius of Pontus, 2; 3; 12; 15; 16; 161; 162; 164; 215; 219; 223; 230; 245; 291; 292; 304; 299; 306; 352; 396; 434; 472; 517.
 Evagrius Scholasticus, 453; 505.
 Eve, 321; 323.
 evil is not a true being, 485.
 Ezekiel, prophet, 319; 417; 422; 584.
- Felix IV, Pope of Rome, 515.
 Flavian, Patriarch of Antioch, 482.
 Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople, 361.
- Gabriel, archangel, 321; 323; 533; 535.
 Gaius, addressee of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, 514.
 Galen, 16; 163; 216; 218; 239; 289; 345; 397; 405; 475; 516; 597.
 Gaza, 366; 382.
 Gehazi, 103, 111.
 Gelasius of Cyzicus, 67; 365; 452; 487; 512.
 Gelasius of Isauria, abbot of the Great Laura, 4; 7; 385; 407.
 Geminus of Rhodes, 625.
 Gennadius I, Patriarch of Constantinople, 221; 437; 524.
 Gennadius of Gabala, 437.
 Gennadius Scholarius, 230; 493; 515.
 Geometry, 304; 373.
 George Cedrenus, 14; 71; 343; 376; 425; 432; 445; 625.
 George Choeroboscus, 216; 242.
 George Monachus Continuatus, 243.
 George Monachus, 14.
 George Monachus, 231; 242; 343; 359; 360; 376; 410; 417; 432; 445; 454; 474; 478; 523; 576; 601; 604.
 George Pisides, 234.
 George Syncellus, 14; 343; 417; 630.
 George the Origenist, abbot of the Great Laura, 7.
 George, a presbyter and abbot dwelling at Scythopolis, 381; 383.
 George, an Origenist, 17.
 Germanus I, Patriarch of Constantinople, 241; 372; 500; 511; 532.
 Germanus of Constantinople, 500.
 Germanus, Cassian's friend, 72; 169; 175; 179; 193; 199; 249; 253; 255; 257; 263; 265; 277; 283; 313; 321; 329; 333; 362.
 Gnosticism, 257; 289; 571; 572.
 Great Period, 629.
 Greek Classical vocabulary, 440.
 Greek education, 617.
 Greek lore, 9; 15; 469; 509; 618.
 Greek philosophical language, 615.
 Greek tradition, 615.
 Greeks, 15; 302; 323; 363; 384; 407; 431; 476; 503; 513; 612; 621.
 Gregorian calendar, 629.
 Gregory of Nazianzus, 12; 14.
 Gregory of Nazianzus, 16; 71; 157; 163; 220; 223; 225; 226; 235; 239; 241; 287; 289; 296; 346; 363; 366; 373; 381; 383; 390; 400; 408; 411; 425; 429; 431; 432; 434; 438; 454; 456; 460; 463; 464; 487; 513; 514; 522; 529; 576; 578; 596; 600; 612; 613.
 Gregory of Nyssa, 1; 12; 13; 16; 68; 71; 158; 159; 161; 163; 213; 216; 218; 220; 221; 223; 225–229; 232; 235; 241; 243; 245; 287; 288; 295; 296; 298; 299; 301–303; 344; 345; 346; 350; 351; 354; 355; 357; 359; 362; 363; 366; 371; 372; 401; 405; 406; 408; 410; 411; 413; 414; 415; 423; 425; 426; 434; 436; 444–446; 450; 454; 456; 460; 462; 469; 471; 501; 522; 529; 568; 575; 576; 577; 580; 581; 588; 591; 598; 601; 603; 609; 611; 613; 614–616; 638.

- Gregory Palamas, 161; 378; 499.
 Gregory the Elder, Bishop of Nazianzus, 373.
 Gregory, presbyter, 374.

 Hades, 447.
 Harpocraton, grammarian, 244.
 Hebrew text, 603.
 Hebrew, the H. 321.
 Hegesippus, 343.
 Heliodorus of Antioch, astrologer, 345; 624; 627; 628; 637.
 Hellenism, xii; 9; 10; 18; 438; 618.
 Heraclius, Emperor, 628.
 Hermas, 156; 360; 371.
 Hermes Trismegistus, 345; 572; 595.
 Hermias of Alexandria, 244; 290; 479; 480; 482; 485; 506; 507.
 Hermias of Phoenicia, 589.
 Hermodorus, 74.
 Hermogenes, 347.
 Herodotus, 412; 503; 526; 603.
 Heron of Alexandria, 488; 596.
 Heron, 187.
 Hesiod, 493.
 Hesychius of Alexandria, 156; 160; 228; 242; 305; 308; 376; 377; 366; 407; 408; 415; 455; 506; 512; 612; 632; 637.
 Hesychius of Jerusalem, 382; 470; 530; 578; 613.
 Hierocles, Neoplatonist, 501.
 Hilary of Poitiers, 460.
 Hippocrates, 68; 153.
 Hippolytus, 71; 238; 306; 344; 406; 436; 567; 572; 576.
 Homer, 16; 425; 438; 455; 456; 467; 475; 522; 590; 600.
 Horapollo of Nilus, 520; 619.
 Huns, 429.
 hymnography, 12; 92; 424.
 Hypatia, 625.
 Hyperides, 365.
 hypostasis, 386; 387; 390; 472; 565; 567; 599.

 Iamblichus, 70; 304; 364; 467; 475; 478; 479; 488; 504; 507; 581; 613.

 Ignatius Diaconus, 227.
 India, 632; 633.
 Iobius, monk, 490.
 Ionians, 407.
 Irenaeus, 13; 302; 308; 343; 406.
 Isaac, Patriarch of the OT, 333.
 Isaiah, prophet, 319; 427; 428; 464; 467; 514; 568; 573.
 Isidore of Gaza, 589.
 Isidore of Pelusium, 344; 350; 351.
 Isidore, one of Pseudo-Caesarius' addressees, 375.
 Isocrates, 163.
 Israel, 185; 333.

 Jacob, 333.
 James, the apostle, 149; 207; 246; 255; 406; 576.
 Jeremiah, prophet, 337; 428.
 Jerome, 358; 418; 422; 607; 608.
 Jerusalem, 1–3; 2; 105; 107; 207; 214; 417; 435; 512; J. derived from Σώλυμος, 436.
 Jewish Easter, 630.
 Jewish, J. literature, 363; J. habits, 469; J. males, 456.
 Jews, 193; 317; 343; 435; 578; 585; 603; 613; 622.
 Jezebel, 579.
 Job, 131; 259; 261; 327; 337; 427.
 Joel of Constantinople, 14.
 Joel, prophet, 635.
 John Chrysostom, 16; 18; 68; 71; 155; 158; 159; 162–164; 213; 216; 219; 220–222; 224; 225; 232; 234; 236; 239; 240; 242; 245; 287; 289; 296; 297; 306; 307; 344; 346; 350; 353; 355; 366; 367; 370; 395; 400; 410; 414; 417; 432; 450; 454; 460; 463; 472; 487; 513; 515; 523; 524; 531; 532; 566; 567; 574; 578; 580; 582; 588; 591; 596; 600; 607; 611; 612; 613; 630; 631.
 John Climacus, 17; 74; 75; 154; 155; 158; 164; 229; 233–235; 238; 244; 360; 366; 384.
 John Doxapatres, 347.
 John Grammaticus, 360; 394; 422; 423; 432; 504.

- John I of Thessaloniki, Archbishop, 361.
 John II, Pope of Rome, 391.
 John Lascaris, 378.
 John Laurentius Lydus, 375; 376; 456; 479; 625.
 John Malalas, 71; 307; 353; 365; 366; 403; 604; 625.
 John Moschus, 238; 241; 366; 370; 371; 395.
 John of Antioch, historian, 530.
 John of Damascus, 7; 160; 162; 163; 214; 217; 229; 240; 246; 297; 303; 344; 362; 380; 382; 389; 393; 400; 403; 407; 410; 412; 422; 423; 444; 454; 463; 464; 478; 482; 485; 488; 490; 501; 505; 508; 516; 526–530; 572; 580; 593; 598; 601; 607; 611; 616; 617; 627; 638.
 John Philoponus, 15; 16; 70; 73; 153; 159; 220; 239; 240; 290; 291; 293; 295; 345; 352; 355; 356; 360; 363; 366; 382; 403; 419; 475; 476; 485; 491; 506; 516; 567; 582; 586; 587; 602; 610; 611; 615; 617.
 John the Baptist, 446; 576.
 John the Evangelist, 233; 317; 368; 403; 406; 408; 467; 477; 523; 525; 527; 531; 532; 573–575; 577; 611–612; 631.
 John the Merciful (Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἐλεήμων), Patriarch of Alexandria, 377.
 John Tzetzes, 407.
 John VI, Patriarch of Constantinople, 377.
 John Zonaras, 14.
 Jordan, river, 436.
 Joseph, son of Jacob, 333.
 Josephus, historian, 71; 163; 306; 475; 528; 582.
 Josephus, a certain man of Scythopolis, 448.
 Jovian, Emperor, 373.
 Judaea, 359; 603.
 Judaism, 461.
 Judas Iscariot, 111; 131; 236; 263; 329.
 Judas, the apostle and writer of the NT-Epistle, 468; 574.
 Julian calendar, 629.
 Julian the Arian, 213; 221; 225; 230; 235; 354; 383; 582; 585; 604.
 Julian, Emperor, 72; 373; 417; 431; 475.
 Julius Pollux, 287; 360; 477; 503.
 Justin Martyr, 366.
 Justinian, 2; 6; 9; 12; 13; 69; 160; 240; 244; 288; 299; 307; 359; 364; 365; 369; 385; 386; 391; 396; 407; 408; 425; 429; 430; 439; 453; 454; 487; 505; 511; 513–516.
Koile Syria, 1; 630.
 Late Antique philosophy, 10.
 Leo of Rome, 361; 460; 471; 516.
 Leonides, the father of Origen, 14.
 Leontius of Byzantium, member of an Origenist faction, 2; 3; 384; 399; 430; Leontius, 1; 7; prob. died at Constantinople, 5–6; abbot, the successor of Castor, 3; helping Origenists in Palestine, 4; interlocutor of Caesarius, 375; L. a friend of Cassian, 5; 14; L. Cassian's addressee, 169; 217; 288; 308; 434; was present at the Local Synod of 536, 385.
 Leontius of Neapolis, Bishop in Cyprus, 377.
 Leontius, presbyter of Constantinople, 307.
 Libanius, 163; 395; 503; 522; 524.
 Lithuanians, 621.
 Longinus, 477.
 Lucian of Samosata, 71; 158; 159; 218; 220; 412; 440; 456; 473; 565; 566; 590.
 Lucifer, 147; 319; 587.
 Macarius of Magnesia, 229; 512.
 Macedonia, 107; 453.
 Macedonianism, 442; 448; 603; 520.
 Macedonians, 451; 464; 476; 510; 533; 598; 602.
 Macedonius, 391; 439; 448; 451; 457; 464.
 Mamas, abbot of the New Laura, 3.
 Manichaeans, 439.

- Marathonians, 451; 457.
 Marathonius, 457.
 Marcellus of Ancyra, 355; 461; 470; 471.
 Marcus Eremita, 154; 156; 232; 234; 236; 287; 292; 366; 454.
 Marianus, monk, archimandrite, 512.
 Marinus, 293.
 Martinus I, Pope of Rome, 460.
 Mary, the Mother of Jesus, 214; 368; 369; 370; 421; 453; 525; 527; 528; 614.
 Masala of Bagdad, 628.
 Mathematics, 488.
 Maurice, Emperor, 377.
 Maximilla, 576.
 Maximus Confessor, 155; 160; 162; 230; 240; 246; 294; 353; 363; 382; 384; 386; 390; 391; 396; 397; 403; 407; 439; 461; 476; 479; 485; 487; 500; 514; 532; 591; 593; 603; 637.
 Maximus of Tyre, sophist, 590.
 Mazikes, 191.
 Medicine, 373.
 Meletius, Bishop of Antioch, 362.
 Melitas, abbot of the Great Laura, 5; 17.
 Melito of Sardis, Apologist, 405.
 Memnon of Ephesus, 536.
 Menas, Patriarch of Constantinople, 6; 9; 385; 429; 439.
 Mesopotamia, 37; 193; 241.
 Mesopotamian, 193.
 Methodius I, Patriarch of Constantinople, 371.
 Methodius of Olympus, 344; 349; 366; 370; 437; 476; 563.
 Meton of Athens, 625; 626; 627.
 Meton's cycle (cycle of the moon), 626.
 Metrodorus, 623.
 Michael Glycas, 376; 410; 432; 437; 607.
 Michael of Ephesus, 396.
 Michael Psellus, 71; 294; 387; 503; 607.
 Michael, archangel, 321; 323; 533; 535.
 Middle-East, 605.
 Middle-Platonists, 595.
 Moeris, 438; 475.
 Monastery of Firminus, 5.
 Monastery of John Theologos at Patmos, 375.
 Monastery of Martyrius, 5.
 Monastery of Souka, 4; 7; 17; 360; 378; 381; 425; 430; 439; 440.
 Monastery of Studios, 92; 395.
 Monastery of the Akoimetoi, 5; 7; 8; 12; 14; 68; 293; 384; 390; 394; 396; 403; 412; 417; 419; 428; 430; 440; 481; 590; 633.
 Monastery of Zougga, 7–8; 430; identified with the Monastery of Chariton, near Bethlehem, 8.
 Monastery or Roussanos, 72.
 Monophysite controversy, 1; 394; 423; 440; 424.
 Monophysites, 2; 5; 8; 15; 291; 299; 439; 465.
 Monophysitism, 7; 13; 378; 386; 389; 390; 391; 393; 419; 421; 423; 466; 514.
 Montanism, 575–576.
 Montanus, 576.
 Moses, lawgiver and prophet, 103, 333; 363; 388; 428; 456; 633.
 Mucius, 72.
 nature of primary hypostases, 493.
nature treated as synonymous with *hypostasis*, 386.
 Nazianzus, 373; 374.
 Nemesius of Emesa, 499; 593; 611.
 Neo-Chalcedonism, 387; 391.
 Neophytus Inclusus, 381.
 Neoplatonism, 10; 15; 355; 443; 467; 472; 473; 475; 476; 479; 480; 481; 483; 486; 490; 493; 495; 496; 498; 504–506; 509; 510; 598; 611.
 Neoplatonists, 296; 299; 352; 477; 484; 491; 499; 513; 588; 589; 591; 595; 611; 615.
 Nestorianism, 7; 13; 368; 378; 389; 430; 453; 632.
 Nestorius, 12; 16; 223; 299; 368; 369; 386; 390–394; 453; 455; 522; 599.
 New Laura, 2–5; 399.
 Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus, 14; 343; 365; 425.
 Nicephorus Gregoras, 230; 378.

- Nicephorus I, Patriarch of Constantinople, 235; 375; 394; 454; 456; 474; 478; 481; 611; 630.
- Nicetas Stethatus, 387.
- Nicolas of Myra, Saint, 621.
- Nicomachus, 287.
- Nicomedia, 457.
- Nicon of Montenegro, 17; 67; 242.
- Nile, 44; 313; 456.
- Nilus of Ancyra, 158; 219; 245; 297; 298; 350; 366.
- Nisibis, 589; 590.
- Nitria of Egypt, 73.
- Noah, 333; 335.
- Nod, 331.
- Nonna, 373.
- Nonnus, 2; 3; 5.
- Numenius, 595.
- Oecumenius, 18; 382; 393; 454; 511; 514; 563; 567; 575.
- Olympiodorus, the deacon of
Alexandria, 71; 156; 216; 220; 233; 238; 405; 454; 511; 580; 585; 611; 612; 614; 616.
- Olympiodorus, the philosopher of
Alexandria, 240; 288; 398; 479; 480; 482; 491; 512; 513; 619; 627.
- Oppianus of Apamea, 238.
- Oriental, lore, 9; 469; 618.
- Origen, 2; 3; 8; 9; 12; 14–16; 69; 72; 73; 156; 157; 161–163; 215; 218; 220; 223–226; 238; 239; 241; 289; 290; 292; 295; 296; 299; 300; 302; 304; 306; 349; 351–353; 355; 357–361; 366; 367; 370–372; 384; 391; 396; 397; 401; 398–400; 402; 405; 410; 414; 416; 425; 434; 436; 439; 443–448; 460; 462; 469; 501; 513; 516; 523; 526; 529; 564; 567; 574; 576; 580–586; 588; 593; 594; 596; 599; 600–607; 612; 613; 622; 632.
- Origenism, 1; 6–8; 357; 378; 385; 396; 399; 401; 404; 430; 434; 443; 446; 466; 488; 521; 606.
- Ormisdas, Pope of Rome, 229; 347.
- Paganism, 373; 448.
- Palchus of Egypt, 4–7; 11; 12; 17; 37; 47; 232; 358; 378; 381; 386; 394; 395; 399; 406; 418; 425; 430; 436; 440; 470; 530; 567; 604–606; 628.
- Palladius, 73; 239; 242; 295; 307; 382; 512; 582.
- Palm Sunday, 345.
- Pamphilus, Origen's defender, 453.
- Pamphilus, presbyter, 514.
- Panaetius, 215.
- Panepho, 45.
- Paphnutius, 189.
- Pappus, 405.
- Paradise, 315; 319; 437; 596.
- Parmenides, 467; 475; 480; 489; 609.
- Patermuthius, 43; 72.
- Patmos, 375; 403; 574.
- Patricius, Sabaite translator of
Ephraem Syrus, 308; 408; 595.
- Paul Helladicus, 241.
- Paul of Aegina, medical doctor, 346; 415; 516.
- Paul of Alexandria, astrologer, 345; 624; 627; 628; 637.
- Paul of Emesa, 409.
- Paul of Nicaea, medical doctor, 346.
- Paul of Samosata, 453.
- Paul, Patriarch of Constantinople, 457.
- Paul, the apostle, 149; 171; 207; Paul, the apostle, 246; 302; 313; 350; 403; 436; 437; 463; 464; 468; 515; 573; 576; 577.
- Paulinus, Bishop in Macedonia, 453.
- Pelusium, 327.
- Peripatetics, 153; 303.
- Persia, 474.
- Persian(s), 323; 589.
- Peter of Sicily, 421; 425.
- Peter the Fuller, 359; 419; 423; 465; 515.
- Peter, Patriarch of Jerusalem, 385; 430.
- Peter, the apostle, 207; 246; 327; 329; 576.
- Pharaoh, 456.
- Pharisees, 325.
- Philagathus (or, Philip Cerameus), 425.

- Philip, the apostle, 437.
 Philippians, 107.
 Philippians, 302.
 Philippicus (Φίλιππος), Emperor, 377.
 Philo of Alexandria, 159.
 Philo of Byblos (or, Herennius Philo), 473.
 Philo, 70; 73; 159; 163; 214; 219; 225; 239; 241; 242; 244; 245; 305; 414; 417; 418; 456; 475; 488; 524; 535; 595; 627.
 Philostorgius of Cappadocia, 238; 360.
 Philostratus, 244; 413; 440.
 Philotheus Coccinus, Patriarch of Constantinople, 378; 394.
 Phoenice, 435.
 Photius, 14; 72; 156; 160; 220; 227–230; 228; 234; 236; 240; 241; 244; 288; 290; 308; 309; 349; 360; 372; 374; 379; 381–383; 387; 390; 403; 407; 408; 410; 431; 432; 437; 444; 454; 474; 476; 479; 481; 485; 490; 501; 503; 506; 523; 526; 532; 568; 569; 582; 587; 601; 603; 622–626; 631; 632.
 Phrynichus, 365.
 Pindar, 16; 408; 438; 475.
 Pinuphius, 3; 72.
 Plato, 159; 163; 164; 216; 224; 244; 293; 294; 300; 304; 352; 353; 388; 398; 475; 480; 482; 486; 492; 494; 496; 497; 504; 509; 524; 528; 565; 589; 592; 612; 618; 73.
 Platonism, 9; 14; 397; 399; 591; 506; 593; 596; 615.
 Plotinian One, 467.
 Plotinian Trinity, 467.
 Plotinus, 291; 293; 294; 354; 355; 473; 485; 486; 495; 496; 497–499; 503; 506; 508; 568; 581; 595; 596; 611; 614–616.
 Plutarch, 16; 73; 153; 158; 159; 163; 218–220; 233; 238; 239; 289; 292; 293; 345; 371; 372; 405; 501; 581; 595.
 Polybius of Megalopolis, 16; 289; 349; 366.
 Polycarp of Smyrna, 403.
 Porphyry, 68; 472; 473; 475; 478; 479; 480; 484; 491; 494; 503; 513; 568; 581; 595; 608; 609; 615.
 Posidonius, 215; 231; 581.
 primary causes (πρωτουργαί αίτια), 492.
 primary causes of good things (πρωτουργοί αίτιαί τών αγαθών), 492.
 primary nature (άρχηγική φύσις), 493.
 primary nature (πρωτουργός φύσις), 492.
 primary nature of the Forms, 493.
 primary source of goodness (πρωτουργόν αγαθόν), 492.
 primordial beauty of existence (τὸ πρεσβύτερον κάλλος), 501.
 primordial hypostases (πρωτουργοί ὑποστάσεις), 493.
 Priscianus of Lydia, 589.
 Priscilla, 576.
 Proclus of Athens, 16; 155; 224; 225; 227; 293; 294; 297; 303; 305; 363; 411; 454; 461; 467; 470; 475–485; 488; 489; 491–499; 501–510; 524; 528; 565; 571; 589; 591; 596; 597; 598; 609; 610; 614; 615.
 Proclus of Constantinople, Bishop, 382; 456; 460; 524; 532; 612.
 Procopius of Caesarea, 295; 360; 578; 613.
 Procopius of Gaza, 153; 225; 287; 298; 349; 362; 366; 376; 578; 580; 582.
 Procopius, the Roman usurper against Valens and Valentinian I (365–366), 374.
 Providential Creation, 586.
 psalmody, 12; 396.
 Pseudo Justin, 69; 295; 306; 308; 355; 366; 393; 426; 452; 472; 486; 487; 572; 596.
 Pseudo-Alexander of Aphrodisias, 216; 615.
 Pseudo-Amphilochius of Iconium, 154.
 Pseudo-Anastasius of Sinai, 407; 487; 614.
 Pseudo-Arcadius of Antioch (grammarian, fourth century AD), 407.

- Pseudo-Athanasius, 156; 238; 242; 303;
306; 307; 349; 354; 359; 361; 400; 463;
464; 471; 472; 474; 500; 505; 507; 516;
531; 567; 578; 579; 591; 606; 611–614;
616.
- Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, 71; 154; 155;
157; 163; 223; 228; 235; 238; 240; 287;
288; 299; 383; 397; 398; 405; 486;
567; 614.
- Pseudo-Basil of Seleucia, 400; 421;
426.
- Pseudo-Clement of Rome, 306; 383;
420; 501; 523; 524.
- Pseudo-Cyril of Alexandria, 224; 423;
479; 490; 536; 580; 598; 614.
- Pseudo-Cyril of Scythopolis, 245; 382.
- Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, 8; 15;
16; 224; 241; 402–404; 421; 474–480;
482; 484; 485; 489–492; 494; 510; 512;
514; 568; 576; 588–591; 596; 602; 400;
411; 481; 488; 495.
- Pseudo-Epiphanius of Salamis, 382;
421; 513; 531; 572.
- Pseudo-Eustathius of Antioch, 513.
- Pseudo-Gregentius, 160; 407.
- Pseudo-Gregory of Nazianzus, 424.
- Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa, 68; 401; 420;
423; 490.
- Pseudo-Gregory Thaumaturgus, 69;
295; 382.
- Pseudo-Herodianus, 228.
- Pseudo-Hesychius of Jerusalem, 234;
353.
- Pseudo-Hippolytus, 445; 490; 631.
- Pseudo-John Chrysostom, 159; 213; 224;
229; 231; 234–236; 239; 240; 242; 243;
246; 287; 289; 297; 303; 307; 308;
344; 347; 351; 370; 371; 382; 390; 400;
410; 531; 532; 536; 569; 582; 607; 614;
632.
- Pseudo-John of Damascus, 217; 236;
242; 246; 306; 380; 382; 421; 478; 523;
527; 532; 536; 601.
- Pseudo-Justin, 69; 295; 306; 308; 355;
366; 393; 426; 452; 486; 487; 572;
596.
- Pseudo-Macarius, 153; 154; 155; 219;
220; 222; 223; 226; 234; 237; 239; 292;
293; 297; 299; 302; 303; 307; 351; 354;
366; 380; 476; 523; 579; 595; 598.
- Pseudo-Methodius, 202; 637.
- Pseudo-Nicephorus I of Constantino-
ple, 14.
- Pseudo-Plato, 590.
- Pseudo-Theodoret of Cyrrhus, 69; 308;
393; 472; 572; 596.
- Pseudo-Zonaras, 156; 243; 376; 415; 445;
475; 512.
- Ptolemy, king, Aristobulus' addressee,
363.
- Pythagoras, 475; 488; 628.
- Pythagorean doctrine of numbers,
506; 572.
- Pythagoreanism, 506; 596.
- Pythagoreans, 494.
- Red Sea, 584; 585.
- Rhoda, 327.
- Rhodes, 245.
- Romania, 629.
- Romans, 105; 107; 627.
- Romanus Melodus, 366; 444; 454; 530;
600; 607.
- Rome, 424; 441.
- Russians, 621.
- Sabas, Saint, 1; 2; 4; 5; 6; 8; 18; 158; 436;
450; 436; 440; 459.
- Sabas, a monk, unknown otherwise,
690.
- Laura of Sabas, 2; 5; 8; 9; 16; 68; 71; 124;
155; 158; 217; 222; 227; 232; 308; 361;
380–382; 385; 400; 405; 408; 411; 412;
417; 430; 440; 516; 567; 572; 595.
- Great Laura (= the Laura of Sabas), i;
xii; 2; 4; 7; 9; 14; 16–18; 222; 396; 430;
617.
- Sabellius, 439; 451.
- Samaria, 358; 359.
- Samuel, 185; 207.
- Sapphira, 103; 111.
- Saul, 185.
- Scetis, 3; 143; 167; 169; 238; 239.
- Scythia Minor, 629.

- Scythopolis of Palestine, 1; 7; 383; 386;
430; 448.
Scythopolitans, 386; 449.
Septuaginta, 202; 405; 406; 417; 418; 472.
Serapion, 242; 244.
Serbs, 621.
Seth, 331.
Severian Monophysites, 2; 6; 296.
Severianus of Gabala, 233; 240; 287;
366; 398; 578; 612; 613.
Severus of Antioch, 1; 12; 15; 353; 386;
389; 394; 404; 490; 514.
Sextus Empiricus, 158; 240; 289; 366.
Silas, styled 'prophet in the Acts, 574.
Simplicius, 15; 16; 227; 296; 299; 351;
352; 362–364; 366; 398; 403; 411; 414;
476; 479; 484; 485; 489; 491; 493–
495; 499; 502; 505; 508; 510; 513; 518;
565; 589; 590; 596; 615; 638.
Socrates Scholasticus, 218; 299; 301;
352; 362; 365; 441; 453; 457; 516; 529;
608; 612.
Socrates, the philosopher, 489.
Sodomites, 81.
Solomon, 335; 339; 344; 345; 445; 461.
Sophocles, 457; 506; 597.
Sophronius, prefect of Constantino-
ple, 374.
Soranus of Ephesus, 160.
Sozomenus, 234; 244; 457.
Stephanus Byzantius, 435.
Stephen, the martyr, 576.
Stobaeus, 216; 244; 292; 498.
Stoicism, 12; 14; 15; 292; 296; 524.
Strabo, 71; 366; 436.
Symeon Logothetes, 14.
Symeon Neotheologus, 161; 294; 394.
Symeon Seth, 346.
Symeon the Stylite, 344.
Symmachus, 358; 417; 418.
Synesius of Cyrrhenia, 474.
Syria Secunda, 512.
Syria, 1; 5; 199; 358; 418; 435; 512; 532;
589; 603; 604.
Syriac language, 603.
Syrianus, 477; 479; 480; 482; 491; 494;
597.
Tabennesus, 37; 45.
Tatian, 244.
Tekoa, 4.
Temple of Jerusalem, 317; 353.
Thales, 293.
Thebais, 21; 45; 47; 181; 189.
Themistius, leader of the heresy of
Agnoetae (Ἀγνοηταί), 389.
Themistius, philosopher, 597.
Theocharistus, 375.
Theocritus, 366.
Theodora, Empress, 6.
Theodore Anagnostes, 301.
Theodore Askidas, 2; 3; 6; 384; 430;
632.
Theodore Daphnopates, 387.
Theodore of Mopsuestia, 2; 8; 12; 16;
213; 219; 221; 292; 353; 363; 391; 434;
437; 527; 528; 535; 536; 563; 564; 572;
623.
Theodore of Tyana, 425.
Theodore Studites, 9; 17; 67; 68; 71; 74;
154–156; 160–162; 164; 214; 230; 234;
235; 241; 246; 294; 297; 304–306;
380; 381–384; 394; 395–396; 403;
407; 410; 412; 418; 425; 456; 474–476;
478; 479; 482; 485; 513; 532; 536; 593;
600; 607.
Theodore, addressee of the author of
Chronicon Paschale, 623; 631.
Theodoret of Cyrrhus, 8; 12; 15; 16; 68;
70; 73; 159; 163; 164; 213–215; 217;
221; 225; 226; 231; 234; 237; 239; 240;
287–289; 295; 299; 302; 306; 346;
353; 363; 365; 366; 368; 383; 391–393;
395; 398; 405; 408–410; 414; 417; 424;
425; 428; 434; 437; 447; 448; 450;
453; 454; 456; 463; 482; 487; 525;
526; 528; 530; 535; 536; 563; 567; 569;
572; 576; 578; 580; 582; 585; 600; 612;
613; 617; 631.
Theodosian Code, 374.
Theodosius the Coenobiarch, 158; 436;
459.
Theodosius, astrologer, 628.
Theodosius, Emperor, 360.
Theodosius, scribe, 600.

- Theodotion, 358; 370.
 Theon of Alexandria, 405; 624; 625;
 626.
 Theopaschitism, 465.
 Theophanes Confessor, 360; 371; 630.
 Theophilus of Alexandria, 460.
 Theophilus of Edessa, 628.
 Theophylact Simocatta, 377.
 Theotokos (θεοτόκος), 421.
 Therodore of Mopsuestia, 223.
 Thessalonians, 135.
 Thrace, 403.
 Thyateira, 574; 575.
 Timaeus of Tauromenium, historian,
 366.
 Timaeus, Neoplatonist grammarian
 and sophist, 415; 475.
 Timon of Athens, 347; 348.
 Tomis, 629.
 Toura, 609; 611.
 Trifyllina (Τριφυλλίνα), 378.
Trisagion (or, Thrice-Holy, Τρισάγιον,
 or τρισάγιος ὕμνος, or, τρισάγιος
 αἶνος), 389; 419; 420; 423; 465; 514;
 515.
 Tyre (Tyros), 319; 386.
 Valens, Emperor, 373.
 Victorian Cycle, 623.
 Victorius of Aquitaine, 628; 629.
 Victorius, 623.
 Vigilus, Pope, 385.
 Vulgate, 418.
 Xenocrates, 494.
 Xenophon, 163; 365; 379; 412; 435; 477.
 Zachariah, prophet, 429; 466; 530; 533;
 535; 565; 576.
 Zacharias of Mytilene, 400.
 Zeus, 319; Zeus, Olympius, 353.
 Zorobabel, 466.

INDEX OF GREEK TERMS, NAMES, AND EXPRESSIONS

- ἀββᾶς Ἀνδρόνικος, 276.
 ἀββᾶς Ἀπολλῶς, 200; 202.
 ἀββᾶς Θεωνᾶς, 194.
 ἀββᾶς Μωϋσῆς (or, Μωσῆς), 138; 140;
 168; 174; 178; 194; 198; 200; 208; 214.
 ἀββᾶς Παῦλος, 3; 140.
 ἀββᾶς Πινούφριος, 44.
 ἀββᾶς Σαραπίων, 194; 196.
 ἀββᾶς Σερήνος, 248; 250; 254; 256; 258;
 262; 266; 276; 282; 312; 314; 330; 332.
 Ἀβελ, 330; 338.
 Ἀβραάμ, πατριάρχης, 44; 190; 332.
 ἄγγελοι, ἔχουσι σώματα, 260.
 ἄγιοι τόποι, 48.
 ἄγιον τῶν ἁγίων, 62.
 ἄγνώμων, 578; 613.
 Ἀδὰμ, 320; 330; 338.
 ἀδιάδοχος, 410–412; 535; 536.
 ἀδιάδοχος βασιλεία, 535.
 ἀδιάσπαστος ἔνωσις, 387.
 αἰτίαι, 421.
 ἀέρια σώματα, 264.
 ἀέριον πνεῦμα, 602; 603.
 αἱ ἀκρότητες τῶν ἑκατέρων μερῶν, 208.
 αἱ θεῖαι φωναί, 579.
 Αἰγύπτιοι, 20; 36; 40.
 Αἰγυπτος, 3; 20; 44; 46; 48; 138.
 Αἰθίοψ, 202.
 αἰμοχυσία, 338; 371.
 αἰώνιος, 501.
 ἀκατάσχετος, 599.
 ἀκηδία, 22; 78; 132f.
 ἀκμήν, 334; 365–366.
 ἀκρότατον τῆς ἀρετῆς, 40.
 ἀλεκτοροφωνία, 527.
 ἀλεκτροφωνιον, 527.
 ἀλληγορία, 314; 349; 533; 534.
 ἀλληγορική ἐκδοχή, 314.
 ἀμεγέθης, 518; 610; 611; 614–617.
 ἀμελέστερόν ζῆν, 60.
 ἀμεμπτος, 28.
 ἀμέριστος, 499; ἀμέριστος Τριάς, 500.
 ἄμοιρος ἐπιστασίας, 501.
 ἀναγωγή, 462; 533; 534.
 Ἀνανίας, 102, 110; 206.
 ἀναρμოსτία, 476.
 ἀναστάσιμος ἡμέρα, 38.
 Ἀνατολή, 20; 38; 40.
 ἀνείδεος ὕλη, 399; 400; 610; 611; 615; 617.
 ἀνείδεος, 443; 610; 617.
 ἀνεκφοιτητήτως, 598.
 ἀνεέργητος, 316; 354–357.
 ἀνεθελήσια, 526.
 ἀνεθελήτως, 526.
 ἄνεσις, 56.
 ἀνέφικτος, 527.
 ἀνεφικτότερον, 527.
 Ἀντώνιος, Saint, 180; 182; 186; 188; 328.
 ἀνύπεικτον, 571.
 ἀνύπεικτος, 415.
 ἀπαράλλακτος φύσις, 330; 361–362.
 ἀπειροδύναμος, 490; 491.
 ἄπειρον, 497.
 ἀπλήθυντον, 480.
 ἀπολαμπρύνειν, 503.
 ἀπολύεσθαι τὴν σύναξιν, 34.
 ἀπολύεσθαι τοῦ μοναστηρίου, 28.
 ἀπορράπτειν τὸ στόμα, 524.
 ἄποσος, 609; 611.
 ἀποστολική τελειότης, 64.
 ἀποστολικὸν παράγγελμα, 24.
 ἀποταγή, 50; 64.
 ἀποτάσσεσθαι τῷ κόσμῳ, 24; 42; 52.
 Ἄρειος, 280.
 ἀρετή, 26; 32; 40; 44; 60; 62; 64.
 ἀρετῶν φυλακή, 56.
 ἄρρητος, 478.
 ἀρχαῖον κάλλος, 501.
 ἀρχαία πατρίς, 400; 606.
 ἀρχηγική φύσις, 493.
 ἀρχηγὸς τῆς τραπέζης, 36.
 ἀρχή, 586; 588.

- ἄρχων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, 322.
 ἀστείον σῶμα, 153.
 ἀσύνθετος Τριάς, 439.
 ἀσυντρόχαστος, 513.
 ἀσώματος ὁ Θεός μόνον, 260.
 ἀσώματος φύσις, 330.
 ἀτρέπτως, 514.
 αὐτοτελής φύσις, 498.
 αὐτοτελής οὐσία, 498.
 ἀφαντασιάτως, 513; 514.
 ἄφθοнос βούλησις, 493.
 ἄφραστος ἔνωσις, 504; 505; 514; 454.
 ἄφραστος οἰκονομία, 454.
 Ἀχαΐα, 106.
 Βαβυλῶν, 92; 278.
 Βαβυλώνιος βασιλεύς, 92.
 βαθμοί τῆς ἀρετῆς, 56.
 βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, 178.
 βασιλεὺς τῶν Περσῶν, 322.
 Βασίλειος Καισαρείας, 90; 108.
 βασιλὶς φύσις, 506.
 Βεεζεβούλ, 324.
 βίσεκστον, 625.
 βίσεξτον, 624.
 Γαβριήλ, 320; 322.
 γαστριμαργία, 78 f.
 γένενα, 178; 324.
 Γένεσις, 320; 328.
 γέρας, 617.
 Γερμανός, 168; 174; 178; 192; 198; 248;
 252; 254; 256; 262; 264; 276; 282; 312;
 320; 328; 332.
 Γιεζή, 102, 110.
 γνώσεως ἔφεσις, 506.
 γνώσις, 516.
 γραπτὸς νόμος, 332; 334.
 Δαβίδ, 50; 60; 144; 270; 336.
 Δανιήλ, 322.
 δεσποτικὴ κοινωνία, 517.
 δεσποτικὴ σάρκωσις, 516.
 δεσποτικὴ φωνή, 48; 517.
 δεσποτικός (-ή, -όν), 517.
 δεσπότης Χριστός, 46; 517; 525; 531; 633.
 δεσπότης, 34; 50; 52; 409; 614.
 Δευτερονόμιον, 102.
 δημιουργὸς σοφία, 443; 444.
 διαβολικὴ κακουργία, 88; 157.
 διαίρεσις, 571.
 διαίρεσις τῶν νοητῶν, 509.
 διακονία, 32; 38; 40; 46.
 διάκρισις, 30; 58; 178 f; 433.
 διάνοια ἀεικίνητος, 178; 252.
 διατυποῦσθαι, 36.
 διατύπωσις κοινοβίων, 78.
 διατύπωσις, 30; 606.
 διαφοιτᾶν, 568; 581.
 διαφορότης, 475–476.
 δίκας ὑπέχειν, 50.
 διοίκησις καὶ πρόνοια, 176; 225.
 δίσεκτον, 625.
 δίσεκτος, 637.
 δοκιμὴ τῆς πίστεως, 44.
 δοκιμὴ τῆς ταπεινώσεως, 44.
 δράκων, 54.
 δραστηκὴ δύναμις, 397.
 δυνάμεις ὑπερκόσμιοι, 613.
 δύναμις, 593.
 δύναμις τῆς σταυρώσεως, 50.
 δυσσάποβλητος, 94; 159.
 δυνατὸν ἐκλαβεῖν, 567.
 Ἐβραῖος, 320.
 εἶδον, 600.
 εἰκῆ, 126; 162.
 εἰκῶν, 534.
 ἐκ πείρας, 250.
 Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ, 254; 330; 336.
 ἐκκλησιαστικὴ σύναξις, 516.
 ἐκκουσεύειν, 334; 365.
 ἐκπορεύεσθαι, 607.
 ἐμβόλιμοι ἐνιαυτοί, 624.
 ἐμβόλιμοι ἡμέραι ἐνιαυτοῦ, 627.
 ἐμβόλιμος μῆν, 624.
 ἐμφέρεσθαι, 612.
 ἔμφυτος γνώσις, 588.
 ἐν μονάδι θεότητος, 511.
 ἐν σταυρῷ προσηλωμένος, 52.
 ἐναδικός, 467; 508.
 ἐνάς, 465.
 ἐνάδες, 484.
 ἐνάς οὐσίας, 485.

- ἐνθεαστική, 481.
 ἐνθεαστική νόησις, 483.
 ἐνθεαστικός, 483.
 ἐννεακαιδεκαετηρίς, 624; 626; 637.
 ἔννομος γνῶσις, 332.
 ἐνοίκησις, 391; 392; 393.
 ἔνυλος φύσις, 504.
 Ἐνώς, 332.
 Ἐνώχ, 332.
 ἐξάπτειν, 569.
 ἔξις, 592; 593; 596.
 ἔξις ἀσσειοτέρα σώματος, 78.
 ἔξις γνωστική, 314; 351–353.
 ἔξις νηπιώδης, 314; 351–353.
 ἔξις πρακτική, 314; 351–353.
 ἐπαγγελία, 213.
 ἐπακταὶ τῆς σελήνης, 624; 627.
 ἐπακταὶ τοῦ ἡλίου, 624.
 ἐπείσακτος, 593.
 ἐπιβαίνειν τῆς τελειότητος, 64.
 ἐπιβατεύων, 592.
 ἐπεικτός, 522.
 ἐπιθυμία τοῦ καλοῦ, 60.
 ἐπιστήμη τοῦ κοινοβίου, 62; 69.
 ἐπιστήμη τοῦ μοναστηρίου, 26; 69.
 ἐπιστημονική θεωρία, 489.
 ἐπιτίμιο ν, 24; 34; 36; 40.
 ἐπιτροπή τοῦ ἰδίου ἀββᾶ, 34.
 ἔρω, 493; 591.
 ἐσθότε, 599.
 ἔστιν ὅτε, 599.
 Εὐά, 320; 322.
 εὐαγγελική τελειότης, 334.
 εὐκατάμικτος, 128; 162.
 εὐκατάπληκτος, 522; 570.
 Εὐνόμιος, 280.
 ἐφ' ἑκάτερα μέρη ὑπερβολή, 182.
 ἐφ' ἴσης, 100; 160; 161.
 ἐφίσης, 160.
 ἔφεσις γνώσεως, 596.
 Ζεύς, 316.
 ζωῆς κυβέρνησις, 82; 154.
 ἡ ἀνωτάτω ἑνάς, 498.
 ἡ προσοῦσα πολιτεία, 44.
 ἡ φύσις τοῦ γραπτοῦ νόμου, 332.
 ἡγεμονικόν, 258.
 ἡλιακὸς μῆν, 624.
 Ἡλίας, prophet, 206; 316.
 Ἡρων, 186.
 Ἡσαΐας, 318.
 Ἡσαῦ, 92.
 θανάτου ἐπαγγελία, 50.
 θεανδρική ἐνέργεια, 404.
 θεανδρικός, 404; 421; 424; 425; 428.
 θέανδρος, 404.
 Θεάνθρωπος, 421–425.
 θεία ὑπόστασις, 565.
 θεῖος φόβος, 50.
 θεοπαράδοτα λόγια, 478.
 θεότης, 223; 401; 402; 464; 465; 467; 499;
 500; 503; 504; 506; 511; 617.
 Θεότης, μόνῃ ἀσώματος καὶ ἀπλῇ τῇ
 φύσει, 256.
 Θεοῦ φόβος, 56.
 Θεσσαλονικεῖς, 134.
 θεωρία ἐπιστημονική, 488.
 θεωρία θείου φωτός, 112; 161.
 θεωρία Θεοῦ, 174.
 Θηβαῖς, 20; 44; 46; 180; 188.
 θιάσος, 379.
 Ἰακώβ, 332.
 Ἰάκωβος, apostle, 148; 206; 254.
 ἰδίων θελημάτων νέκρωσις, 64.
 Ἰδον, 600.
 Ἰεζεκιήλ, 318.
 Ἰερειάς, 336.
 Ἰεροσόλυμα, 104, 206.
 Ἰερουσαλήμ, 106.
 Ἰούδας Ἰσκαριώτης, 110; 130; 262; 328.
 Ἰουδαῖοι, 192; 316.
 Ἰσαάκ, 332.
 ἰσοσθενής, 427; 599; 600.
 Ἰσραήλ, 184; 332.
 ἱστορική ἐκδοχή, 314.
 ἰσχάδια, 346.
 ἰσχάδιον, 312.
 ἰσχάς, 346.
 Ἰωάννης, apostle, 316.
 Ἰώβ, 130; 258; 260; 326; 336.
 Ἰωσήφ, 332.

καθ' ὑπόστασιν κακόν, 316; 353–354.
 καθαρότης τῆς καρδίας, 64.
 καθημεριναί σύνοδοι, 24.
 καὶ ὡς ἔτι νήπιοι εἰσιν οἱ υἱοὶ Βαβυλῶνος,
 90; 157.
 Κάϊν, 130; 330.
 καιρὸς τῆς συνάξεως, 38.
 κανονικὸς τρόπος τῶν εὐχῶν, 24.
 κανών, 24; 36.
 κανών νηστείας, 78.
 κανών τοῦ κοινοβίου, 42.
 Καππαδοκία, 36.
 Καππαδόκαι, 71.
 καταδοκεῖν, 380.
 καρδίας συντριμμός, 84; 154.
 Κάστωρ, 20; 168.
 κατ' ἐνέργειαν / κατὰ διάνοιαν, 118; 161–
 162.
 κατὰ γνώμην, 521.
 κατὰ κρημνῶν φέρεσθαι, 98; 159.
 κατὰ μετοχήν, 591.
 κατὰ σάρκα γονεῖς, 52.
 κατὰ σάρκα συγγενεῖς, 56.
 κατὰ τὴν φύσιν, 521.
 κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον, 534.
 κατὰ φύσιν, 316.
 καταθυμῶς, 324; 359.
 καταπατὰν τὴν ἰδίαν συνείδησιν, 40.
 κατατείνεσθαι, 52.
 κενοδοξία, 32; 78; 140 f.
 κινεῖν τὴν διάνοιαν, 26.
 κοινὴ προσευχή, 32.
 κοινοβιακοὶ κανόνες, 36.
 κοινὸς κανών, 58.
 κοινωνία, 388.
 κοσμογράφος, 633.
 κόσμος νοητός, 496.
 κουκούλιον, 36.
 κτιστά, 388.
 κτιστὴ σοφία, 443; 444.
 κυκλεῦειν τὴ διανοίᾳ, 517.
 Κυριακὴ ἡμέρα, 312.
 Κυριακῆς ἡμέρα, 284.
 Λεόντιος, 168.
 λογικὴ ἐπιστήμη, 264.
 λόγοι, 443.

Λόγος ἔνδοξος, 316.
 λόγος σπερματικός, 496.
 Μάζικες, 190.
 Μακεδονία, 106.
 μεγαλοφωνία, 586.
 μεθοδεῖα διαβολική, 30.
 μελωδία, 529.
 Μεσοποταμία, 36.
 Μεσοποταμινός, 192.
 μετουσία, 595; 596.
 μετουσίας τρόπῳ, 594.
 μὴν ἀκριβὲς τῆς σελήνης, 624.
 μὴν ὁμαλὸς τῆς σελήνης, 624.
 μιμητὴς ἀγγέλων, 86; 156.
 Μιχαήλ, ἀρχάγγελος, 320; 322.
 Μυριάνδρος, Syrian town, 435.
 μυξάρια, 312; 346.
 μυσταγωγία τοῦ φωτίσματος, 512.
 Μωϋσῆς (or, Μωσῆς), prophet, 102, 332.
 Ναῖδ, 330.
 νοερά οὐσία, 256; 260.
 νοερός, 446.
 νοητός, 446.
 νοῦς, 497.
 νοῦς ἀεικίνητος τῇ φύσει, 250.
 νοῦς ἐμπαθής, 250.
 νουμηνία σεληνιακοῦ μηνός, 624.
 Νῶε, 332; 334.
 ὁ πάντων ὑποστάτης, 494; 505.
 ὁ ὦν, 566.
 οἱ τοῦ Ἀρείου ὑπασπισταί, 601.
 οἱ Ἀρείου ὑπασπισταί, 522.
 ὀκτῶ καὶ εἰκοσαετηρίς, 628.
 ὀκτωκαιεκοσαετηρίς, 625; 637.
 ὁμαλισμὸς φράσεως, 314; 349–351.
 ὁμοίωσις καὶ συγγένεια μεταξύ
 πνευμάτων, 256.
 ὁμοούσιος, 496.
 ὁμότιμος, 487.
 ὁμωνυμία, 602.
 ὀργή, 30; 34; 78; 112 f.
 οὐκ ἐπιεικτόν, 571.
 οὐρανοπολίτης, 382; 532.
 οὐσία, 16; 465; 599.

- οὐσία Θεοῦ, 174.
 οὐσία ψυχῆς, 258.
 οὐσιούν, 570.

 παγχάλεπον πάθος, 526.
 Παλαιστίνη, 36; 46.
 παμμεγέθης, 528.
 πανάρετος, 312; 343–345.
 πανδύναμος, 496–498.
 πανδύναμος ἀριθμός, 497.
 πανδύναμος φύσις, 497.
 Πανεφώ, 44.
 παντοδύναμος, 496.
 παρθένος Mary, 46.
 Πάσχα, 188.
 Πατερμούθιος, 42; 72.
 Πατήρ Μούθιος, 72.
 Παῦλος, apostle, 148; 170; 206; 312.
 Παφνούτιος, 188.
 πάντες ἄνθρωποι τοῦ εἰδέναι ὀρέγονται
 φύσει, 506.
 περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι, 627.
 περιστερά, 571; 572.
 Πέρσαι, 322.
 Πέτρος, apostle, 206; 326; 328.
 Πηλούσιον, 326.
 Πινούφιος, a monk, spiritual son of
 Theodore Studites, 72.
 Πινούφιος, ὁσιος, 72.
 πιστοῦσθαι, 570.
 πλατυσμός τῶν θείων γραφῶν, 314; 347–
 348.
 πλάνη, 489.
 πλάσις, 401.
 πνεῦμα, 601.
 πνεῦμα θεοῦ, 603.
 πνεῦμα πνεύματι συζεύγνυται, 256.
 πνευματικά καὶ οὐράνιοι δυνάμεις, 316.
 πνευματικά φύσεις, 330.
 πνευματικὴ γυμνασία, 36.
 πνευματικὴ μελέτη, 178.
 πνευματικοὶς ἀγγέλοις, 86; 156.
 πνευματικὸς κανὼν τοῦ κοινοβίου, 60.
 Πνευματομάχοι, 448.
 πόθος διάπυρος τοῦ καλοῦ, 60.
 πόθος Θεοῦ, 26.
 πόθος ταπεινώσεως, 46.

 ποίησις, 401.
Ποιμήν, by Hermas, 326.
 πολύθεος πλάνη, 398.
 πολυποίκιλος σοφία, 443.
 πορνεία, 78; 84 f.
 πρακτικὴ ἔξις, 351.
 πράξις, 516.
 πρεσβύτερον κάλλος, 501.
 προαίρεσις, 596.
 προοδοποιεῖν, 92; 158.
 πρὸς ἀρετὴν τυποῦσθαι, 30.
 πρὸς γυναῖκα συντυχία, 34.
 πρωτοεργὰ αἵτια, 492.
 πρωτοεργοὶ αἰτίαι τῶν ἀγαθῶν, 492.
 πρωτοεργοὶ ὑποστάσεις, 493.
 πρωτοεργὸν ἀγαθόν, 492.
 πρωτοεργὸς φύσις, 492.
 πτωχεία τοῦ Χριστοῦ, 26.

 ῥήτῳς, 515.
 ῥόδη κόρη, 326.
 Ῥωμαῖοι, 104, 106.

 Σαμουήλ, 184; 206.
 Σαούλ, 184.
 Σάπφειρα, 102, 110.
 σεληνιακὸς μῆν, 624.
 Σεραπίων, 244.
 Σήθ, 330.
 Σκήτις, 142; 168.
 σκοπός, 168.
 σκοπὸς and τέλος, 216.
 Σοδομίται, 80.
 Σολομών, 334; 338.
 σπουδαῖοι καὶ καλοὶ, 56; 73.
 σταυροῦ ἐπαγγελία, 50.
 σταυροῦσθαι τῷ κόσμῳ, 50.
 σταυρῷ προσηλωθῆναι, 52.
 στοιχεῖα καὶ συλλαβαί, 30.
 συγκαθέζεσθαι, 581–582.
 συζυγία πνευμάτων πρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν, 254.
 συμβασίλευεῖν, 582.
 συμπάθεια, 388.
 συναμφότερον, 399.
 σύναξις, 516.
 συναποστήναι, 521.
 συναποστήσας, 521.

συνάπτεσθαι διὰ τῶν λογισμῶν, 256.

σύναρσις, 512.

συνάφεια, 338; 387–388.

συνεισφορά, 248; 312; 340.

σύνθακος, 506.

συνθάλλειν, 405.

σύνθετα, 388.

σύνθετος Χριστός, 439.

σύνοδος φύσεων, 386; 387.

σύντροφος φωνή, 588.

Συρία, 198.

σχῆμα τοῦ μοναχοῦ, 44.

τὰ ἀκριβῆ βιβλία, 631.

τὰ ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἀντιγράφων, 631.

τὰ θεϊκὰ ἔργα, 579.

τὰ θεϊκὰ χαρίσματα, 579.

τὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ἴσα καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἴσα, 510;
598.

Ταβεννησιῶται, 36; 44.

τὰς ἀτάκτους τῆς ψυχῆς ὁρμάς, 84; 155.

τελειοτάτη ἀρετή, 30; 70.

τέλος, 170.

Τεσσαρακοστή, 312; 345.

τέχναι καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα, 216.

τὴν ἔνδον ἐνιδρυμένην ψυχὴν, 88; 157.

τὸ ἀμέριστον ἐν τῇ τριάδι, 500.

τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον τῆς θεότητος, 599;
600.

τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον τῆς οὐσίας, 599.

τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον τῆς φύσεως, 599.

τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα, 603.

τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οὐ γεννᾷ, 336; 366–
370.

τὸ πρεσβύτερον κάλλος, 501.

τὸ χρέος ἀποπληρῶσαι, 213.

Τριάς, μόνη ἀπλή καὶ ἀσώματος οὐσία,
260.

τριβουνάλιον, 326; 359–360.

τριδέσποτον, 410.

τροπολογία, 533; 534.

τροχός, 583; 584; 585.

τύπος, 26; 316; 350; 353–355; 469; 533;
534; 535; 602; 606.

τύπος, related to ἀλήθεια, 316.

τυποῦσθαι, 28; 606.

Τύρος, 318.

τῷ τύπῳ καὶ τῷ σχήματι, 50.

τῶν λογισμῶν παραφυλακὴν, 84; 155.

τῶν νοητῶν ἀντίληψις, 489.

ὑπασπιστής, 601.

ὑπεραιώνιος, 501; 503.

ὑπερκόσμιον φῶς, 411.

ὑπερκόσμιος, 411.

ὑπερούσιος οὐσία, 484–485.

ὑπερπάμφαες, 480.

ὑπόστασις, 15; 16; 565; 599.

ὑπόστασις ψυχῆς, 258.

ὑφesis, 476.

φανεροποιεῖν, 88; 156.

Φαρισαῖοι, 324.

φεγγάρι, 637.

φέγγος, 637.

φιλαργυρία, 34; 78; 94f.

Φιλιππησιοί, 106.

φιλότεκνος πατήρ, 382.

φόβος Κυρίου, 56.

φόβος τοῦ Θεοῦ, 50; 64.

φοιτᾶν, 581.

φρουρητικὴ δύναμις, 478; 479.

φρουρητικός, 478.

φύσεις ἀγγέλων, 260.

φυσικὴ γνῶσις, 332.

φυσικὸς νόμος, 334.

φύσιν ὀρίζειν, 250.

φύσις, 15.

φωσφόρος, 617.

φώτισμα, 512.

χαυνότης διανοίας, 22.

χάρις Χριστοῦ, 42.

χρέος, 213.

χρησμοφδεῖσθαι, 565.

Χριστιανοί, 192; 328.

ψαλτήρ, 632.

ψήφος, 572.

ψίαθον, 32.

ψυχὴ ψυχὴν οὐ δύναται γεννησai, 336.

ὡς ἀρτίως εἴρηται, 516.

ὡς ξένον καὶ ἐξωτικόν, 98; 159.

INDEX OF MODERN AUTHORS

- Baiter, J.G., 482.
Billy, Jaques de, 429.
Boeckh, A., 482.
Chadwick, Owen, 621.
Doutreleau, Louis, 441; 442; 615; 609;
616; 617; 618.
Edwards, Mark, 9.
Field, Fridericus, 358.
Gavrilyuk, Paul, 590.
Godefroy, Jacques, 374.
Harl, M., 567.
Hatlie, Peter, 5.
Hefele, Karl Josef von, 385.
Jacquier, P., 441.
Koetschau, P., 7.
Lambecius, Peter, 214.
Mingarellio J.A., 441; 442; 453; 520; 610;
614.
Mingarellio, F., 441; 442.
Montfaucon, Bernard de, 163.
Mühlenberg, E., 567.
Orelli, J.C. von, 482.
Patrich, Joseph, 1.
Ramelli, Ilaria, 446.
Riedinger, Rudolf, 388; 293; 374; 375;
380; 390; 395; 401; 425; 431; 435; 438;
524; 591.
Schanz, M., 482.
Schwartz, E., 385.
Seeck, Otto, 429; 440.
Sivan, Hagith, 448.
Spinoza, Baruch, 598.
Tischendorf, C., 406.
Turner, C.H., 583.
Vassiliev, A., 406.
Winckelman, A., 482.